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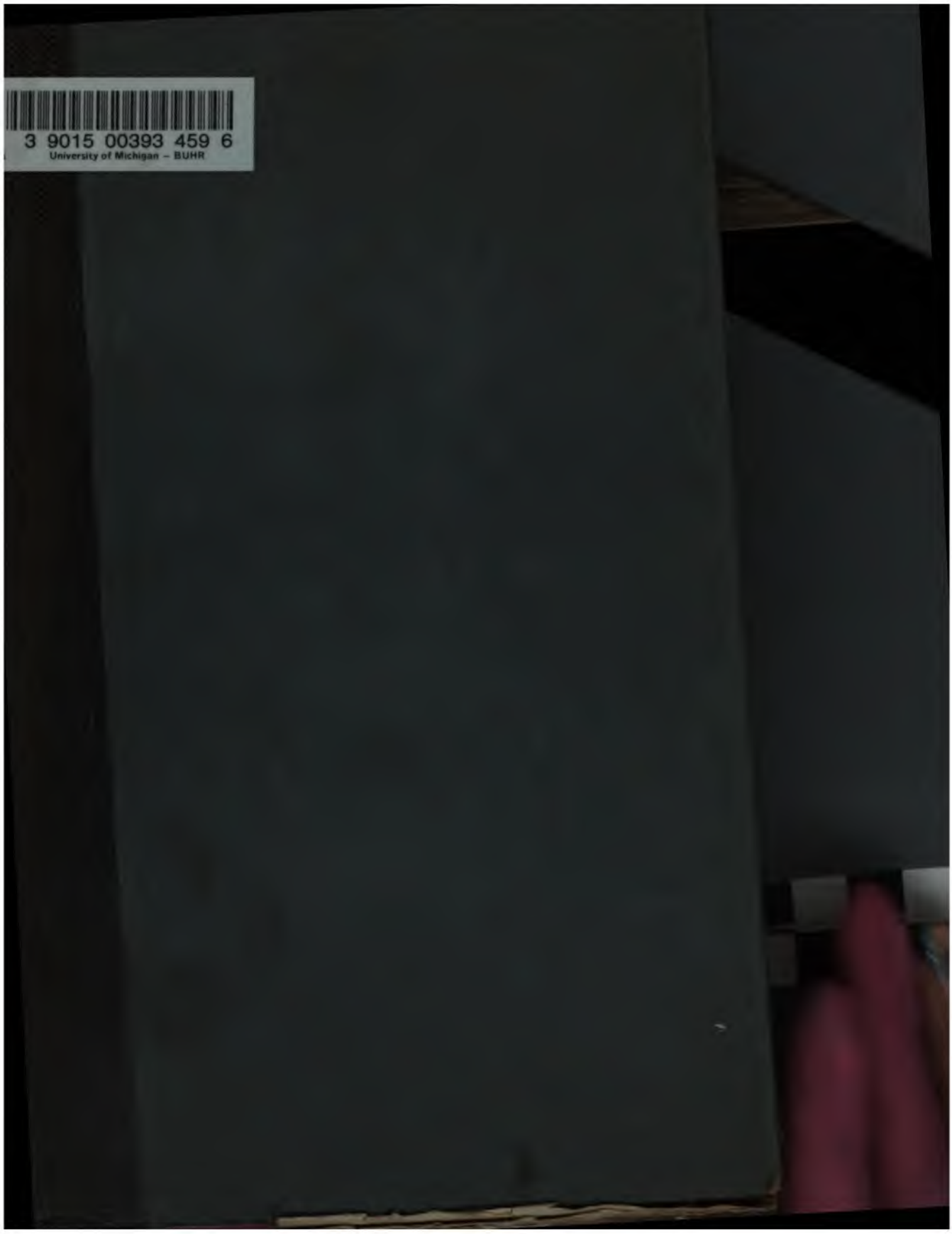
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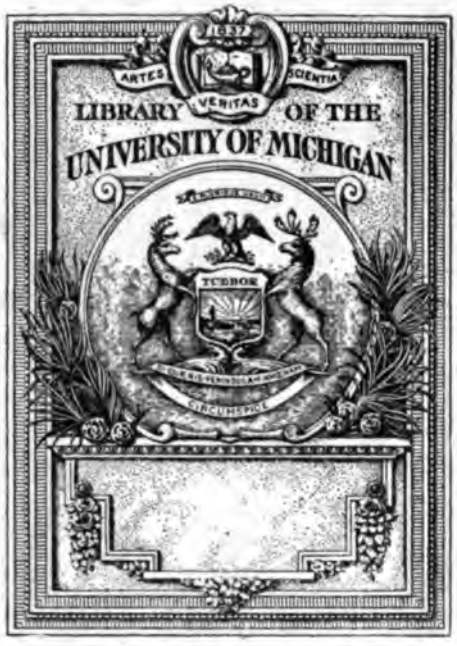
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THE

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## I.

## ON THE PROMETHEUS BOUND OF ÆSCHYLUS.

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1. Die Æschyleische Trilogie Prometheus: von F. G. Welcker. Darmstadt, 1824.
2. Nachtrag zur Trilogie: von F. G. Welcker. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1826.
3. De Æschyli Prometheo Soluto Dissertatio: scripsit God. Hermann; edita 1828, (Opusc. iv. 253.)
4. Commentatio de Æschyli Prometheo: auctore Dr. B. Toepelmann. Lips. 1829.
5. Theologoumena Æschyli Tragici: exhibuit R. H. Klausen. Berol. 1829.
6. De Æschyli Ternione Prometheo: auctore C. F. Bellmann. Uratislav. 1839.
7. Prometheus und sein Mythenkreis: dargestellt von B. G. Weiske. Leipzig, 1842.
8. Prometheus: die Sage und ihr Sinnein Beitrag zur Religionsphilosophie: von G. von Lasaulx. Würzburg, 1842.
9. Des Æschylus Gefesselter Prometheus: von G. F. Schoemann. Greifswald, 1844.
10. Correspondence between Dr. Julius Cæsar and Professor Schoemann on the Prometheus, in the *Zeitsch-*

*rift für die Alterthums-Wissenschaft*, 4ter Jahrgang. October 1846. Cassel.

11. THE PROMETHEUS OF ÆSCHYLUS, translated into English Verse by, (1.) Captain Medwyn. London, 1832.—(2.) Miss Barrett. London, 1833.—(3.) Chapman in *Blackwood's Magazine*. 1836.—(4.) Swayne. Oxford, 1846. —(5.) Prowett. Cambridge, 1846.*

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"*Omnis scriptura sacra*," says Thomas à Kempis, or whoever he be that bears that name—*Omnis scriptura sacra, eo spiritu debet legi quo scripta est*—a most admirable rule of interpretation, not for the Bible only, but for all books, and a rule to the neglect of which may well be ascribed the creation of full nine-tenths of the folios of inane criticism and impertinent commentary, under which the biblical and philological shelves of the libraries groan; but, like all very wise general maxims, this hermeneutical principle of the good Thomas, even when once thoroughly acknowledged and adopted, leaves a more wide region of doubt and difficulty behind, viz. in its own application. It is a great point gained, no doubt, in the interpretation of ancient writings, when we can get men to commence formally with an act of self-exenteration, to put themselves in the attitude of receiving instead of giving, not of mastering but of being mastered. In theology, warped as our judgment so often is by preconceived notions, how few attain to even this preliminary step! but, after all, the real difficulty, in many cases, is in what

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* N.B.—It is not intended in the following remarks to make a formal review of the above works; but they are placed here merely to indicate that the writer of the present article has read them all, has reaped the benefit of their researches, and has had them in view in the expression and arrangement of his own opinions. It has at the same time been his desire to make the present paper, without being cumbrous, one of as extensive reference as possible to the results of learned speculation on the subject. The works named contain as various a range of conflicting views, as is necessary for exhausting everything of importance that can be said on the cardinal point; nevertheless the writer regrets extremely that it has not been in his power to add to the above list, a review of Schoemann's work in the *Wiener Jahrbücher* for 1845, vol. 109, called "able" by Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 104. The most recent opinions of Hermann also he has not seen; but Schoemann, in the Correspondence, No. 10, above, says that he has adopted the views of Cæsar, the merits of which will be discussed below.

spirit was this or that book originally written, this or that march of imagery originally projected? Sometimes the drift of an author may be plain enough, and then self-exenteration, coupled with the necessary capacity of sympathy, will do the perfect work of hermeneutics; but in those cases, not unfrequent in the higher literature of all nations, where such a wild thing as a poet's fancy has wedded itself to such a loose thing as a popular mythology; then, to discern clearly by what spirit the phantasmal progeny of such conjunction is inhabited, requires sometimes no vulgar divination. In investigations of this description, a curious accuracy and a philosophical profundity will often lead us as far out of the true path as a loose and rambling superficiality; and if it should happen also that the artistical creation which we would comprehend, exists no longer in its perfect shape, but only as a trunk with head and legs cut off, a yet more perplexing element of confusion and dubiety is introduced; for it is seldom or never the case with imaginative works, as with the fossil organizations which belong to the science of geology, that the glance of a Cuvier can reconstruct the harmony of a whole from the wrecks of a part. A combination of all these elements tending to trouble the æsthetical vision, and to perplex the judgment, is presented in the PROMETHEUS BOUND of Æschylus; and the consequence has been, that in few fields of philological criticism—always excepting the great Homeric and Roman questions started by Wolf and Niebuhr—has the recent literature of luxuriant Germany been more prolific. England also, as became a country in which classical literature is a sort of national watchword, has not been altogether silent; but our direct and practical character has on this, as on so many other occasions, shewn itself averse to enter that region of moral and religious speculation to which the profounder intelligence of the Prometheus belongs. We accordingly have more to shew in the way of translation than of speculation; and if we will boast of our imaginative sympathy with the Æschylean Prometheus—for we speak not here of mere verbal criticism—were wise to turn from the ranks of the philologists to the poets, proud to compensate ourselves for the lack of the cumbrous erudition of a Bellmann, the acuteness of a Weiske, and the ingenuity of a Welcker, with the possession of a genius at once so purely Hellenic, and so grandly Æschylean, as Percy Bysshe Shelley.

It is indeed not the least remarkable feature of the Promethean legend, that while it received a more than common prominence in antiquity, from being adopted at different and most diverse periods by the genius of a Hesiod, an Æschylus, and a Plato—not to mention the popular persiflage of a Lucian in later times—it has, in the age which has just gone by, been transferred into the popular currency of modern literature by four men so high above the vulgar mark, as Goethe and Herder in Germany, and among our own countrymen, Byron and Shelley. This contemporary appropriation of an exotic theme by men in many respects far from similar, deserves the attention of the philosophical critic, as a most important testimony to the deep human interest and moral significancy of the mythe; and while it brings the subject out of the narrow circle of antiquarian disquisition into the wide range of living European opinion, excites further the curious and interesting inquiry, how far the general impression of the Æschylean drama made on the mind of the greatest European poets, has been identical with, or different from that which, there may be good reason to believe, it must have made on an Athenian audience. Such a question is one of the most interesting that possibly can be raised in the criticism of the classics; and we shall not, therefore, crave the pardon of the more learned reader, if we introduce the more strictly philological part of the present enquiry, by a distinct statement of the place which the Prometheus holds in the general sympathy of European readers, by virtue of the genius of the great poets just mentioned. We shall thus propose for ourselves a distinct critical problem to be solved,—how far the popular impression of the Promethean legend is, or is not, consistent with the spirit in which it was originally conceived.

None of the readers of the *Classical Museum*, we may well presume, will require from us in this place, a detailed narrative of the plot of the Prometheus, as it is presented in the play of Æschylus. The action is at once so simple in itself, and so familiar to every cultivated imagination, that to set it forth in curious detail, would seem but a pedantic attempt to fritter away the impression of a gigantic whole, that stands like a permanent background in the picture gallery of the mind. The "high-counselled son of Iapetus and Themis" chained to a rock in wintry Scythia, for a crime that appears no crime,—

the stealing of fire from heaven, and teaching the use of it to mortal men, contrary to the will of Jove; the calm defiance which he breathes against his Olympian adversary, and the spirit of firm self-sustainment by which, through ages of unmitigated torture, he is supported; the wide untrodden waste of solitude around him, interrupted only by the sympathetic utterances of the Ocean maids, and the friendly but fruitless expostulations of father Ocean himself; then, like a darker shade upon the grand picture, (remaining stationary and unchanged through the piece,) the shrieking lamentations of the "many-wandering" Io, the "horned maid," the persecuted daughter of Inachus, the innocent victim of the love of Jove, and the jealousy of Here; and lastly, the messenger sent direct from the Olympian himself to besiege the constancy of the rebellious Titan with threats of thunder and precipitation into Tartarus; with the actual execution of which threats the piece ends:—all this stands in grand and vivid outline so familiarly before the imagination of the scholar, that a more particular statement for the general argument may well be spared, while particular passages will more conveniently be brought forward under the different heads of the discussion to which they belong.—We proceed, therefore, without preface, to enquire what is the general impression which the Æschylean play has made upon those who, *primâ facie*, are the fittest representatives of the moral effect produced by it on cultivated minds in modern times; we mean Herder and Goethe, Byron and Shelley, in the first place; and second to them, the English translators, who, not being scholars by profession, have accompanied their versions by remarks on the æsthetical and moral character of the piece; to whom we shall add Schlegel, as representing the modern dramatic critics. We shall then bring the opinions of these parties—not the less valuable in some views because they represent in this question the laity, and not the clergy of scholarship—into contact and collision with the results of the most recent learned investigation on the subject; and out of these conflicting elements, endeavour to enquire what harmonious reconciliation of apparently incompatible views may be producible.

First, therefore, let us hear Byron, the poet who of all others in modern times has produced and reproduced a type of character in his works, that in its tones of lonely grandeur, high defiance, and self-sustained isolation, bears a strong resemblance

to the Prometheus of Æschylus.[1] Byron's conception of the character of the Titan, is the more interesting that we have his own assurance for the fact, of the deep impression which the Æschylean drama, at an early period, made on his mind.

> "Thy godlike crime was to be kind,
> To render with thy precepts less
> The sum of human wretchedness,
> And strengthen man with his own mind;
> But baffled as thou wert from high,
> Still in thy patient energy,
> In the endurance and repulse
> Of thine impenetrable spirit,
> Which earth and heaven could not convulse,
> A mighty lesson we inherit:
> Thou art a symbol and a sign
> To mortals of their fate and force;
> Like thee, man is in part divine,
> A troubled stream from a pure source;
> And man in portions can foresee
> His own funereal destiny;
> His wretchedness and his resistance,
> And his sad unallied existence:
> To which his spirit may oppose
> Itself—an equal to all woes,
> And a firm will and a deep sense,
> Which even in torture can descry
> Its own concenter'd recompense,
> Triumphant where it dares defy,
> And making death a victory."

The author of *Manfred* therefore saw in Prometheus a type of human nature, and that in its noblest aspect—activity hallowed by love, and suffering consecrated by endurance. Prometheus is the martyr of humanity, the champion of intellectual freedom against all brutish, unreasoning powers; "faith which worketh by love," to adopt an apostolic phrase, oppressed beneath the temporary ascendancy of evil, but not prostrate. In

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[1] MANFRED, as Lord Jeffrey well remarked, is, in "tone and pitch," a true modern Prometheus. This essential kinship Byron himself at once avowed, while the connection of the same poem with Goethe's *Faust* belongs to the form of the first scenes merely, scarcely more.—See Byron's own notes to *Manfred*.

this view Prometheus is an ideal of moral perfection, as his adversary is an incarnation of malignity.

> "——The inexorable Heaven
> And the deaf tyranny of Fate,
> The ruling principle of HATE,
> Which for its pleasure doth create
> The things it may annihilate."

To the same purpose Shelley—

> "To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite,
> To forgive wrongs darker than death or night,
> To defy power which seems omnipotent,
> To love and bear; to hope till Hope creates
> From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
> Neither to change, nor flatter, nor repent:
> This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
> Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free.
> This is alone life, joy, empire and victory."

Substantially identical with these views, though different in a not unimportant point which we shall notice anon, is the idea of Herder, who, in the Preface to his *Prometheus Unbound*,[3] finds the most noble, and perhaps the most natural, sense of the mythe to be "the progress of the human race in every sort of culture; the continued striving of the Divine Spirit in man for the awakening of all his powers." Akin in the main tendency, though singularly modified by the peculiar mental constitution of the writer, is the representation of Goethe, who, out of the rich fulness of moral excellence, embodied by Byron and Shelley, in the character of Prometheus, has selected the one element of artistic activity, and made it the subject of a lyrical composition, as classically chaste in the execution as it is sublime and original in the conception. The whole poem, though very far removed from the Æschylean conception of Prometheus, agrees with it strikingly in one point, an attitude of defiance towards the Olympian powers, and a tone of irreverence, real or apparent, which escapes many a modern reader in the Greek drama, only because he lives habitually in the conviction that Jove is "nothing in the world," a mere idol, perhaps a devil,

> "And devils to adore for deities,"

[3] *Dramatische Stücke und Dichtungen. Aesthetische Werke*, vol. VI. Edit. 1806.

towards whom reverence were a greater moral perversion of sentiment than contempt.

"Deem'st thou that I should hate my life,
And into deserts flee,
Because I could not see
All blossoms of my dreamings rife?
Here sit I, and with life inspire
A race that shall be like their sire;
Who shall know beneath the skies
To suffer and to weep,
To enjoy and to rejoice,
And thee and thine even so despise
As I do!"[3]

The reader will observe, what is a point of main importance to start with, that all these representations agree in exhibiting Prometheus, as a heroic character of the highest order, a martyr, and a champion worthy of our most unqualified love and admiration. Nor are we allowed to forget, in these modern reproductions of the pregnant old mythe, the quality so essential to the conception of Prometheus, that while he is the spokesman and representative of men, he is in his own nature no man, but a god, at least a demigod; a being with all the gigantic, intellectual, and moral proportions, but without the moral perversity of Milton's Satan. This similitude and contrast has been vividly perceived, and felicitously expressed by Miss Barrett in the following passage:—

"——But Prometheus stands eminent and alone; one of the most original and grand and attaching characters ever conceived by the mind of man. That conception sank deep into the soul of Milton, and, as has been observed, rose from thence in the likeness of his Satan. But the Satan of Milton and the Prometheus of Æschylus stand upon ground as unequal as do the sublime of sin and the sublime of virtue. Satan suffered from his ambition; Prometheus from his humanity: Satan for himself; Prometheus for mankind: Satan dared peril which he had not weighed; Prometheus devoted himself to sorrows which he had foreknown. "Better to rule in hell," said Satan; "better to serve this rock," said Prometheus. But in his hell Satan yearned to

[3] Goethe, in this passage, has adopted that comparatively modern exaggeration of the mythe, which represents its hero as the creator of man. Hesiod knows nothing of this, and Æschylus as little. See the masterly historical development in *Weiske*.

associate man, while Prometheus preferred a solitary agony; nay, he even permitted his zeal and tenderness for the peace of others, to abstract him from that agony's intenseness."

After this strongly put antithesis, we shall not be surprised if other students of the Prometheus have ventured upon a comparison that to some may appear bold, and even profane; they have instituted a comparison between the tortures of Caucasus and the agonies of Calvary, and have not hesitated to employ language in reference to the mythical demigod of Greek fiction, similar to that which Christians are every day in the habit of using with regard to the historical founder of their faith. This comparison, we have said, may appear unwarrantable and even profane to some; but it is only an appearance. Nothing indeed could be more obvious than the parallel: and the simplest way to dispel all suspicion of irreverence in the writers, is to read what they have written.—Toepelmann, for one, in his excellent little tract, has the following observations, (p. 69, 70–1):—

"Nemo tam obtuso est ingenio quin animadvertat ad quantam Promethei Aeschylei argumentum aliorum populorum revelationis divinae accedat similitudinem. Dico autem doctrinam quae Dei filium in terram descendisse, homines a malis liberaturum, et meliora de rebus divinis docturum exponit. Ac certe si Christiani σωτῆροs vitam et facta cum Prometheo comparemus, primum in eo conveniunt quod eorum quisque erudiendo generi humano operam navabat, Christus autem spiritualem, Prometheus temporalem hominum mortem prohibebat:

—— ἐξερυσάμην βροτοὺs
τοῦ μὴ διαῤῥαισθέντας εἰς Ἅδου μολεῖν.—v. 244–5.

tum vero cuique eorum propter beneficia quibus genus humanum cumulaverat cruciatus erant subeundi. Praeterea autem, quod per interest multum Christi perfectionem inter, et Promethei non perfectam naturam, hoc etiam magnum inter eos discrimen esse apparet, quod ille a Deo patre ad opus in terrâ patrandum legatus sit consentiente eodem perfecit, Prometheus, invito deorum patre et irato, generi humano multis modis benefecit, ejusque jussu poenâ est affectus. In quo discrimine si internam rei Christianae praestantiam in comparationem non vocamus, sed solum spectamus utriusque et voluntatem et audaciam, non possumus Graeci quam de generis humani sospitatore sibi conformaverant sententiam Christianâ quanquam minus sanctam piamque, tamen audaciorem esse non judicare. Nam quod Prometheo

propter τὸν φιλάνθρωπον τρόπον, et διὰ τὴν λίαν φιλότητα βρότων a Jove timenda erant, ea non erant Christo, cui cruciatus illi in caelis reduci a patre amantissimo resarciebantur. ILLE DEOS LAESIT, UT HOMINES BEARET; HIC HOMINES BEAVIT, UT SUAE DEIQUE PATRIS OBSECUNDARET VOLUNTATI."

To the same purpose, though in a different connection, a recent English translator:—"Prometheus himself is the personification of Divine love, willing, for the sake of man, to suffer to the utmost what divine justice could inflict or require."[4] In the same direction, though not so far and so decidedly, do the well-known observations of A. W. Schlegel point; from which, as translated by Black, and adopted by Captain Medwyn, we extract the following:—

"The chained Prometheus is the representation of constancy under suffering, and that the never-ending suffering of a God. Though the scene exhibits the principal person exiled to a naked rock on the shore of the encircling ocean, this drama still embraces the world, the Olympus of the gods, and the earth of mortals; all scarcely yet reposing in a secure state above the dread abyss of the dark Titanian powers. This idea of a self-devoting divinity has been mysteriously inculcated in many religions, as a confused foreboding of the true. Here, however, it appears in a most alarming contrast with the consolations of revelation. For Prometheus does not suffer in an understanding with the powers by whom the world is governed, but he atones for his disobedience, and that disobedience consists in nothing but the attempt to give perfection to the human race. He is thus an image of human nature itself, endowed with a miserable foresight, and bound down to a narrow existence without an ally, and with nothing to oppose to the combined and inexorable powers of nature but an unshaken will, and the consciousness of elevated claims."

But the most remarkable, and in every way the most interesting, parallel drawn between the mythical tortures of Caucasus and the real agonies of Calvary, is that drawn by our countryman Shelley, who, in his supra-mundane poem of the "Prometheus Unbound," introduces a chorus of Furies, endeavouring to terrify the dauntless Titan into submission, by conjuring up the phantasmal representation of the good and the great in all ages who had suffered for the advancement of humanity, but,

[4] Swayne's Introduction, p. 12.

according to the interpretation of the chorus, had suffered, and could not but have suffered, in vain. How striking are the following lines, in which Christ appears as a preacher of righteousness, but of a righteousness so super-excellent, that in the hands of abusive mortality, the antidote is changed into a poison!—"Like a jewel of gold in a swine's snout," so is a good thing in the hands of a bad user.

> "One came forth of gentle worth,
> Smiling on the sanguine Earth:
> His words outlived him, like swift poison
> Withering up truth, peace, and pity.
> Look where round the wide horizon
> Many a million-peopled city
> Vomits smoke in the bright air.
> Mark that outcry of despair!
> 'Tis his mild and gentle ghost
> Wailing for the faith he kindled."

And again—

FURY.

> "Behold an emblem: those who do endure
> Deep wrongs for man, and scorn and chains, but heap
> Thousandfold torment on themselves and him.

PROMETHEUS.

> Remit the anguish of that lighted stare;
> Close those wan lips; let that thorn-wounded brow
> Stream not with blood; it mingles with thy tears!
> Fix, fix those tortured orbs in peace and death,
> So thy sick throes shade not that crucifix,
> So those pale fingers play not with thy gore.
> O horrible! thy name I will not speak;
> It hath become a curse. I see, I see
> The wise, the mild, the lofty, and the just,
> Whom thy slaves hate for being like to thee,
> Hunted by foulest lies from their heart's home," &c. &c.

But of this enough: we have now seen as the first grand element in the interpretation of the Æschylean drama, what general impression it has made on the intellects of the present age, who, being touched with a living poetical sympathy, were the most likely to be free from those perverse subtilties and unsound refinements which are so often wont to perplex the judgment of the learned. But the poets also, and the poetical

translators, have their peculiar professional fallacies, "their idols of the tribe," as Bacon phrases it. What love and sympathy with a grand idea can understand and appreciate, they will appreciate; but they are a wayward and a wanton and a licentious race; and oftentimes are themselves the father of the child, which they seem but to adopt; the brand which they flourish is taken piously from the altar of the god, but the fire with which it is kindled is not seldom their own. One must therefore look, not suspiciously indeed, but narrowly, into their handling of ancient mythes; ready to find in the general case a true reflection of foreign imagery, but not surprised if here and there we are deceived by a home-grown delusion. To guard ourselves, therefore, against their one-sidedness, in the present enquiry we shall now make a similar review of the opinions of the learned; and in doing so, we shall do ourselves the pleasure to recall and to present prominently, as one of the last legacies of the scholarship of the past century to the present, the opinion of Schütz: not because we think that opinion of any value as a result, but because it connects itself most naturally with the views already given, and will serve as a most useful stimulant to thought in the contrast which it presents to some more recent views which we shall have immediate occasion to bring under review.

"Cum primum poëta animum ad scribendam hanc tragoediam appulit, id potisssimum egisse nobis videtur, ut Atheniensibus acerrimum tyrannidis odium inspiraret, verumque libertatis, qua tum maxime fruebantur, amorem tanti mali metu in eorum animis excitaret confirmaretque. Quo consilio Jovem deorum novum regem seu tyrannum impotentem finxit, omnia pro arbitrio agentem, jura sibi data negantem, omnia suae majestati arrogantem, inexorabilem, asperum, et in amicos quoque bene de se meritos, propterea quod suspectos omnes habeat, ingratum atque crudelem.

"In Prometheo vero spectatoribus utilissimum hominis vere popularis exemplar proposuit, quem, ut ait Horatius, nec vultus instantis tyranni, nec civium ardor prava jubentium mente solida quatiat; qui propter generis humani caritatem praepotentis tyranni odium suscipere nullus dubitaverit, susceptum autem excelsa animi magnitudine ac robore sustineat. Itaque illius humanitas cum Jovis crudelitate, illius cupiditas cum hujus bene de omnibus merendi studio, illius effrenata ferocia cum hujus moderatione et fortitudine praeclare comparatur.

"Jupiter universum hominum genus extinguere voluit: Prometheus omnium mortalium vitae ac felicitatis auctor, parens, deus exstitit.

Prometheus Jovis ad regnum obtinendum adjutor fuerat; Jupiter Prometheum, immemor beneficii, nec ullam ob causam, nisi quod eum ob nimiam humani generis caritatem suspectum haberet, indignis modis vexat, acerbissimisque poenis affligit. Jupiter in summo dignitatis et imperii fastigio constitutus omnia libertatis jura diis eripuerat, aequitatem ac justitiam negligebat, sanctissimas antiquissimasque leges pedibus conculcabat; Prometheus ne summa quidem miseria sic induratur, ut ingenitum humanitatis sensum ex animo amittat; non irascitur hominibus, quorum propter amorem tanta se calamitate oppressum videt, non exuit pristinam miseris succurrendi voluntatem; et quamquam se immensis malorum fluctibus mersum videt, idem tamen se quam plurimos malorum socios optare candide negat. Jovem ne summa quidem potentia a timore liberat, id quod haud obscuro indicio prodit, cum vaticinio Promethei perterritus Mercurium ad eum ablegat, omnibusque minis ac terroribus, pertinacissimum quo ille nuptias Jovi periculosas premebat, silentium vincere atque expugnare cupit; Prometheum vero, quamvis omnibus artubus deligatum et constrictum, non Chori sollicitudo benevolentiae plena, non Oceani, mitiora remedia suadentis, amica consilia, non Iûs miseris furoribus vagisque cursibus unius Jovis ob noxam agitatae horrores, non saevae Mercurii comminationes, non denique aëris marisque tumultus, non coeli terraeque ruinae molliunt ac frangunt. Ecce justum illum ac tenacem propositi virum! Ecce virum fortem cum mala fortuna compositum!"

This view of Schütz, which substantially agrees with that of Byron and Shelley, may stand also for the opinion of a great living Hellenist, whose leading sympathies seem rather to go with the philologists of the last century than with those of the present;—we mean Hermann. This writer, in his dissertation on the Prometheus Unbound,[5] while he has expended his strength on many debated polemical points of lesser moment, has, with regard to the main idea of the drama, contented himself with repeating Schütz's view in the single sentence, that the ancient tragic poet wished to please and to instruct, "*non per enigmata abstrusae cujusdam sapientiae, sed per viva constantiae, fortitudinis, animi magnitudinis exempla.*" Thus far, therefore, the academical men, and the imaginative men, seem to be at one; only, as is fitting, the former give themselves a less various scope, and confine themselves within a more narrow range. They take the individual instance as it is presented in the individual play, and content themselves with admiring the

[5] *Opusc.* IV. 253.

heroic representation of virtuous fortitude; the comprehensive glance of the poet sees in the fate of the individual, the type of the whole, in the torture of the son of Iapetus, the destiny of the sons of Adam. Unquestionably the prominence given by Æschylus to the merits of his hero, as the inventor of the useful arts, (v. 436—506) must force us to admit the general idea of human progress, as no less essential than that of fortitude to the Æschylean conception of the mythe; and it is with pleasure, therefore, that we find in Bellmann, a man of learning and speculation,[6] who launches largely out with all the cumbrous equipments of German erudition, into the wide region over which the winged Muse of Shelley delighted to wander; and in the strivings and sufferings of the mythic Titan sees clearly adumbrated "the *historia generis humani qualis omni tempore obtineret*," (p. 59.) The men of learning, therefore, with Bellmann to supply the deficiencies of Schütz and Hermann, so far as we hitherto see, give their cordial support to the view of the Promethean legend generated in the greatest poetical minds of modern times. All agree in conceiving the Æschylean Prometheus as an ideal, either of moral perfection and human progress generally, "*summa quam mente animoque complectaris perfectio*," (*Bellmann*, p. 44.) or of the special virtues of disinterested generosity and manly fortitude. And there can be little doubt, further, that this view of the matter is not the opinion of Hermann's party in Germany only, or of the Byronic school of poetry in England; it is in a most wide and comprehensive sense the general opinion. Ninety-nine hundreds of all the thousands of European youths who have read the Prometheus, in school or college, since the days of Erasmus and Melanchthon until now, never formed any other opinion. There is therefore a presumption established in its favour, to which, if we are not strangely pledged to our own conceits, we are bound to pay no idle respect. If we dissent from such a weight of old established authority and precedent, we are bound, in lawyer's phrase, to shew strong cause; we must come, like Niebuhr, with a club in our hand that will become stronger the more blows it deals. —Let us proceed, therefore, to enquire what the grounds are of

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[6] We concur, however, heartily with Schoemann's pithy characteristic of the 313 pages *de ternione—ein schwer lesbares Buch*."—The author is one of those writers who would have been much more intelligible in his mother tongue.

the new views, which have within the present century, and mostly within the last few years, (specially by Welcker, Klausen, Lasaulx, and Schoemann,[7]) been propounded on this subject.

In commencing this enquiry, the first question is—what gave occasion to these views?—was it the mere restless spirit of German speculation, ever eager for a new cobweb?—or did they spring from the natural and legitimate source of new speculation—from any felt insufficiency in the received theory—from any secret, but not the less formidable, difficulty which the current hypothesis left unexplained? If this question be fairly asked, fairness will also answer, that the new theories, whether true or false, were any thing but uncalled for. There is, in fact, a great stumbling-block and offence in the received explanation, which has been felt not oftener, only because those who are inclined or forced to feel it are, from the nature of the case, necessarily few. So long as a man looks at a noble range of mountains merely as a prospect, the most barren rocks may be the most beautiful; but when he walks up to them, and sits down to dwell among them, other considerations force themselves very seriously on his attention. An Englishman reads the *Prometheus Bound* as a play, and is delighted, carried away, and possessed by the idea of self-sustaining virtue that seems incarnated in the principal character; it never enters his mind to enquire how an Athenian, beholding this sacred opera, (for such the Greek tragedy was,) represented at the feast of Dionysus as an act of religious worship, was religiously moved by the exhibition. If, according to the view of all the authors hitherto quoted, Prometheus appears as the most oppressed of martyrs, and Zeus as the most unjust of tyrants, the question arises, how an Athenian audience, an audience proverbially remarkable for δεισιδαιμονία, (*Act. Apost.* XVII. 22.), at a solemn religious festival on the public stage, could tolerate such a representation? This is a grave difficulty certainly; and it is a difficulty which the received theory of the Prometheus either altogether overlooks, or in a way not very satisfactory endeavours to obviate. The majority of general readers, little concerned to maintain the honour of Jove, have, in all probability, never proposed to

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[7] *Weiske's* closely reasoned and thorough work was unfortunately interrupted by the death of the writer, just when it had arrived at the point from which Æschylus started. We have read it, however, with much profit.

themselves the question. A certain school of theologians also may have been well satisfied to have it believed, that the refined audience of the most highly cultivated city of the ancient world, could be content to sit quietly on the seats of the public theatre, and hear their supreme deity, "the king of gods and men," openly blasphemed. This view of the matter, if it be the real one, were certainly a rare illustration for those partial declaimers who know no more cunning way of exhibiting the brightness of Christianity, than by smearing the face of heathenism indiscriminately over with pitch; but the philologists by profession were bound, as a matter of duty, not only not to overlook this formidable difficulty, but to do something, if it might be done fairly, to redeem Greece from the monstrous reproach of a theology altogether without moral distinctions, and a religion altogether without reverence. It is this very natural, and we may say necessary feeling on the part of the philologists, that has given rise to much of the recent discussion on the subject; a discussion, the reader will observe, of the most vital importance, not only to the classical scholar, but to the theologian and the philosopher; and which at once transfers the Promethean mythe from the vague floating limbo of poetical fancy into the earnest central point, a point to be found only in a man's own heart, of religious philosophy. Not without a very significant propriety, therefore, has Professor Lasaulx entitled his recent tract on this subject, "a contribution to the philosophy of religion;" and, though we may not pledge ourselves to all his views, we cannot but think there is a great general truth—and a truth specially applicable to the Prometheus—contained in the following observations with which he ushers in his treatise:—

"The mythology of the heathen nations of antiquity, stands before us as a mysterious dream-like depicturement of ante-historical humanity, a dreamy prophecy, of which the true significance was given only, when the destined ages were completed, in the person of him who was more than all prophets, in Christ,—of him whose victorious voice broke the charm of the old serpent, and, redeeming the hitherto unblest race of mortal men from the slavery of sin and of the law, brought them into the perfect freedom of the children of God. The beginning, and the first-born of every creature, the image of the invisible God, the pattern at once of us and of the world, did, in his character of the first-born Son of the God of all gods, embrace in himself all gods that afterwards appeared.

"Considered in this light, profane history, no less than the history of the Hebrews, appears as invested with a typical character foreshadowing Christianity; and from the history of the religions of antiquity there may be restored and reconstructed a second apocryphal Old Testament, which, along with that canonical one which we already have, finds its progression and its fulfilment in the New Testament. To show how in the collective world, before Christ actually appeared, the germ of his coming was contained—how it was clearly prophesied in Judaism, and in Heathenism everywhere divined and anticipated; how the desired of all nations was revealed, under different forms, both among the heathens and among the Jews: to set forth this in detail, is the problem of a Christian philosophy of religion, to which the present remarks on the Prometheus are to be regarded as a contribution."

No doubt this view, which sees in heathenism a sort of imperfectly foreshadowed and dimly anticipated Christianity, is capable of very great abuse in its application, and must be received as true only to some extent, and in some cases; but in so far as it asserts the essential religious unity of human nature in all ages, though it be a unity that manifests itself by gradations, the philosophic mind will readily acknowledge it as a most pregnant and most significant truth. Such a mind certainly will not rashly exclude the common religious sentiment from the heart of a whole people, any more than it will expect to find an identity of religious insight in nations the most diverse in capacity and in situation. It will be disposed to handle a religious question among heathen Greeks and Romans no less than among Christians, seriously as a religious question; and it will not be inclined gratuitously to suppose that a nation, in every other respect the most highly developed, should in religion only present a confusion of the most abnormal aberrations, and a farrago of the most portentous monstrosities. So far, and so far only, do we request the English reader to receive with favour the views of those German writers, such as Lasaulx and Schoemann, who have prominently brought forward the religious and the peculiarly Christian element in the Prometheus, in a way, as we shall see, quite opposed to that glorification of man, as it should almost seem, at the expense of Jove, which we have found in Shelley[8] and Bellmann. For, to enter upon

[8] This observation applies strictly to Jove as the god of Æschylus and of Greece. As for Shelley personally, he has, in his Prometheus, (Act II. Sc. 4.)

the wild domain of mythology, even in cultivated Greece so full of moral crudities of all sorts, with a systematic predetermination to make the "wisdom of the ancients" appear to have been in all cases as great as possible, were an extreme equally remote from the chance of truth, with the negative and unfruitful principle to which it is opposed; and in this regard the caution of Hermann, against seeking in every old legend "*enigmata abstrusae cujusdam sapientiae*," is most necessary; though certainly with regard to this particular matter of the Promethean mythe, the darkest enigmas of the most abstruse wisdom are not more worthless in the way of elucidation than the flat prosaic explanation—after the manner of Euhemerus—which Hermann himself, in his dissertation "on the most ancient mythology of the Greeks," (*Opusc.* II. 186,) has enunciated. But to proceed:—

Schütz, who, in common with Byron and Shelley, represents the supreme god of the Greeks as a cruel and unprincipled tyrant, was not, as a philologist, altogether blind to the grand religious difficulty which we have stated; but in attempting to cut gallantly, it appears to us that he only grazes lightly by the Gordian knot, and allows himself to be deceived by an unsubstantial glamour. His words are these:—

"Quod vero Æschylus sub Jovis nomine, quem deorum hominumque regem venerabatur populus, tyrannorum injustitiam et crudelitatem castigavit, id sane, si res ad veram aetatis nostrae de Dei numine philosophandi rationem exigenda esset, impium et sceleratum, populique moribus perniciosum fuisset; cum autem istis de Jove opinionibus tota Graecorum natio dudum imbuta esset, non magis in poëta nostro quam in Homero reprehendi debet, eum humana potius ad Deos, quam quae vere divina essent, ad homines transtulisse."

And to the same effect Hermann, (*Opusc.* IV. 256,) "neque utile quærere (et quæsivere quidam) quomodo in Jovis persona crudelissimi tyranni exemplum proponere potuerit poëta. Ne-

nobly shaken himself free from that strange atheism, which is enunciated in Queen Mab. This great poet, indeed, is in no wise chargeable with the consequences that flow from the assumption, that Æschylus meant to represent Prometheus as a moral ideal. In his Preface he distinctly states, that in his poem he delineates Prometheus, as he would wish to see him delineated, not exactly as Æschylus, following the prescribed course of the mythologic legend, would have worked out the catastrophe. The whole passage will be given in a more appropriate place below.

que habuerunt ista apud Græcos offensionem, nec potuerunt habere, ut in religionibus quæ totæ ex hujuscemodi fabulis essent compositæ." We are not to express surprise, says Hermann, at the glaring impiety and irreverential audacity of the Prometheus, "*because the whole Greek religion is full of such things.*" Now there is a great general truth in these words, but which, when narrowly examined, will be found insufficient to explain the phænomena of the present case. It is quite true, that in many of the theological legends of the Greeks no ideas of a character entitled to the name of moral, are discoverable. Every school-boy feels this. As little is it to be denied, that in many familiar instances with which the pages of Homer teem, the relation between man and God, seems to have appeared to the most ancient Greek mind, rather as a relation of contrariety and opposition, than one of submission and subjection, much less of love. The gods, according to the rude and popular conception, seem more ready to fear the greatness of man, than to approve his virtue. Their justice shews rather like jealousy; and their wrath has the inspiration of revenge. Crude ideas of this kind are common to the theological conditions of all barbarous or semi-civilized peoples. In the *Iliad* a Diomede encounters Mars in the fight; the mortal routs the immortal; and it is nothing strange. Why then should we allow our fastidious moral sense, trained as it has been and cultivated by the Christianity of 2000 years, to take hasty offence at the quarrel between the son of Iapetus and the son of Kronos, and the freedom of speech which the bold-mouthed poet allows the former? Such is the argument of Hermann and Schütz, stated as strongly as we can put it. Still we say it throws only a pleasant mist about the subject, and does not approach the difficulty. For, in the first place, it does not follow, according to the Homeric theology, that because a mortal like Diomede, *with the assistance* of one god—Pallas Athene—may get the better of another, therefore a mortal, or an inferior god, like Prometheus, may ride triumphantly over the supremacy of "Ζεὺς ὕψιστος, μέγιστος;" much less does it follow that a *modern* poet like Æschylus—for such he was to the Greeks who witnessed his plays—may seize upon any old religious legend which seems to place the supreme god of the country in an odious light, dress up and systematically exaggerate its odiousness, and upon the open stage of a religious metropolis, hold up the ob-

ject of general worship to public hatred and contempt. There is manifestly a great and most unallowable jump in this logic. It is one thing to say that a popular mythology contains many unworthy and immoral stories of the gods; another and altogether a different thing to maintain, that a dramatist in a religious country shall, without offence, exhibit a native religious tradition in such a shape and manner, that its whole theme shall be rebellion, its drift impiety, its spirit the spirit of scoffing, and its eloquence the breath of blasphemy. A public exhibition of this kind is, in our opinion, as man is constituted, morally impossible; not even the Bushmen, almost or altogether atheists, of South Africa, of whom Moffat tells,[9] could achieve such a portent. With regard to Greece, making full allowance for the crudities of its early theology, the considerate student will have no difficulty in adopting the language of Toepelmann, (p. 57.) "*Non licebat poëtis tragicis deos religionis vulgaris, nedum majorum gentium, malos pravosque exhibere et depingere, ut licitum erat comoediae eos ludibrio laedere.*" The distinction here made between tragedy and comedy, has been overlooked by some; but those who know human nature in all its moods, and who have watched it specially in some of its religious phases in Italy and Spain, will not be slow to acknowledge its important bearing on the present question. The manner in which Plautus handles Jupiter in the Amphitryo, can supply no rule whereby to gauge the relation of Æschylus to Zeus in the Prometheus. The case, therefore, as Schütz and Hermann and Bellmann and also Welcker[10] put it, is hopeless. Æschylus did not, and could not, in a free country, represent

[9] *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, c. 16, 17.

[10] "The Zeus of this tragedy, and with him the main part of the mythical substratum, is taken from the theogony; but he has changed his character. For whatever ideas the theogony may include under the type of different celestial dynasties, one thing is certain, that it excludes all idea of moral estimate and sequence. Æschylus is not slow to perceive his advantage, and uses the materials provided for him by the old poet, for the filling up of a far more comprehensive plan. He brings studiously into the foreground every circumstance, purely human, that was interwoven with the theologic legend, for the purpose of connecting one symbol with another; every thing that can be found in it tending to place Jove in a disadvantageous light. The supreme god, accordingly, appears in this drama, not as more godlike, only as more powerful than Prometheus, only as the recently elevated despot to the unbending freeman; the hero that, like an Achilles among the gods, breathes a spirit of haughty defiance in a pure though not quite understood consciousness of good deeds. Both are absolutely equal under the eternal and just sway of destiny.—

the supreme god as an odious tyrant, nor in a religious country hold up a daring blasphemer as an object of unqualified admiration. Writing under the influence of a theology which acknowledged POWER as the distinctive attribute of the supreme god, and relative weakness as the characteristic quality of all other beings, whether divine or human, (see *Iliad*, VIII. *init.*), under the influence of such a universally received conception, the poet of the Prometheus did not, and could not intend to represent the disobedience of the crafty demi-god as a thing absolutely right, much less as a well-grounded rebellion of which the success might be conceived probable or even possible. Were this the case, we might with justice revert to the ready criticism of the old French school, and give our verdict coolly in the words of La Harpe, "*Le sujet de Promethée est monstrueux.*"

We have called Prometheus a demi-god. He calls himself a god in the play, (v. 92,) and Hephæstus bears testimony to the propriety of the addition. (v. 14.) Some persons have been eager to make much of this point, and to bring it forward as a key to the otherwise inexplicable impiety of the piece. Had Prometheus been a mere man, they argue, Æschylus, in writing as he has written, would have been justly chargeable with blasphemy; but a god may surely be allowed to battle with a god, not with words only but with blows; and, according to the Greek ideas, no offence result. But in the first place, the supremacy of Jove, according to the idea of the Iliad, whatever changes of celestial dynasty may have preceded, is an established fact that admits no question.[11] Gods, in the Homeric theology, may justly battle with gods; but Zeus is god in a higher sense, sitting apart from the vulgar throng—

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The Zeus of this tragedy is represented strictly according to the pattern of a tyrant, and that in the most glaring outline: whether in thus painting him the Persian invader was in the imagination of the soldier who fought at Marathon, or, as I rather think, only Grecian history and politics in general, that by this representation of the free-minded Titan, he might fan the flames of freedom in the hearts of his countrymen; or finally, his object might be only to give free scope to his own feelings as they had been fostered during his residence in Sicily, a country in which he had the image of a just and equitable sovereign before him, which might readily suggest its counterpart in the character of the despotical son of Kronos."—*Tril.* p. 21-2.

[11] Such representations as that in *Iliad*, I. 400, where Here, Poseidon, and Pallas, are said to have conspired to bind Jove, are, in our opinion, to be looked on as fragments of the old amorphous theology of the rudest Pelasgi, long before the age of Homer, and as forming no living element of religious

Ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο,

serene where all are troubled, supreme where all are subordinate. And if the dynasty of Jove—though a thing that had an acknowledged beginning—was, in the days of Homer, a power beyond the power of popular conception or poetic fancy to shake, how much more in the days of Æschylus? In the second place, the rank which Prometheus held as a god in the popular faith of Greece, was practically very low; theoretically indeed, that is to say according to the genealogy of Hesiod, he appears as the cotemporary and the equal of Jove,—the son of Iapetus, and the son of Kronos, were, in fact, brothers' sons; but, as in the aristocratic arrangements of modern society, the elder and younger branches of the family often share very different fates, so in the world-upheaving turmoil of Titanic contention, the lines of lineal and collateral relationship in the celestial family were strangely disturbed; and as ages rolled on, the degree of divinity in competing candidates for popular homage was estimated, not by the descent but by the event. Thus, in the days of Æschylus, the cousin of Jove had become a local demi-god, the patron-saint of the potters in the Ceramicus—scarcely a degree more.[12] In the third place, let Prometheus be perched as high as we will in the scale of divinity, we never can overlook the fact, that not only in the representation of Æschylus, but in the old popular representation, so far as we know it, every where and characteristically Prometheus appears as the representative of man. Whatever his original descent, he has in the course of the fated æons, identified himself with man, and stands forward as the living impersonation of human interests as opposed to divine.[13] This character of the legend is admitted by

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faith in the time of Homer, much less in the age of Æschylus. Besides, in all such legends—even in the portentous heaven-stormings of Hindoo Yogees—the supreme god always retains his seat. The fiction of possible dethronement seems to have been devised partly to show the fixed stability of the throne.

[12] See the whole subject of the worship of Prometheus in Athens, admirably handled by *Welcker*, p. 497–521.

[13] This essential contrast between Prometheus, as the representative of man, and Zeus, as the highest celestial power, is altogether lost sight of by allegorizers like *Swayne*, who arbitrarily makes Prometheus the representative of *divine* love, satisfying the demands of divine justice. See above.—This licentious Christianizing of Hellenic mythes can lead to nothing but confusion.

all who have been at pains to receive it into their imaginations purely as it is given by the Greek authorities; and if so, the struggle of the Titan against the Olympian, is in fact not merely a new scene in the great primeval battle of the gods, but an ominous collision between earth and heaven, an unequal contest between the weakness of man and the omnipotence of Jove. If free in his own right to rebel—although even this can scarcely be supposed—yet as the representative of man, Prometheus, according to Greek ideas, was not blameless, and could not be prosperous in his contumacy.

The office and virtue of Μοῖρα, or Fate in the Greek theology, is another point which has been brought forward prominently by those who, assuming the perfect rectitude of the moral position of Prometheus, are necessitated to find in the popular conceptions of religion, a superior power which may adjudicate between the oppressed Titan and the tyrannical son of Kronos. Thus Welcker, (p. 88); thus Bellmann, (p. 53); nor had they far to go for their arbiter; Prometheus himself had put into their mouths the remarkable passage,—

CHORUS.

Τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστρόφος.

PROM.

Μοῖραι τρίμορφαι, μνήμονές τ' Ἐρινύες.

CHORUS.

Τούτων ἄρα Ζεὺς ἐστιν ἀσθενέστερος.

PROM.

Οὔκουν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην.

In the hands of a modern Christian, or christianizing speculator, it requires very little stretch of idea to metamophose this dim dark power called πεπρωμένη, of which we hear so much in the Greek dramas, into a regular πρόνοια, or clear and distinct superintending providence, which shall hold the balance of fates human and divine much more equitably than Zeus does in the Iliad. But to prove that the Greeks in the days of Æschylus, or the ancients indeed any where, (except here and there, per-

haps, in the pious paragraphs of a Marcus Antoninus,) had any idea of a superintending and retributive μοῖρα, above and beyond, and even contrary to the will of Jove, who is emphatically called μητίετα Ζεύς—the counsellor; this is a very different matter, and will we fear go far beyond the strength of those who shall attempt to make it out. Hesiod very significantly makes the Μοῖραι daughters of Night, (*Theog.* 217); and in darkness, doubtless, they were involved, to the ancient Greek mind, too deep to admit of their being employed as definite and legitimate arbiters in a strife between the supreme God and a contumacious demigod. Altogether the Μοῖραι seem to present themselves in classical writers more as an unfathomable back-ground in which the origin of all things may be supposed to lie concealed, than as a prominent personal agency fit for the purposes of the dramatic poet; and with regard to Zeus, it is like to prove a very delicate investigation how far the doings of the Μοῖραι in the general case are not identical with his own will. On this point Schoemann in a note has put forward a statement, (p. 110) with which we are inclined to concur.

"Why," says Bauer, (*Symbolik*. II. 340,) "may the Μοῖρα not have been an intelligent principle? A moral harmony, the idea of an eternal justice dispensing to each his proper lot, and with severity anticipating every transgression of the appointed limits of different agencies. Such an idea, what is it but the great law of the universe which preserves in constant equilibrium the world of gods and men, the world both of intelligent beings and and of unconscious nature?" "I am of opinion, however, that, according to the Greek conception, this great law of the world had never attained to a clear embodiment, in the person of any individual god, not even in the Μοῖρα. Such a law, indeed, rules from the beginning, and determines in the last instance all that is, and happens; it is the regulating norm of the whole course of the universe: but among all the powers endowed with a distinct personality which in the course of ages have been evolved, there is no one being whose intelligence completely embraces this all-comprehensive law, and possesses it with distinct consciousness as a matter of knowledge. Zeus stands so high, that in the province which belongs to him, his intelligence invariably harmonises with that law of the world; wherefore, also, the theogony makes Themis, the conservatrix of that law, his spouse, and the Μοῖραι, the dispensers of the lots of individual beings, his

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rised to conclude, that in the *Prometheus Bound*, while handling the chief points of Hesiod's theogony, it was his object to declare himself decidedly (*sich nachdrücklich zu erklären*) both against that system, and against the Zeus, which is a part of it; that by the free representation of the connection of the different parts of the theogony, it was his purpose to shew that the legends of the gods contained in it are to be taken only as poetical fictions, and to be carefully separated from that which really belongs to the divine nature. Spectators who knew all these relations, and who were at the same time previously familiar with the personal character and the views of the poet, would, without difficulty, recognise in the Zeus of the Prometheus, not the supreme god, (*den höchsten Gott*) but a poetical personage of the theogony; and they would at the same time feel that Æschylus had gone beyond the plan of the ancient fable, and adapted it to his own purpose of an allegoric poem, perhaps not without a passing stroke of satire directed against the popular superstitions (*oder auch in satyrischer Nebenabsicht.*")

These words state the views of a most acute and ingenious man—a man whom all scholars respect;—but we shall not refute in detail the baseless theory which they contain, not knowing but that the learned author himself may have long ago seen the insufficiency of the facts known of the life of Æschylus to sustain so strange a conclusion. We know, indeed, that the poet was a Pythagorean; Cicero tells us so (*Tusc.* II. 10.); it is highly probable also, both from external testimony and internal verisimilitude, that he was initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis:[14] but there is not the vestige of a proof, either that the philosophy of the son of Mnesarchus, when imbibed most deeply, had a tendency to excite in its votaries a feeling of hostility towards the polytheistic form of religion; or on the other—especially after the investigations of Lobeck—that the hierophants of Eleusis were a secret conclave of Attic Deists, and the mysteries of the goddess of corn fields a discourse on free thinking. As little can be concluded from the words of Ælian, (*Var. His.* v. 19,) Αἴσχυλος ἐκρίνετο

[14] The internal evidence arises from the connection of Æschylus with Eleusis, his birth-place, along with his strong religious sympathies. The external is based on Aristoph. *Ran.* 886, taken along with Aristot. *Nicom. Ethic.* III. 1, as expounded by Welcker, (*Trilog.* 106.) Against these, on the other hand, we have the positive declaration of Clemens, (*Strom.* II. 166, Sylburg,) and the opinion of Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* I. 82.

ἀσεβείας ἐπὶ τινὶ δράματι, and the other versions of the same story. That a bold and daring genius like Æschylus, amid his many flights into untried regions, should have stumbled upon some small matter that might give offence to the nice sensibility of Athenian δεισιδαιμονία, or, perhaps, offer a wished-for handle to the eager malignity of Athenian δημοκοπία, is the most natural thing in the world. Dante, with a temperament much akin to the Greek tragedian, said many things in his divine poem sufficiently offensive to the ultra-Romanists, and yet remained a very pious bard. It is indeed altogether to run counter to the obvious probabilities of the case, in an early poet like Æschylus—a poet certainly belonging to the more ancient rather than the more modern aspect of Greek culture—with a theology so imaginative, so various, and so pliant as the Greek, with the natural tendency of all highly poetical minds, to adapt and assimilate, rather than to reject and disown the received religion; under such circumstances to admit, without the most distinct proof, the theory of a direct hostility between the faith of a popular writer, and the faith of a people, to whose moral or religious feelings he appealed. When distinct proof, however, is asked, it appears plainly enough, that we know nothing in fact, and can know nothing, of the religious opinions of Æschylus, except in so far as he has indicated them in his works, and to judge by this standard, Luther himself, in his Lutheran hymn-book, is not more a Lutheran than Æschylus in all his plays—except this enigmatical one—is a pious and godly worshipper of Zeus.[15] The proof of this assertion of course is the general

[15] Since writing the above, we have read with much pleasure an article in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. LXIV. p. 367, which advocates a mild modification of Welcker's view.—"We speak from the writings of the poet, in saying, that the very depth of his religious feelings made him dissatisfied with deities, whose nature he could fathom, whose character he could despise. *Not that he was truly an unbeliever; the elastic nature of ancient systems saved him from that; and he could acquiesce in the* de facto *dynasty, so to speak, of Olympus, while his heart and his allegiance were elsewhere.* There was an earlier, a more dread and mysterious theology—πρὶν ἄν,—*Agam.* v. 170, which had passed away, and been superseded indeed, but which still lingered in the back-ground of the Hellenic system; and to this he devoted himself with the more energy, in proportion to his disquiet, perhaps with the more zeal, for that the old faith seemed neglected. The real gods of his devotion were EARTH, with her Titan brood, of whose time-honoured inheritance the Olympic dynasty, but questionably and precariously—the FATES—the FURIES—and above all, the dread power of DESTINY." This passage avoids the offensive harshness of Welcker's lan-

impression left on the mind of those who read his works frequently and sympathetically: those who wish for a detailed and tangible deduction on the subject, will find ample satisfaction in the well known work of Klausen. For one, the present writer, after not a few years familiar occupation with the plays of Æschylus, can only express his conviction of the utter improbability, to use the words of the most recent English translator, "that Æschylus, the most religious poet of antiquity, would have attempted to enlist the sympathies of his audience against the gods of his country;"[16] and nothing but the happy felicity of ingenious theory in finding arguments to prove itself, can explain how a scholar of Welcker's stature should have found only "a sublime Lucian" in the poet of the very solemn and devout opening chorus of the Agamemnon.[17]

In vain, therefore, as it should seem, is every argument tried, and every hypothesis ventured, to reconcile the commonly received notion of the Æschylean Prometheus, either with the religious opinions of Greece generally, or with the theological views of the poet. Turn where we will in search of a satisfactory explanation, we are baffled. It therefore remains only that we carefully review our facts, that we recur to our original impression, and see whether there may not be good reason to question its accuracy. Our sympathies, as we read the piece, are confessedly altogether with Prometheus, while our unmitigated

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guage; and the sentences which we have given in italics seem to bring the writer's view, to a certain extent, into harmony with that unquestioned supremacy of Jove, which we allege to be a characteristic of Æschylus and the Prometheus, as much as of the ancient poetry of Homer and Hesiod. We much fear, however, that the representation thus given of the relation of Æschylus to Zeus, is only a hasty generalization from the Prometheus, as it affects us in its present truncated shape. The very passage of the *Agamemnon* granted by the writer proves the devout allegiance of the poet to Zeus as distinctly, at least, as any expressions in the Prometheus prove his disaffection. As little can we see, in the juridical pleadings of the Eumenides, any concerted irony against the received gods: we perceive only the necessary awkwardness into which a dramatist falls, whose plot leads him to put into a legal and argumentative shape, the thousand and one absurdities of a purely legendary faith.

[16] *Prowett, Introduction*, p. 8. So also Mr Whiston, in *Smith's Biographical Dictionary*, article Æschylus, "the religious views and tenets of Æschylus, so far as they appear in his writings, were Homeric."

[17] On the opening words of the invocation to Jove in that chorus—*Ζεὺς ὅστις ποτ' ἐστὶν*—Welcker remarks,—"*Sicher schrieb er dies nicht ohne Ironie!*" (p. 104.) A case must be very hopeless that requires such perverse ingenuity as this.

hatred is centred on Jove. But is it absolutely necessary, is it in any view imperative, that we should suppose the same representation to have made the same impression on the minds of the Athenians? For were it possible to imagine, that from difference of position and susceptibility, the sympathies of the Athenians were different from ours, perhaps ran altogether in the opposite direction, then there is an end of the question; literature and religion being no longer at war, neither learning nor ingenuity are necessary to reconcile them.

Now, on this head, it is most obvious to remark, that of all the component parts of a foreign and distant literature, that which concerns religion is the most difficult for the stranger student to realize. The squabbles of the market-place, and the wranglings of the forum, being pretty much the same in an ancient or a "modern Athens," will be easily understood by a reader of any time and place; but between Christianity and heathenism the gulf is so wide, that a perfect recognition of the ancient by the modern can only be achieved in the case of the studious few, and that not without much labour, and a peculiar emotional sensibility. We are bound, therefore, to approach problems of this kind with a certain cautiousness and self-suspicion, quite the reverse of the indifferent carelessness by which, in respect of them, our judgment is generally possessed. In particular, we are bound not merely to dispossess ourselves of all modern notions which have grown with our growth, but to possess ourselves of all corresponding ancient notions which grew with the growth of the Athenians; we must put a force upon our own convictions, and conjure up in our souls a factitious reverence for names that were once powers and virtues and mighty agencies in the moral world. We must approach the reading of the Prometheus Bound, as the pious Athenian came to witness its representation, with a mind prepossessed, and that strongly, not in favour of Prometheus, but in favour of Zeus. This prepossession alone will go far to change the whole aspect of the case; but we can happily go much further: we are in a condition to come to the reading of the Prometheus with the same detailed knowledge of the legend, and the same received interpretation of it, that possessed the mind of the ancient Athenian. The potters and the torch-runners of the Ceramicus, in all likelihood, knew no more of it than we do. We possess, in fact, the Greek *Bible* on the subject;—so far, at least, as the

floating fanciful religion of the Greeks could be said to have a Bible,—we possess HESIOD.

What then does the pious old Ascræan say on the subject? This is the preparatory question from which every thorough investigation into the theology of the Æschylean drama must start. The Athenian came thus prepared; and to place ourselves in the same position, so must we: not with a portentous logical deduction, like Bellmann, who (p. 37,) boasts that he will bring out the idea of the play, "*solo scriptore duce*," as if the writer himself ever dreamt of addressing blank minds, and did not rather calculate upon the preconceived ideas and tendencies of his audience, as on a main matter on which the effect of his artistical exhibition depended! Well; Hesiod tells the story, as we all know it in the facts, not once, but twice, with considerable breadth of detail, in the *Theogony*, (507,) and in the *Works and Days*, (37;) but the tone in which he tells it, and the moral with which he couples it, are less known, and for the most part not at all present to the mind of the general, or even the learned reader; so completely with his bold and daring grandeur has the more modern dramatist thrown the simple-hearted theologer into the shade. But this tone and this moral are the very soul of the legend: they represent the religious mind of Greece on the subject; or, if they do not, nothing else does; and it is from this source only that we can learn, at the present day, the feelings with which an Athenian audience, in the days of the Persian war, came to witness a theatrical exhibition, of which the fire-stealing demigod was the hero. Let any man, therefore, read the *Theogony* from the beginning to the conclusion of the Promethean Episode, and say how he is affected by the representation there given. It is plain the pious old genealogist—and this is the main point—approves no more of the conduct of the son of Iapetus, than of the host of other Titans: these strove by violence against Zeus, he by cunning; but they were both rebels against him whom the Greeks worshipped as both omnipotent and omniscient, as not merely the highest physical force, but the supreme moral power in the system of the world;[18] and in the

[18] We do not, of course, mean to say that the Homeric idea of Jove was precisely that of a Christian's idea of God; but the familiar epithets of Ζεὺς πατὴρ, Ζεὺς &c. altogether preclude the idea of looking on him as merely an impersonation of supreme *power* in the physical world.

character of rebels they were both punished. Which was the greater guilt, whether to oppose Zeus by force, or by fraud, the bard does not inquire; but if there be degrees in wickedness of this kind, the sinner who endeavours to deceive the all-knowing one, will scarcely seem less guilty than he who vaunts himself to subdue the all-powerful. Such certainly was the notion of Hesiod, who concludes both his narratives with the distinct moral,—

Ὣς οὐκ ἔστι Διὸς κλέψαι νόον οὐδὲ παρελθεῖν.

*Theog.* 613; *Op.* 92;

a moral, be it observed, no less characteristically Christian than Heathen, and in which the true Christian significance of the Prometheus indicated by Lasaulx lies: though indeed the distinct enunciation of this moral was not at all necessary, as the whole tone and connection of the narrative in both works prove the same thing. Wherein, then, according to the old poet, does the guilt of Prometheus consist? Plainly, in the impious attempt to deceive and to defraud the supreme god, with an obstinate perversity of cunning, on two several occasions; first, in regard to sacrificial rites—which circumstance, by the way, Æschylus has thought fit to drop—and then in the great matter of using celestial fire for terrestrial purposes. No doubt the result of both these attempts is in favour of man; the benevolent end seems to sanctify the unworthy means; but the piety of the poet is nowise affected by this circumstance. He only knows that Jove is supreme; and that every boon, however gracious, conferred without his consent and against his will, cannot be without guilt on the part of the giver, and danger on the part of the receiver. That Prometheus is guilty, forms in fact the foundation of the whole legend, according to Hesiod.[19] This is so manifest, that even among those modern commentators who consider Jove as tyrannical in his conduct, there are many who equally admit the guilt of Prometheus. That the Athenians, at least, must have started with this as an undeniable axiom, seems as certain as that a modern Christian reads the third chapter of Genesis, with the undoubting faith that Adam and

[19] So, in a much later age, true to the moral of the old legend, Horace—

"Audax omnia perpeti
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas;
Audax Iapeti genus
Ignem fraude malâ gentibus intulit."
Od. i. 3.

Eve, and the serpent, sinned grievously in what they did. "*Persuasum erat auditoribus reum luere justam pœnam*," says Toepelmann, (p. 37.) So even Herder admits the guilt of Prometheus partially, though he represents Jove as having been much more blameful, putting forth THEMIS, strangely enough, (one of Jove's wives!) or eternal justice, to adjudicate betwixt them. So Welcker also;[20] only not Byron and Bellmann, Shelley, and Schütz, and Goethe. What, then, let us inquire farther, the Athenian mind being thus fore-armed with Hesiodic views, was the moral effect of the Æschylean Prometheus on the spectators? The answer to this question depends on the answer to another one,—is the Æschylean Prometheus the same as the Prometheus of Hesiod—morally, we mean, of course—or is he different? He is the same in every respect substantially; only Æschylus brings his better qualities, his fortitude and self-sustainment, into the foreground, while a shade is cast over his cunning and his crime. These bad qualities, however, are in no wise withheld. He is called the THIEF of fire; and charged again and again by mouths commanding respect, with rashness and pride; with audacity, and obstinacy, and ὕβρις, in every shape. The modern reader, indeed, may not choose to give any weight to this judgment; but with the ancient spectator, it was at once the ground and the body of all orthodoxy. Æschylus therefore does not deny the moral of Hesiod; and if he does not do it, either expressly or by implication, most assuredly his audience would not do it for him. Every believer in a popular theology—no matter whether wise or absurd—is slow to have his faith shaken. A direct attack must be made before he will be roused; then indeed his vengeance is terrible.

But the chorus! the impartial spectator! the spokesman of all morality, and the preacher of all propriety in the Greek drama! does he—or in this case rather, does she—not sympathize with the suffering Titan, and express her detestation of the tyranny of Jove? One passage there certainly is in this view very strong; it is as follows. We quote the whole chorus, for it is short:—

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[20] "The proper crime of Prometheus, the one and great deceit by which the mind endeavours to lay violent hold of what is divine, (*das Göttliche an sich zu reissen,*)" p. 73, and a great deal more to the same effect in the chapter—*über die Bedeutung des Ganzen*—well worthy of study.

CHORUS.

Αεύσσω Προμηθεῦ · Φοβερὰ δ' ἐμοῖσιν ὄσσοις,
ὀμίχλα προσῆξε πλήρης
δακρύων, σὸν δέμας εὐσιδοῦσα
πέτραις προσαυαινόμενον
ταῖσδ' ἀδαμαντοδέτοισι λύμαις ·
νέοι γὰρ οἰακονόμοι κρατοῦσ' Ὀλύμπου ·
νεοχμοῖς δὲ δὴ νόμοις Ζεὺς ἀθέτως κρατύνει
τὰ πρὶν δὲ πελώρια νῦν ἀΐστοι.—vv. 144–51.

These are certainly distinct words—ΑΘΕΤΩΣ; and if there were no other statement from the same quarter to a different effect in the same play, the question might be considered as triumphantly settled in favour of the popular view. A consistent verdict of this kind from an ancient chorus could not have brooked contradiction from any modern critic. But the persons of the chorus in the Prometheus are scarcely to be looked upon as judges. No busy actors are they indeed, and parties directly interested, like the fell-snorting, black-banded sisterhood in the Eumenides; but they are simple ocean maids, amiable, kindly, and tender-hearted, and, like all proper women, eager for nothing so much as to sympathize always with all affliction, ever pleading for mercy, without enquiring curiously into the claims of justice. They therefore confine their office, in the present drama, almost altogether to the expression of sympathy with the sufferer, and that, as was necessary in noble characters, not by word only, but by deed. They pretend, however, to no judgment in so gigantic a strife; or, if they judge at all, express an opinion on the side of Zeus; for the strong words above quoted are more than negatived by the decided language of an opposite tendency that occurs as the action of the play advances.

But it may still be argued, if the chorus gives no opinion in the matter, does not Æschylus himself do so? Has he not drawn the whole portraiture, determined every attitude, thrown every light with the view, and to the effect, of engaging the whole stream of our sympathies in favour of the sufferer? Assuredly he has drawn a strong picture of manly fortitude, and in doing so, unquestionably he wished to excite sympathy in behalf of the sufferer; but the conclusion, therefore, is not

legitimate, which Schütz and Bellmann have drawn,—that he wished to exhibit Prometheus as in all respects a moral model, in the fashion somewhat of the stoical wise man. There are great and manly virtues in Macbeth and Richard, which our greater Æschylus meant that we should admire, without prejudice to our condemnation of the main character of these persons. So, also, Milton has tricked out the devil with more of the trappings of heroism than is agreeable to many. Goethe's Mephistopheles, it has been thought, is a much more proper devil; a fiend whom you can hate thoroughly, without being tempted to admire. In the same way, we may feel that the crafty fraudulent Prometheus of the theogony, is a much more fit subject for the pillory of the Caucasus than the

"High-minded son of right-decreeing Themis,"

whom the father of Greek tragedy has elevated to the culminating point of the sublime in endurance. But Æschylus and Milton alike, in this modification of the character of their heroes, followed their lofty genius, not the popular conception. Wise in doing so! and safe from misinterpretation of their main scope, by the strength of general prepossession, and the stability of the popular faith.

One most important point in the Athenian conception of the Promethean mythe still remains to be noticed. The Greeks learnt more from Hesiod than the unquestionable guilt of Prometheus, and the justice of his punishment. They learned, at the same time, the palliation of that guilt, and the limit of that castigation. He had opposed the will of the supreme; therein his guilt was great; but his main object was not essentially base or selfish; his theft was from the gods, but for the benefit of man: fire, the "mother of arts," was a gift that the giver of all good things—the "δωτῆρες ἐάων" could not mean finally to withhold from creatures who so much required it; Prometheus, therefore, sinned in the form rather than in the drift and result of his offending; and for him, according to all reasonable ideas of a divine procedure, mercy was reserved. The old mythe accordingly taught, that Prometheus, after suffering unexampled woes, was finally to be liberated, and that even by the agency of the great Hellenic liberator, Hercules. This the Athenian audience distinctly knew from Hesiod, (*Theog.* 526;) but it is announced also with no less distinctness

in our drama, (v. 772;) and the effect of this annunciation must necessarily have been to remove from their minds any appearance of harshness and severity on the part of Zeus, which the terrible nature of the punishment seemed to wear. The degree of punishment, no doubt, in theological legends of this kind, is popularly estimated, not by any curious admeasurement of the magnitude of the crime or the capacity of the sinner, but by the transcendental nature of the being against whom the offence is committed. Still, the offence of Prometheus was one which, in the most severe view, could scarcely seem worthy of never-ending torture. The

"Sedet æternumque sedebit infelix Theseus"

of Virgil, applies to a crime of much more flagrant atrocity. Final pardon, therefore, the Athenian spectator looked for confidently; as ages rolled on the period should certainly come, when it would be consistent with the sovereignty of the supreme god to temper his stern justice with mercy; when a reconciliation between the offending demigod, having expiated sin by suffering, and the justly offended deity, would take place. The previous knowledge of this final satisfactory settlement of the great controversy, was sufficient to quiet the conscience of a pious Athenian, if at any time the whetted words of the tortured Titan seemed to cast reproaches in the ear of Zeus, more bitter than might be grateful to pious ears to hear. The poet when he represented, and the people when they beheld, painted with glaring colours individual aspects of the portentous mythe only the more decidedly, that their heart rested with perfect faith in the acknowledged righteousness of the anticipated catastrophe.

But there is more than this,—the spectators of the Prometheus Bound, not only knew what the catastrophe should be, but there is every reason to believe that they actually saw it. That Æschylus wrote three, and perhaps four, plays on this significant mythe, has long been a patent and well known fact to scholars. That he wrote a "Prometheus Unbound," is the most certain tradition of all; for we actually have a translation from it in a work so commonly read as the Tusculan Questions of Cicero, (II. 10.) Of this fact, not a single scholar, probably, who has criticized the Prometheus for the last three hundred years, has been ignorant; but, in recognizing the bearing of

so important a fact on the interpretation of the now existing play, many writers, even in the most recent times, have been strangely deficient. If the Bound Prometheus is only introductory to an Unbound Prometheus, which, in the actual representation, immediately followed, as itself was introduced by a fire-bringing Prometheus, it is manifest that we are not at present in a condition to judge of the total effect of the trilogy, any more than from one act of a modern play, the spectator can always divine—for *sometimes* certainly he may divine—the whole. Our modern critics, however, even those who may the least suspect it, have proceeded too generally on the assumption that the present play contains within itself the elements of a just judgment as to its tendency. So prepossessed with this very natural notion does Hermann, for instance, seem to be, that he expends not a little forced ingenuity of labour in endeavouring to disprove against Welcker, the natural continuity of the play which follows with that which precedes. There is no direct testimony, indeed, from the ancients, either that the Prometheus Unbound was in actual representation given directly after the play which we now possess, or that the Προμηθεὺς πυρφόρος immediately preceded it. Hermann also insists, that this first part of the assumed trilogy was identical with the Προμηθεὺς πυρκαεύς, mentioned by Pollux,[20] and which we know from the argument of "the Persians," to have been a satyric drama, the last in the tetralogy there given. But leaving this point undecided—as most likely it never can be decided—the hypothesis, that the Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος, which forms so natural a sequel to the Δεσμώτης, was disjoined from it in the actual exhibition, is so forced and gratuitous, that not even the name of Hermann will induce the sound-minded student to give it a serious consideration. In criticism as in morals, probability, not possibility, must be our guide. The conclusion that the λυόμενος was exhibited immediately after the δεσμώτης, is not only the most obvious and natural in the case,—but it is a supposition which the admitted theological difficulties of the introductory play imperatively demand. The catastrophe thus evolved, irrespective altogether of what we know from Hesiod, were sufficient of itself to remove every objection arising from the apparent impiety of the piece; the supposition of a continuous

[20] IX. 156. X. 64.

trilogy, or, at least, of a second play continuous to the present, is, in fact, a theory which satisfactorily explains all the phenomena; while the opposite theory explains nothing, being useful only, so far as a plain man may see, to prop the crumbling consistency of ancient error, and to enable the old school of philologists to be gathered to their fathers with the comfortable assurance that they have not been vanquished by the new.

As to the precise manner in which the reconciliation between Jove and his stout-hearted adversary was brought about by the poet in the last piece of the trilogy, there exist materials large enough to justify a few probable conjectures, but too scanty to admit of any approach to certainty.[21] The most satisfactory attempt to reconstruct the lost frame-work of Æschylus, the German scholar will find in Schoemann's very valuable work; an author with whose views on almost every point of the Pro-

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[21] Those who have read Shelley's Prometheus, need not to be told that no attempt is there made to reconstruct the lost play of Æschylus. From any attempt of this kind, the poet's instinctive good taste, as well as his bold and original genius, were sufficient to deter him. It is of importance to us, however, to remark specially, with what a just poetic discernment he perceived the necessity of the lost play to evolve the catastrophe of the present piece, and how clearly he perceived that the poet must have brought about the catastrophe by a reconciliation of the contending parties. Adhering, however, strictly to the idea that Zeus is to be looked on only "as the oppressor of mankind," it is no wonder he could find in the Æschylean sequel no theme worthy of his genius. The following is from the preface:—"The Prometheus Unbound of Æschylus supposed the reconciliation of Jupiter with his victim, as the price of the disclosure of the danger threatened to his empire by the consummation of his marriage with Thetis. Thetis, according to this view of the subject, was given in marriage to Peleus; and Prometheus, by the permission of Jupiter, delivered from his captivity by Hercules. Had I framed my story on this model, I should have done no more than have attempted to restore the lost drama of Æschylus;—an ambition, which, if my preference to the mode of treating the subject had incited me to cherish, the recollection of the high comparison such an attempt would challenge, might well abate. But, in truth, I was averse from a catastrophe so feeble as that of reconciling the champion with the oppressor of mankind. The moral interest of the fable, which is so powerfully sustained by the sufferings and endurance of Prometheus, would be annihilated, if we could conceive of him as unsaying his high language, and quailing before his successful and perfidious adversary. The only imaginary being resembling in any degree Prometheus, is Satan; and Prometheus is, in my judgment, a more poetical character than Satan, because, in addition to courage, and majesty, and firm and patient opposition to omnipotent force, he is susceptible of being described as exempt from the taints of ambition, envy, revenge, and a desire for personal aggrandisement, which, in the hero of 'Paradise Lost,' interfere with the interest."

methean question we are disposed to coincide; and to whom the present writer owes it more directly, that his own long-revolved imaginations on this subject have at length organized themselves into the present tangible shape.

Before concluding these remarks, it will be necessary to advert for a moment to a view of the moral connection of the Bound and the Unbound Prometheus, first proposed by Dissen in a letter to Welcker (*Trilog.* p. 92), and brought forward again by Dr. Julius Cæsar in opposition to the views of Schoemann. Professor Schoemann does not assume any more than ourselves that it is necessary, in the final reconciliation of the contending parties, to suppose any confession of error or change of character on the part of Jove. We both suppose with Hesiod that the punishment suffered by Prometheus was merited; and with the Greeks generally that the moral sovereignty of Zeus is not to be questioned; nor the degree of punishment which he chooses to inflict on the offender, a matter about which the curious casuistry of mortal wit can legitimately be exercised. But there are scholars who, agreeing with us in the point of the guilt of Prometheus, are not able to shake themselves free from the impression of gross tyranny which is left upon the modern reader by the perusal of the present truncated work. These persons, therefore, have been driven to the invention of a sort of middle hypothesis between the two views contrasted in this paper; a hypothesis conceived purposely so as to admit on the one hand the penitent submission of Prometheus, and on the other the progressive amelioration and final perfectionation of Jove. The following are the words of Dissen:—

"What has always offended me most in the Prometheus, is the total giving up of the character of Jove, which seems to be the effect of the poet's representation; and I have never been able to convince myself that it was the intention of Æschylus to exalt the world of Titans without qualification, and to depreciate the presently existing gods. The first idea that occurred to me, to remove this difficulty, was, that the principal actors in the Promethean mythe are not heroes, with gods introduced only as a sort of machinery; but here we have a contest of gods against gods; and a god is freely allowed to bring accusations against Jove, such as would have constituted blasphemy in a mortal. But this explanation is not satisfactory. We have two questions to answer. Can the controversy between Jove, a tyrant of the world, and his accusers, be looked on as a matter of personal feeling between

the parties concerned; or is it meant that we, the spectators, and in our person the Greek religion, henceforth are to look upon Jove under the same aspect of tyranny in which he appears to the principal actor in the play? The one supposition is insufficient; for Jove is made to do that which actually *is* tyrannical, so manifestly that the spectator cannot look upon it as a collision arising out of personal animosity. The other supposition I cannot prevail upon myself, without more ado, to adopt. I have accordingly been forced to another view of the subject, which is this,—I look upon the whole as a *Titanomachy*, as the last great struggle of that mighty time; as, indeed, we find that the mythe of Prometheus, according to the theogonic chronology, follows immediately after the battle of the Titans, and forms in fact their conclusion. In such an age—in the early epoch of mundane development —when the elements of the future system of the world were not yet in equilibrium, violence and exaggeration on both sides are quite natural; and as Prometheus, on his part, was not free from blame, so Jove also erred in the exercise of a tyrannical authority. I therefore look upon the tyrannical character of Zeus, exhibited in the Bound Prometheus, as only a transition state of things which is to vanish with the final establishment of the new order of things, to be represented in the third piece. In this epoch, if the system of the world is still felt as tyrannical, it can only be so in the feeling of an individual; in a higher view of the whole, the tyranny disappears; and in this regard I imagine Æschylus could never have meant to represent the government of Jove as a permanent tyranny—a representation which would have been at war, both with the Greek tragedy and with the Grecian world. Prometheus, in the exercise of an excessive benevolence, has given to men that which belongs to the gods; and inasmuch as he has thereby planted man on a more commanding platform, as against the gods, Jove, jealous of his power, persecutes him, and will not tolerate the higher elevation of man till such time as he—so I view the relation—being reconciled to Prometheus, is at the same time reconciled to the new order of the world, and is brought to the insight that it is better for him to reign over ennobled men, than over creatures little better than the brutes. For Jove also must have come forth from that terrible Titanic struggle, not in his original character, but with a higher consciousness. Force and forcible rule were essential elements of the Titanic period, in which one celestial power after another dethroned its predecessor; in perfect keeping with which general character it is, that the Jove of that epoch is suspicious, haughty, despotical, &c. even because he forms the transition between the old and the new, till, with the conclusion of the Titanic struggles, a higher phasis appears. When I contemplate the whole trilogy in this light, it appears to me a profoundly-conceived glorification of the new order of the world, as hav-

ing put an end to the licentious exaggerations of the preceding period. Sluggish insensibility (*Stumpfheit*), oppression and tyranny, have come to an end: the free development of the mind in the unfolding of the arts commences; every thing marches to meet a higher destiny. And this feeling, I may add, is precisely that which would naturally be predominant in the poet's mind at the time when he wrote. The period immediately following the Persian wars, was accompanied with an expansive movement in the Greek mind, which corresponds happily with the sublime idea of mundane development, as I imagine it represented in the trilogy."

The objection to this theory, according to our view, is, that if we have proved any thing by the preceding remarks, it is altogether unnecessary, being invented, according to the declaration of the author, to obviate a difficulty which never existed in the Athenian mind. The Athenians, we have distinctly stated—for this is the point on which the whole discussion hinges—did not, and could not, look upon the conduct of Jove as tyrannical in the matter. The general impression of the tyrannical character of Jove is the mere offspring of modern partial conceptions, formed in the total disregard both of Hesiod and of the *Trilogy*. Independent of this objection, however, the hypothesis is faulty, because it is too fine-spun and metaphysical; abstract and speculative, rather than practical and popular. In modern times, a theologian of no common notoriety has written a work on "the development of Christian doctrine;" and no doubt all religious doctrines and ideas, Christian as well as heathen, are subject to what may be called a development; that is, they are understood differently, more narrowly or more largely, more grossly or more spiritually, according to the capacity of the minds into which they are received; but a formal exposition of such a development of intellectual and moral phases in a faith generally received, would seem to fall within the province of the theologian and the philosopher, rather than that of the poet. The dramatist, certainly, of all men who come in contact with a popular religion, is the least hopeful person to make a physiological unfolding of its growth, and a public demonstration of its anatomy. He receives it as a thing given, and makes the best of it. It is a general moral element which all his fantastic personages must breathe; not a separate theme for himself to handle. The Greek religion, no doubt, so purely imaginative and emotional,

afforded a philosophical dramatist a wide field for inoculating mythical personages with abstract notions, such as a definite and closely-reasoned creed would have barred; but it is going too far to maintain that the writer of a publicly exhibited sacred opera—standing somewhat in the position of Metastasio at Vienna—should have presumed to set before a pious audience the process of growth of their supreme god, and to shew them step by step, how Zeus the cruel, in the course of years and by power of destiny, became Zeus the just, somehow as a modern physiologist will expound leisurely how a tadpole, which is substantially a finny fish, can in the course of days, by the benign influence of light, become a footed frog. All this forced and unnatural theorizing is avoided by the simple supposition, that the Athenian audience believed in Homer and Hesiod; and that the fortitude and constancy of the sufferer, which in the more popular modern view colours the whole of the Æschylean drama, was in fact but a strong dramatic point in the mind both of the ancient dramatist and his audience; while the religious soul that inspired the complete legend, was the solemn conviction of the Greek, as it is also of the Christian mind,[22] that whether in man or in demi-god, the representative of man, every function is to be exercised, every energy can be put forth blissfully, only under subjection to the will of the supreme;

ὅττι μάλ' οὐ θηναὸς ὃς ἀθανάτοισι μάχηται.

JOHN S. BLACKIE.

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[22] Besides Lassaulx and Schoemann, Völcker also, in his *Mythologie des Iapetischen Geschlechts*, (Genev. 1824,) recognizes in the Promethean mythe, as given by Hesiod in the *Works and Days*, a heathen account of the Fall of Man. We shall best forestall contradiction by saying, that the sin of Adam in *Genesis* III., and the sin of Prometheus in Hesiod and Æschylus, however they may differ in form and in effect, are in conception and principle substantially the same.

# TENTAMEN FLORÆ HOMERICÆ.

AUCT. F. A. W. MIQUEL.[1]

## I.—GRAMINEÆ.

### 1. Πυρὸς,—Triticum æstivum.

WHEAT performs an important part in the history of mankind, and it is not surprising that Homer has often mentioned it in his poems. It was even in his time regularly cultivated; fruitful Sparta was rich in this and other useful plants. In Ithaca wheat macerated in water was the food of geese (*Od.* XIX. 536 and 553); and in Sicily it must have grown wild (*Od.* IX. 105). The poet draws a beautiful comparison from the reaping of wheat and barley, and also mentions how it is ground (*Il.* XI. 69, and *Odys.* XX. 105–111).

What sort of wheat was chiefly cultivated in the time of Homer cannot be accurately determined from his writings, yet we can arrive at a great degree of probability by a comparison of the oldest sources of history with more recent antiquarian investigation.

The most ancient species of wheat appears to have been the triticum æstivum, "summer wheat." We find from the writings of Moses, that in Egypt the barley first shot, then the wheat, the harvest of which was late there and in Palestine.

Passalacqua found in the catacombs of Egypt grains of wheat which agreed with the species cultivated there at the present time. The difference between summer and winter wheat was first clearly explained by Theophrastus, (*de Caus. Plant.* IV. 12, and for other varieties of the species, see *Hist. Plant.* VIII. 4), and the latter probably originated from the cultivation of the original summer wheat. The wheat of the ancients appears to have belonged mostly all to the varieties with long spiculæ; such ears are seen, at least, on a coin of Alexandria, of the date of Augustus, and on another of Senna in Sicily. The species

[1] Communicated, and translated from the Dutch,—*Leiden Journal of Nat. Hist. and Physiol.*,—by Wm. Bell Macdonald, B.A. of Rammerscales.

of wheat which is still most cultivated in the south of Europe, is called by Desfontaines "Triticum durum," to which the above account may be very well applied, although I readily admit, that in ancient times many varieties of this grain must have existed, the species and sub-species of which it is difficult to name and define with that degree of botanical accuracy which the science of the present day demands.

Even Galen has expressed doubts how far the Homeric πυρὸς is to be held as summer wheat, or if the poet meant wheat at all, when he makes the horses of Diomed eat the μελιηδέα πυρὸν (*Il.* x. 569), and Andromache gives to the steeds of Hector μελίφρονα πυρόν (*Il.* viii. 188). Dureau de la Malle joins him in this opinion, and maintains it on the ground that wheat is an unwholesome food for horses; Galen's opinion is that the τίφη or μικρὸς πυρὸς—T. monococcon or spelta—is here meant. He finds this idea confirmed by the addition of μικρὸς, which really has nothing to do with the matter, as Galen, and not Homer, adds this more minute explanation. A strong argument against the opinion of Galen and Dureau de la Malle, will be found in the epithet μελιηδέα, "honey sweet," which is rather a property of good wheat, than of an inferior sort of grain, such as T. monococcon or spelta. Dierbach has given a singular turn to this matter; from the doubts expressed by Galen and Dureau de la Malle, and the epithet μελιηδέα, added by the poet, he draws the conclusion that the Homeric food for horses must have been "Holcus halepensis, L., or Sorghum halepense Pers." I will here, in opposition to all these, remark, that as Homer often gives different additional epithets to one and the same things which express its various qualities, hence the desire to make distinctions of this sort, would indicate that they have not understood the spirit of the poet. Eustathius has already observed, that wheat among the ancients belonged to the food for horses. (See *Gen.* ch. xlii. v. 27).

2, 3. Ὄλυρα & ζειὰ,—Triticum spelta, L., Triticum zea, Host.

The word ὄλυρα is mentioned twice in the *Iliad* as food for horses (*Il.* v. 196, viii. 569), and we find ζειὰ serving the same purpose in the *Odyssey* (iv. 41), and in Sparta it appeared along with wheat (*Od.* iv. 604). Herodotus mentions (ii. 36) that the Egyptians use a grain called ὄλυρα or ζειὰ, which in other countries served only as fodder for beasts. Theophras-

tus also speaks of these two species of grain, and describes them under the name of Thracian wheat (VIII. 4, 9). Both these sorts of grain remained known to the Greeks in later times. Dioscorides describes them more accurately (II. 111, 113), and Sprengel proves from it very plainly, that ὄλυρα is the Triticum spelta, L., and ζειὰ, T. zea, Host. Dr. Julius Billerbeck differs somewhat in regard to this plant, agreeing with Link, that the ὄλυρα is to be understood as the T. zea, and the ζειὰ to have been the T. monococcon. But if we consider how little these two species differ, and that the T. zea and spelta have already been united into one species, we must be convinced that this belongs to the botanico-historical points of difference which are not capable of being correctly decided.

4. Κριθὴ, also κρῖ,—Hordeum vulgare, L., H. hexastichon?

Barley is perhaps the oldest species of grain; barley-meal was used in sacrifice, and Ceres and the conquerors were crowned with ears of barley at the Eleusinian games. Our poet mentions it along with ὄλυρα and ζειὰ as food for horses and cows; it also appears to have been used in sacrifices at the time of Homer (*Odys.* XII. 358). Ithaca and Sparta are particularly named among the places where it was cultivated, and generally along with wheat (*Il.* XI. 69). It was styled λευκὴν, white, and εὐρυφυὲς, spreading, epithets certainly very applicable to our own barley.

Hordeum vulgare, L. and H. hexastichon, L., appear to have been principally reared by the ancients (Theophr. *Hist.* VIII. 4), which R. Brown, among others, confirms, who found the chaff-leaf of the barley from bread, dug up by Henniken in the Catacombs of Upper Egypt, completely like the kind at present raised (*Annales des Sc. Natur.* Tom. IX. 72).

## II.—Fruit Trees and Shrubs.

### 5. Αμπελος,—Vitis vinifera.

"Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus," is the remark of Horace upon our poet, who often mentions wine, and styles it μελίφρων and εὔφρων.

The vine was very common as early as the time of Homer, as may be gathered from the epithets ἀμπελόεις and πολυστάφυλος, applied to countries and cities. The vineyard of Alcinous in

Scheria was famous, where the grapes were dried in the sun. In Ithaca it was cultivated with figs and olive trees; and young Ulysses received in the orchard of Laertes fifty rows of vines (*Od.* XXIV. 340). The small island near Sicily, visited by Ulysses, was rich in ἄφθιτοι ἄμπελοι, as was also Sicily itself. The Pramnian was a wine highly esteemed, which is supposed to have received its name from a mountain in Icaria. The Greeks while at Troy received wine from Thrace. Homer also describes a fruit-bearing vine on the shield of Achilles.

6. Ἐρινεὸς,—Ficus carica.

A large fig-tree stood before Troy, which is mentioned repeatedly in the *Iliad*, and was much exposed to the wind. Large trees of this species also grew in Sicily; it was cultivated in gardens with other fruit trees, on account of the sweetness of its produce. According to Sibthorp, it is still common in Greece, and is now called Ἀγρισυκία, ὄρνος, ὄρνεος, and ὀρείνια.

7. Ἐλαίη and Φυλίη,—Olea europæa.

The poet compares the valiant Euphorbus, when dead in the battle-field, to an olive-tree thrown down by a heavy gale (*Il.* XVII. 53). It is here and in other places described as a shady tree, and sometimes called sacred. At the harbour of Phorcys in Ithaca, there stood a shady olive-tree, and it was cultivated in the garden of Alcinous, with other fruit trees; and in the nether world, olives were suspended over the head of Tantalus (*Od.* XI. 589).

The wood of this tree was used for many different purposes; the clubs of Cyclops were made of it, the handles of hatchets, and Ulysses made his bed of it.

There is no doubt but that the ἐλαίη, is the Olea europæa, L.; but it is more difficult to determine what is to be understood by the φυλίη, a tree mentioned once by Homer, where Ulysses, having been washed on the island of Scheria, sleeps under an ἐλαίη and a φυλίη (*Od.* V. 477). Sprengel holds it to be the wild olive-tree; he therefore contends that the Greeks distinguished the wild from the cultivated olive, as is at present done in the south of Europe; but against this, Billerbeck adduces, that the Rhamnus alaternus, L., is to be understood as the φυλίη, which is at the present day called φυλίκη in Corfu. It rather appears from the passage quoted from Homer, that there were two trees

under which Ulysses slept, which does not suit so well the R. alaternus, but rather refers to shrubs.

8, 9, 10. Ὄγχναι, μηλέαι, and ῥοῖαι,—Pyrus malus, L., Pyrus communis, L., Punica granatum, L.

Pear, apple, and pomegranate trees grew in the gardens of Alcinous and Laertes; and as Homer often names these three trees together, they appear to have been met with generally in the gardens of the ancient Grecians. The ὄγχνη was a tall tree, but the μηλέαι excelled it in beauty. The remark of Homer, that these and other trees in the garden of Alcinous were always green, blossoming, and bearing fruit, is to be held as a poetic exaggeration.

The pomegranate was also famed through the fable of Proserpine (Hom. *Hymn in Cer*. l. 373–75).

Pear and apple trees still abound in Greece, as well as the Punica granatum, L., which is now called ῥοὰ or ῥοδιά (Smith, *Prodr. Fl. Græcæ*, I. p. 343). Pears are called by the modern Greeks Ἀχλαδιὰ, ἀχραδι, and wild apples Ἀγριομηλία.

11, 12. Λωτὸς,—Zizyphus lotus, L. (?), Lotus corniculatus, L.

Homer mentions two species, the lotus of the Lotophagi, and another which served as food for horses.

Kurt Sprengel has arranged the different species of the lotus of the ancients with much diligence and learning (*Antiq. Botanic. Spec. prim.* Lips. 1798, p. 47). On which account I shall here only briefly speak of the Homeric species of this plant.

The companions of Ulysses were so enchanted by the agreeable flavour of the lotus of the Lotophagi, that they thought no more of their homeward voyage; Homer styles it ἄνθινον εἶδαρ, "flowery food," and μελιηδέα καρπὸν, "honey-sweet fruit." This is the lotus mentioned by Herodotus (IV. 177). Polybius, as quoted in Athenæus (B. 14), describes it as a very accurate observer, and says that it is a shrub like the rhamnus, with thorns and small but more oval leaves of a darker colour; the fruit is like the berries of the myrtle, but on ripening, acquires a purple colour and the size of an olive; it had a kernel; to the taste it was as sweet as a fig, but more agreeable in smell.

Theophrastus distinguishes two species (*Hist.* IV. 3), the Cyrenean lotus and the lotus of the Lotophagi; the former is

clearly proved by Sprengel to be the Celtis australis, L., the wood of which was useful, (*Antiq. Bot.* p. 48; Euripid. *Alc.* 346; *Troad.* 544): the other is the Homeric lotus and Zizyphus lotus, *Lam.*, upon which the learned treatise of Desfontaines is worthy of perusal (*Mem. de l'Acad. de Paris*, 1788, p. 423, Tab. 21). This tree was held in great esteem by the ancients, and its fruit has been mentioned in the sacred writings under the name of *Dudaim*[2] (*Gen.* xxx. 14, *Song of Sol.* vii. 13, 14).

The land of the Lotophagi has been placed, with much probability, on the N. coast of Africa, and the sweet fruit is still to be found there, which enchanted the companions of Ulysses. The island Meninx, in the smaller Syrtis, is, according to Strabo (B. xvii.), called Lothophagitis. Poiret found the lotus at Tunis, especially in the smaller Syrtis, on the island of Zerbi, or Gerbi, which he reckons the country of the Lotophagi. Desfontaines mentions, "Aujourd'hui les habitants de la petite Syrte et du voisinage du désert, recueillent encore les fruits du jujubier; ils les vendent dans les marchés, les mangent comme autrefois, et en nourissent même leurs troupeaux; ils en font aussi une boisson."

The second species of lotus appears as food for horses (*Il.* ii. 776). It was also found in Sparta, and appears to have been very generally spread; it grew in Ida with the grass, the χρόκος and δάκανθος, and was called ἑρσήεις, "dewy fresh." This plant, on account of its utility, was generally cultivated in the fields, as is seen from the *Iliad*, xii. 283:

Καὶ πεδία λωτεῦντα καὶ ἀνδρῶν πίονα ἔργα.

And plains with lotus overgrown, and rich tilled lands of men.

We find the lotus often mentioned after Homer, and it appears always to have been used as a useful fodder. The ancient scientific writers, Galen and Dioscorides, described plants under the name of lotus, which may be referred to the trifolium or allied species. Perhaps several species of these plants served with Homer as fodder of horses, just as we, under the word clover, do not always understand the same plant. Sprengel refers the λωτὸς ἄγριος of Dioscorides, to the Trigonella elatior, L.; in

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[2] This word is translated "Mandrakes," in our version of the Bible; "*Rimmon*," is the word translated "pomegranate," in Arabic "*Rumman*."—T.

another place, he holds it as not improbable that the lotus of Homer may have been the lotus corniculatus, L. All these plants are still found wild in Asia Minor and Greece.

### 13. Κράνεια,—Cornus mascula, L.

Our Cornelian cherry was generally called by the Greeks κράνεια, which Dioscorides has described very accurately, removing all doubt, (II. 172), with which the description of Theophrastus may also be compared (*Hist.* III. 4). To this the κράνεια of Homer undoubtedly belongs; he styles it τανύφλοιος, "long-barked," and it grows in woods with the ash and the oak, (*Il.* XVI. 767). Circe gave its fruit as hogs-food to the companions of Ulysses, (*Od.* X. 242). Sibthorp found the cornus mascula abundant in the woods between Smyrna and Bursa, also in Arcadia, and about Constantinople.

## III.—Forest Trees and Wild Shrubs.

### 14, 15. Δρῦς and φηγός,—Quercus robur, L.; Q. pedunculata, W. and Quercus esculus.

Much doubt still exists with regard to the oak of the ancients; it may, however, be held as certain, that whenever the most ancient Greek writers mention the δρῦς, without any more minute definition, different species are to be comprehended under that name, but that the Quercus robur, L., and Q. pedunculata, W., are chiefly intended. Their stately size, the dark shade of their boughs, the hardness of their timber, and the great age to which they attain, may well account for the high estimation in which these trees were held by the ancients. The poet draws many striking similes from the oak,—for instance, in describing the valour of his heroes, he says,

Ἕστασαν, ὡς ὅτε τε δρύες οὔρεσιν ὑψικάρηνοι.

*Il.* XII. 132.

They stood as on the mountains stand the oaks with lofty top.

Some believe that the Q. pedunculata is here particularly meant, but Homer has not so accurately distinguished it, and commentators go too far in making such explanations.

In these early periods, other large trees appear also to have been called δρύες (Hesych. *Lex.* Schol. of Aristoph. *Equit.* 672.) As the Q. robur grows principally on the hills, and less upon

moist places. Sprengel believes that it is of this species Homer speaks in the *Hymn to Venus*, 267,—

Καλαὶ τηλεθάουσαι, ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν
Ἕστασ' ἠμάξασαι.

"Fair, blooming, on the lofty hills they stand ascending high."

The Q. pedunculata, from the surpassing hardness and durability of its wood, must have been mostly used as timber for ships, &c.; and Penelope must have meant this tree, when she said to Ulysses (*Od.* XIX. 163),—

Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυός ἐσσι παλαιφάτου.

"For thou art not of the oak of ancient story."

The δρύες grew upon Ida, and were felled with sharp hatchets, and used for a variety of purposes; acorns were called βαλανοι. Homer understood by δρῦς, in general, various oaks, and more particularly perhaps the Q. robur and pedunculata. Sprengel, in his *Antiquitates*, has been probably too explicit, and appears afterwards to have formed quite another opinion on this point:—(where Homer, in the *Odys.* XIV. 12, speaks of the μέλαν δρύος, black part of the oak, Sprengel, in his *Geschichte der Botan.* I. p. 39, understands the Q. ilex, and extends this to the δρῦς of Homer in general.) Sibthorp found the Q. robur and pedunculata as well as the Q. ilex in Greece, but the Q. ægilops was most abundant.

The second oak mentioned by Homer, the φηγός, a tree which was famed in the Grecian mythology, is less doubtful; Pelasgus pointed out its pleasant fruit, the βάλανος, as an article of food to the Arcadians, who had previously lived upon roots and herbs. It grew wild with other trees; and one is frequently mentioned as growing before the Scæan Gate of Troy, which the poet describes as a beautiful lofty tree, sacred to Jove.

The beautiful oak wood of Dodona, in Epirus, famous for its oracle, is also to be noticed; and in Ithaca, by the fountain of Arethusa, he mentions the βάλανον μενοεικέα (*Od.* XIII. 409). So far our poet; later authors, from the chief characteristic of this tree, the edible fruit, are convinced that the φηγός of the ancient Greeks must have been our Quercus esculus, L., which Sibthorp found in Greece and Asia Minor.

### 16. Πλατάνιστος,—Platanus orientalis.

The Greeks, when they undertook their expedition against Troy, offered sacrifices, first at Aulis, καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ, which, without doubt, was a Platanus orientalis, L., and this name it has always held with the Greeks, as according to the testimony of Sibthorp, it still grows on moist land and the banks of rivers in Greece, and is called Platanos. Voss is of opinion that the Platanistos of Homer may have been an Acer, on account of the adjunct ὅθεν ῥέεν ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ, "whence flowed limpid water;" but this may be applied to the neighbouring spring, and not to the tree.

### 17, 18. Αἴγειρος and Ἀχερωΐς,—Populus græca and Populus alba.

Homer often mentions the Αἴγειρος among trees. It grew beside a spring at Ægusa, a small island near Sicily (*Od.* IX. 141); αἴγειροι μακραὶ grew at the entrance to the nether world (*Od.* X. 510); and in the island of Calypso, in a wood with the κλήθρη κυπάρισσος and ἐλάτη (*Od.* V. 64, 239); a thicket αἰγείρων ὑδατοτρεφέων stood beside a fountain in Ithaca, and there was another in Phaæcia, sacred to Minerva (*Od.* VI. 291). The poet describes this tree more exactly when he compares the Hero Simoeisios to it (*Il.* IV. 482.)—

——— ὁ δ' ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέσεν, αἴγειρος ὥς,
Ἥ ῥα ἐν ἐναμενῇ ἕλεος μεγάλοιο πεφύκει,
Λείη ἀτάρ τε οἱ ὄζοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασιν.

—— And like a poplar in the dust upon the ground he fell,
Which in the watery precincts of a mighty marsh has sprung
Smooth-skinned, while on the topmost peak the branches of it grow.

In another passage, he draws a comparison from the vibration of the leaves of this tree, (*Od.* VII. 106.)

When I add, that the Greeks, after Homer, always understood by αἴγειρος, the poplar, there can be no doubt that Homer also meant the same tree, (Theoph. *Hist.* I. 44, 10, IV. 141); and perhaps there were more than one species, yet the Populus græca Ait., which is common in Greece and its islands, is most probably that which is intended; (Sibthorp makes the αἴγειρος of Dioscorides the Pop. nigra, which he found in Greece.)

Another forest tree, which was also hewn down, is the

ἀχερωΐς, (*Il.* XIII. 389; XVI. 482); it is not elsewhere mentioned. A Scholiast says that it is the populus alba, which Hercules brought from the nether world. Sibthorp found it on moist spots in Greece.

19. Πτέλεα,—Ulmus campestris, L.

This tree, which is still common throughout the whole of Greece, is now called φτελία. Homer styles it εὐρυφύης and μεγάλη, "wide spreading and large;" it grows on the banks of rivers along with shrubs. The nymphs planted πτελέας on the grave of Ætion, who was killed at the destruction of Thebe in Cilicia (*Il.* VI. 419.) Theophrastus describes this tree very distinctly (*Hist.* III. 13.)

20. Μελίη,—Fraxinus ornus, L.

This large tree was found on the hills, and in the wooded valleys of mountain chains, along with the φηγὸς and κράνεια; and was felled for domestic purposes (*Il.* XIII. 178–80.) Spears and other weapons were made of its wood, on which account μελίη also signifies a spear; and a bold valiant hero is styled εὐμέλιας; a threshold is also mentioned as made of this wood (*Od.* XVII, 339.)

Theophrastus distinguishes the μελία and βουμελία (*Hist.* III. 11). The former is the fraxinus ornus, and the latter F. excelsior. The Homeric μελίη is F. ornus, which, according to Hawkins, is still common on the rocky hills of Greece, and is now called μέλεος.

21. Δάφνη,—Laurus nobilis, L.

Laurus nobilis, L. is still called Daphne by the Greeks of the present day. This tree was very famous with the ancients, and the mythological stories about its origin are well known. A laurel-tree in Sicily is mentioned in the *Odyssey*, IX. 183, and also occasionally in the minor poems of Homer.

22. Κλήθρη,—Alnus glutinosa, H., (A. oblongata, W.)

This tree grew in a wood on the island of Calypso along with the αἴγειρος, ἐλάτη and κυπάρισσος (*Od.* V. 64, 239.) As the poet does not describe it more exactly, it must be identified from Theophrastus (*Hist.* I. 6; III. 3; IV. 9); under the name of κλέθρα he describes a tree, which Sprengel holds to be the alnus

oblongata, Wild.; but this opinion is very doubtful, as that tree is seldom if ever found in Greece; Sibthorp, at all events, did not find it; but the A. glutinosa is very general, and is still called κλέθρα in that country, and to this more probably the κλήθρη of Homer belongs.

### 23, 24, 25. Πεύκη ἐλάτη and πίτυς,—Pinus picea, L., Pinus pinea, L.

It is difficult to determine accurately, in all respects, these three species of pinus, and to bring them back to those of the present day. The πεύκη is twice mentioned along with oaks (*Il.* XI. 494; XXIII. 328.) Sprengel takes it to be the pinus picea, L., with which the description given by Theophrastus agrees, (*Hist.* I. 7, 8, 12; II. 6,) though that of Dioscorides rather points to the P. maritima, Wild., which is still common in Greece, and called πεῦκος.

The poet speaks rather more largely of the ἐλάτη, which grew with oaks upon high hills, also in the island of Calypso, and on Ida; he styles it ὑψήλη, "lofty," and οὐρανομήκης, "shooting to heaven." Its wood was used for making tents, oars and masts. Sprengel supposes it to be the P. abies, or P. orientalis, but it may here justly be objected that the former is rarely if ever met with in Greece, (Smith, *Prod. fl. Græcæ*, II. 247.) The P. picea, L., on the other hand, according to Sibthorp, grows upon all the high hills of Greece, and is still called ἔλατος, or ἐλάτη.

The third species mentioned by Homer, the πίτυς, is rather the P. pinea, L. than the pinus larix, L., as Sprengel believes, against which Dierbach has very correctly remarked, that the latter is not to be found in Greece or the neighbouring countries (*Flora Mythолog.*, p. 46.) Homer mentions that the πίτυς is a tall tree, growing on high hills, and forms good ship-timber. It was also found in Sicily, in a wood along with oaks and laurels, and is every where described as a large tree. Sibthorp assumes the πίτυς of Dioscorides to be the pinus pinea, which he met with on the sandy coasts of the Morea, and asserts that it forms good ship-timber.

### 26. Φοίνιξ,—Phœnix dactylifera, L.

A young palm shot up beside the altar of Apollo in Delos, (*Od.* VI. 162, *Hymn in Ap.*, 117,) which was in all probability

the date-palm, phœnix dactylifera, L.: at all events, this tree was known to the Greeks under the name of φοίνξ; it is supposed to have derived this name because it was introduced from Phœnicia. Clio, the muse of history, was sometimes represented with a crown of palm-leaves; and Herodotus mentions, that the Phœnicians first wrote upon leaves of that tree. At an early period, the Greeks were acquainted with more than one species of palm, as appears from the figures on old coins.

27. Κέδρος,—Juniperus oxycedrus, L.

The wood of this tree was burned along with that of the θύον in the island of Calypso, and emitted a pleasant odour (*Od.* v. 61); it also furnished timber, and the bed of Priam was made of it (*Il.* xxiv. 192.) This is not the cedar of Lebanon, as it does not grow in Greece, and was at that time probably unknown; but the juniperus oxycedrus, a tree-like shrub, which is common there, and is still called κέδρος; its odoriferous and solid wood was in general use among the ancients. The descriptions of Theophrastus and Dioscorides, if compared, will convince us that the J. oxycedrus, L. is the tree meant by Homer.

28. Κυπαρίσσος,—Cupressus sempervirens.

That tree which the Greeks, especially Theophrastus, called κυπαρίσσος, is the cupressus sempervirens, L., and there is no doubt but that the cypress of Homer, which grew on the island of Calypso, and was styled εὐώδης, "sweet-smelling," is the same; it was also used as a fine timber (*Od.* xvii. 340); it is still called in Greece κυπαρισσιά.

29. Θύον,—Thuja articulata, Vahl; or T. cupressoides, L., or Junip. sabin., L.

The wood of the κέδρος and θύον was burnt on the island of Calypso (*Od.* v. 60); it is not mentioned elsewhere in Homer, and it remains very doubtful what tree is properly meant by it. After all that has been written upon it, and after all the clever hypotheses proposed by commentators and others, we have not arrived at any more accurate knowledge of the θύον of Homer. Pliny refutes those who, by θύον, would understand some sort of incense (xiii. 16); and Eustathius is of the same opinion,

believing it to be the citron-tree; against which Sprengel correctly remarks, that this wood gives out no odour in burning.

Theophrastus (*Hist.* I. 15), under θύον, describes a shrub which Sprengel supposes to be the Thuja articulata, Vahl., and is the same with the θύον of Homer. Wedel wrote a paper on this tree, and holds it to be the Juniperus sabina, L., while Billerbeck recognises in it the Thuja cypressoides, L. (*Flor. class.* p. 234).

To all these conjectures it would be easy to add a new one, but as nothing could be gained by it, I readily agree with Schneider, in his Dictionary, that the θύον is a tree which we cannot now accurately determine.

30. Λύγος,—Vitex agnus, L.

The branches of this shrub served as cords to bind or twist with, and any thin pliant twig used for that purpose was called λύγος; as such it occurs both in the Iliad and Odyssey; and in the hymn to Bacchus the tree itself is mentioned. At a later period crowns were also woven of it (Athen. XV. 3); and Nicander calls it λύγος πολυάνθης (*Theriac.* l. 63); afterwards it acquired the name of ἄγνος, as it was regarded as a preventative of venereal desire. It is our vitex agnus, L., which, according to Sibthorp, still abounds by brooks, and on moist spots in Greece, under the name of ἀγνεία or λυγεία.

31. Ἰτέαι and ῥῖπες οἰσυΐναι,—Salix, num alba, L.? aliæque.

Ἰτέαι, willows, with other shrubs and trees, grew on the banks of the Xanthus at Troy, and also along with poplars at the entrance to the subterranean kingdom of Proserpine; the poet styles them ὠλεσικάρποι, "fruit-destroying" (shedding its fruit before ripening), which is a very suitable epithet for the willow (*Od.* X. 510); ῥῖπες οἰσυΐναι, osier wicker-works, were, probably, the willow-branches which Ulysses used in making his ship on the island of Calypso (*Od.* V. 256). The poet has naturally intended more than one sort of willow, which Theophrastus first began to distinguish (*Hist.* III. 1). The salix alba, L., is still called ἐπά in Greece.

32. Πύξος,—Buxus semper virens, L.

The yokes of Priam's steeds were made of the ξύλον πύξινον (*Il.* XXIV. 269). Hawkins found the buxus semper virens, L., on

Pindus and in Epirus; the modern Greeks call it πυξαρι (Smith, *Prod. fl. Græc.* II. p. 232., Theophr. *Hist.* I. 7).

33. Μυρίκη,—Tamarix gallica, L.

The horses of Adrastus were entangled, and fell among the branches of this shrub, before Troy (*Il.* VI. 39). It grew wild, with other shrubs, principally on the banks of the Xanthus, and formed ἐρεθήλεας ὄζους, long twigs. Later writers have described it more circumstantially, especially Dioscorides, whose description clearly represents to us the tamarix gallica, L. According to Ross (*Etymol. Ægypt.*. p. 263), the word tamarix is compounded of τα (article femin.) and μυρίκη. Sibthorp found the tamarix gallica common on moist spots in Greece, and called μωστικία or ἀρμυρίκη.

34, 35. Αἵμασιαὶ, ἄχερδος and βάτος,—Mespilus monogyna, or zacynthus, Rubus fruticosus, L.

As early as the time of Homer gardens were enclosed by fences αἵμασιαὶ, consisting of thorny-shrubs, as this word is derived from αἷμα, "blood" (*Od.* XVIII. 359. XXIV. 224). Eumæus planted ἄχερδος round the swine-yard in Ithaca, which word Eustathius derives from ἄχερος (ἀ privative, and χειρ the hand). Sibthorp mentions that the Mespilus monogyna, L., or zacynthus, still forms good fences (*Od.* XIV. 10).

Laërtes wore gloves while working in his garden, to secure himself against the βάτος, which is supposed to be a rubus, as the R. fruticosus is common in all the Greek islands, and Theophrastus describes it under the name of βάτος, and the rubus is called βάτος, or βάτω, by the Greeks of the present day.

36. Μυρσίνη,—Myrtus communis, L.

When the poet speaks of μυρσινοείδεας ὄζους, (*Hymn to Merc.* 81, and at 190 he calls βατοδρόπος one who plucks the berries from the thorn hedges, or roots out the thorns), it may be inferred that the μυρσίνη, the cherished myrtus communis, L., was not unknown to him.

37. Κίσσος,—Hedera helix, L.

The Hedera helix, L., was sacred to Bacchus; and our poet mentions this shrub in the hymn to Bacchus, (XXV. 9,)

whom he calls κισσοκόμην, "ivy-tressed." The κίσσος still retains its name in Greece.

## IV.—Cultivated Plants.

### 38, 39. Ἐρέβινθος and κύαμοι,—Cicer arietinum, L.—Vicia faba, L.

Mention is made in the *Iliad* (XIII. 589), of the cleaning of these fruits, which appear to have been specially cultivated. Sprengel defines the former to be Cicer arietinum, L., and the latter Vicia faba, L. The description given by Theophrastus (*Hist.* VIII. 1) of the ἐρέβινθος, confirms this conjecture of Sprengel. The cicer is still eaten in Greece, and is called in Candia ῥεβιθι. The κύαμοι, "beans," are styled μελανόχροες, "black-skinned," and belong to the oldest cultivated pulse (*Il.* XIII. 589). There was a bean-god in Attica called Kyamites, to whom was ascribed the election of officers by beans (Creuz. *Symbol.* III. 33).

### 40, 41. Πράσον and κρόμυον,—Allium cepa, L., culta; Allium porrum, L., culta.

The leek, allium, was cultivated in the time of Homer, in gardens or in separate plots, which were called πρασίαι (*Od.* VII. 127., XXIV. 246). This was probably the Allium porrum, L., which was there cultivated, and it always appears to have been called πράσον, as is proved from Dioscorides (II. 179. See also Sprengel, ad h. l.; perhaps it may rather be the Allium ampeloprasum, L., which Sibthorp found common in Greece, and which does not differ much from the A. porrum.)

The κρόμυον is the Allium cepa, L., which was served up along with honey in the tent of Nestor (*Il.* XI. 630., *Od.* XIX. 233., Theoph. *Hist.* VII. 4). Sibthorp mentions that it is still generally grown in Greece, and bears the name of κρομμύδι.

### 42. Λίνον,—Linum usitatissimum.

Even in the time of Homer, flax and its profitable use was known, though linen was less in general use than wool for clothing, and was rather for the rich and great. Homer speaks of a linen breastplate λινοθώρηξ (*Il.* II. 529. 830), and mentions also a linen bed-cover (*Il.* IX. 657). The sail-cloth and cordage of ships had also their names from it. Flax is still much cultivated in Greece, and is now called λίναρι.

## V.—Plants which were famed in Mythology, or for Mystic and Healing powers.

### 43. Ἀσφόδελος,—Asphodelus ramosus, L.

Sprengel has accurately drawn out the history of this famous plant of antiquity, and shewn that the asphodelus of the most ancient authors is the A. ramosus, L. (*Antiq. botan. specimen prim.* p. 68—79). Homer speaks of the famous asphodel-mead (ἀσφοδελὸς λειμών), on the shores of the ocean, in the land of the Cimmerians, where the souls of the dead have their abode. The reason why this plant was placed in Hades, must be sought from this, that the bulbous roots of the asphodel served as food in the most ancient times, as appears from Hesiod, and that the first inhabitants of Greece, like all uncivilised people, still thought some sort of food necessary for the dead; for this purpose the asphodel was planted in burying-places; hence, perhaps, arose the story of the asphodel-mead in the lower world. In Spain and the Greek islands this plant is still common, and is called ἀσφοδέλω.

### 44, 45. Μήκων, νηπενθὲς φάρμακον,—Papaver rhœas, L.; Papaver somniferum, L.

The poet draws a striking comparison between the valiant Gorgythion falling under the sword of Teucer, and a poppy broken down by heavy rains (*Il.* viii. 306—9). The opinion of Sprengel that the said papaver is the P. somniferum, L., can only be regarded as conjecture; it is more likely to be the P. rhœas, L., which is still common on Grecian plains.

The story of the nepenthes which Helen mixed in the wine for Telemachus, to soothe his sorrow and make him forget his pains, is well known (*Od.* iv. 222).

The commentators of Homer have raised infinite disputes about the definition of this secret drug; to repeat all the hypotheses and conjectures on this subject would carry me too far, I will therefore content myself by pointing out the following only:—

1. Etymologically considered, νήπενθες means "without sorrow," which also agrees very well with the description, ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἁπάντων, "freeing from anger, producing oblivion of all ills."

2. That nepenthes was a plant or a product of the soil, appears from the continuation, φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα, "the gracious soil produces." From this the opinion held by many, that the whole story is allegorical, falls to the ground, as well as that of those who conjecture it to be wine, since Helen here pours the drug into the wine; neither has wine the power which the poet ascribes to the nepenthes.

3. Helen had received it from Egypt, from Polydamna, with other drugs, and the Egyptians were distinguished for their knowledge of the healing art.

4. It cannot be denied that all this agrees best with opium, and that it probably was the drug by which Helen made the young Telemachus forget his sorrow. This opinion has been adopted by Ricci, Wedel, and Sprengel. By this, at all events, the Homeric story can be explained, and the Turkish opium-eaters of the present day may be brought forward in confirmation.

Opium has also received the name of Thebaicum, from Thebes, in Egypt, because it was there in very general use. Some suppose the nepenthes to be the hyoscyamus muticus, L., or hyoscyamus betæfolius, Lam., which is abundant at Cairo, the stupefying effects of which were well known to the Egyptian priests at an early period (Dierbach, *fl. Mythолog.* p. 189, Plin. xxv. 4). But against this opinion it is to be advanced, that according to Sibthorp the hyoscyamus albus is common in Greece, which the nepenthes does not seem to have been; the effect of it, also, is more like that of opium than the extract of hyoscyamus.

46. Ῥίζα πίκρη,—Achillea millefolium; Aristolochia, Ischæmum, or Gentiani radix.

Patroclus spread upon the wound of Eurypylus a bitter root, which eased pain and stopped hemorrhage, (*Il.* xi. 846.) It has been often attempted to define what sort of plant this was, but it may be very safely reckoned an impossibility. It has been conjectured to be Achillea millefolium, L., Aristolochia, and Ischæmum. G. W. Wedel has written a learned dissertation to prove that it is the common Gentian root.

47. Μῶλυ,—Allium dioscoridis, Sibth., (A. nigrum, Gouan?)

This plant, which Mercury gave to Ulysses in the island of Circe, as an antidote to her sorcery, has raised as much dispute

as the nepenthes. Our poet (*Od.* x. 302,) gives a more minute description of this plant than he usually does:

ἐκ γαίης ἐρύσας, καί μοι φύσιν αὐτοῦ ἔδειξεν·
ῥίζῃ μὲν μέλαν ἔσκε, γάλακτι δὲ εἴκελον ἄνθος·
μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοὶ · χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν.

Up-tearing it from earth, its nature too he shewed me;
At the root 'twas black indeed, but its flower was like to milk;
Molu the gods do call it; 'tis difficult to dig out.

The ancient Greek botanists have written on this plant, known only from the peculiar description of Homer, and have doubts as to its definition. Sprengel holds the μῶλυ of Theophrastus (*Hist.* IX. 17,) to be most probably the allium nigrum gouan; he mentions (*Hist.* IX. 15,) also that this plant is held to be the Homeric molu. To this also belongs the μῶλυ of Dioscorides, (III. 46–54,) which Sibthorp makes a peculiar species, and calls A. dioscoridis; it is rather surprising, however, that the learned traveller does not more minutely describe his new plant, nor has he brought any drawing or dried specimen of it with him to England. Gossone believes it to be a synonyme with the A. siculum Urv. The black root and white flowers of the Homeric μῶλυ, with the difficulty of digging it up, agree also very well with the A. nigrum gouan, (Sprengel, *Comment. in Dioscorid.* p. 517.)[3]

## VI.—Flowers.

### 48. Ἴον,—Viola odorata, L.

This flower is mentioned by our poet, along with σέλινον in the *Od.* v. 72; if we do not rather with Eustathius and other annotators read σίον. Whoever reads ἴον, will find it to be our Viola odorata, L. Homer appears, at all events, to have known this beautiful spring flower, as he speaks of its colour in his poems; for example, ἰόδνεφες εἶρος and ἰοείδεα πόντον, (*Od.* IV.

[3] We should here enquire from what plant Circe obtained her enchanting drug. Dierbach thus cuts the mythological knot: "This magic plant, whatever may be said in opposition to it, could have been nothing but the mandrake, Atrapa mandragora, L." (*Flora Mytholog.* p. 204.)

135; XI. 107.) Sibthorp found the V. odorata, L. in many parts of Greece.[4]

49, 50. Κρόκος and ὑάκινθος,—Crocus vernus et aureus, L.; 2. Gladiolus communis, L.; Var. triphyllus, Sibth.

When Jove embraced Juno on Mount Ida, grass sprang from the fruitful soil, with dewy lotus, and κρόκος and ὑάκινθος, (*Il.* XIV. 346;) the former of which must belong to the crocus vernus and C. aureus, L., which are the earliest spring flowers in Greece. The beautiful colour of this flower must also have been before the mind of our poet, when he calls the day-break κροκόπεπλος, "saffron-robed," (*Il.* VIII. 1.) It is difficult to decide to what plant the hyacinth of the ancients is to be referred, a plant which was famous in mythology, from the well-known story of its origin. The same name appears in later times to have been given to more than one flower which, from its figure, resembled the letters AI, or ΥΑ. Voss and others suppose it to be the iris germanica, L., to which afterwards also other species, as the I. fætidissima, would come to be added. Sprengel rather believes it to be the gladiolus communis, Var. triphyllus, Sibth. On the other hand, not long ago, Tenore, at Naples, has defended the opinion, that the gladiolus byzantinus, Gawl., represents the hyacinth of the ancient poets. The flower of this plant has white triangular patches, which, in his idea, imitate very exactly the letters AI, (Férussac, *Bull. des Sc. Natur.* 1828, p. 332.)

51. Ἀγαλλίς?

No conjecture can be formed what flowers the poet means by ἀγαλλίδας, which grow along with the hyacinth and others, as he only mentions it once, and no exact account of it is found in other writers (*Hymn to Ceres*, 426). The remark of Nicander in Athenæus (XV. 9. p. 683. Ed. Schweig), is the only notice that can be brought to bear on its definition, namely, that the iris agrees in root and leaf with the agallis and hyacinth.

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[4] I cannot help thinking that ἰάμωες, applied to the Argives in the *Iliad*, must mean "Fools pale as the violets around ye;" "violet-faced fools," referring to the white or yellow violet, which is common enough in Greece, as the usual rendering of "arrow doomed," or, "rushing on your fate," implies a derivation quite inimical to prosody.—T.

52. Νάρκισσος,—Narcissus tazetta, L.

This famous flower of antiquity is mentioned in the hymn to Ceres, along with others which the fruitful Gaia caused to spring, in order to decoy Proserpine into the nether world; this narcissus excelled the others in size and beauty.

Voss and Sprengel hold this spring flower of the Greeks to be the narcissus tazetta, L., with which Ovid's account of its colour very well agrees (*Metam.* III. 509). It is still found on the Greek hills.

53. Λείριον,—Lilium candidum, L.

The beautiful white lily, lilium candidum, L., was found by Hawkins in Tempe of Thessaly, and Sibthorp saw it frequently in gardens in Greece. Theophrastus mentions (*Hist.* VI. 7,) that it flowers in Greece in spring, with the narcissus. Our poet sings of λείρια θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, "lilies a wonder to behold," with the narcissus and other flowers (*Hymn to Cer.* 428). He also draws a comparison from the beautiful whiteness of the flower (*Il.* XIII. 830).

54. Ῥόδον,—Rosa centifolia, L.

Our poet mentions roses among the flowers which Proserpine plucked, and which gave occasion for her abduction (*Hymn to Cer.* 6). Rosebuds are also mentioned, if we follow the improved reading of Voss, ῥοδέας κάλυκας (l. 428).

Homer, who drew his comparisons mostly from nature, calls the dawn ῥοδοδάκτυλος, as it opens the gates of heaven.

## VII.—Wild Plants.

55. Βύβλος,—Cyperus papyrus, L.

This plant, the papyrus antiquorum, W., appears to have been used in the time of Homer for ships rigging; at least the poet mentions in one place ὅπλον βύβλινον (*Od.* XXI. 391). It has not been mentioned from whence the Greeks procured this article.

56, 57. Σέλινον and σίον,—Apium graveolens, L.; Sium nodiflorum, L.

These two plants were found in a marsh in the island of Ca-

lypso (*Od.* v. 72[5]). The former was used with the lotus as fodder for horses, and called ἐλεόθρεπτον; the later Greeks understood by σέλινον our apium graveolens, L., for which see Theophrastus, who describes it under the name of σέλινον ἕλειον (*Hist.* VII. 6). At present it is not rare in moist regions in Greece, and is called ἀγριοσέλινον.

What is to be understood by σίον, I do not venture to determine; Sibthorp assumes the σίον of Dioscorides to be the sium nodiflorum, L., which is common in Greece. It is probable that this is also the Homeric plant, although it is still more so that the poet comprehended different aqueous plants under this name. It is not to be supposed that he has so accurately distinguished a plant that had no limited use.

58. Μαλάχη,—Malva sylvestris, L.?

The leaves of this plant are mentioned (*Batrachom.* 161), yet it is not intimated what species of μαλάχη our poet means, under which the Greeks comprehended different species of the malva. The malva sylvestris, which is common in Greece, is at present called ἄφρια μολοχα or μολουχα.

59. Δόναξ,—Arundo donax, L.

The heroes of our poet appear to have made their arrows of this reed (*Il.* XI. 583), which grew with the μυρίκη around Troy (*Il.* X. 467., XVIII. 576). The use of this plant in the times of Homer, the signification of the word δόναξ in later writers, and the description given of it by Theophrastus, leave no doubt of its being our arundo donax, L., which, according to Sibthorp, is common in the marshes of Greece. When Homer mentions the λαχνήεντ' ὄροφον in a marsh (downy thatch, *Il.* XXIV. 451), and tells us that it was gathered as a covering for tents, he means the reeds, in general, which grow in marshes, and not any particular species, as arundo phragmites, L., which some suppose it to be.

6. Κύπειρος,—Cyperus?

This was probably a plant of the family of the cyperaceæ, which grew with the λωτὸς and θρύον on the banks of rivers, and was accounted in Sparta among the useful plants, being used

[5] For *σίον* in this passage many prefer to read *ἴον*.

with the lotus as fodder for cattle. Theophrastus describes several species of this genus, which Sprengel and others reduce partly to the cyperus comosus, Sibth.; C. rotundus, L., and C. longus, L., which is the species most common in Greece. Billerbeck also adds the C. fuscus and flavescens (*Fl. Class.* p. 18).

### 61, 62. Σχοῖνος. θρύον.

When Ulysses was cast on the shore of Scheria, he slept upon a couch of the σχοῖνος (*Od.* v. 463). In another passage ὀξυσχοῖνος is mentioned (*Batrachom.* 248, 256), which must have represented a plant of the same species.

The plants which Theophrastus and Dioscorides describe under the name of σχοῖνος, belong principally to our schœnus and scirpus species.

Scirpus palustris, S. holoschœnus, L., mucronatus, L., and maritimus, L., abound on the shores of the Greek islands, and probably served as the couch of the hero of the Odyssey (Sprengel, *Geschicht. der Bot.* I. p. 95).

The θρύον is mentioned by the poet, along with the lotus and cyperus, on the banks of rivers (*Il.* XXI. 351), and this plant must belong to the carices, or junci.

### 63. Φῦκος,—Zostera marina, L.

The φῦκος was cast on the shore of Troy by the stormy weather (*Il.* IX. 7), and the shore in general was called φυκάδες (*Il.* XXIII. 693). The Greeks still call the zostera marina, L., the common sea-weed of the Mediterranean, φύκια; and this was very probably also the Homeric sea-weed.

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## III.

## SOPHOCLES, AND HIS DRAMATIC ART.

WE have had many essays lately on the tragedy of the Greeks, but none that I am aware of on their tragic art. At present the ancient drama seems to be chiefly regarded as a kind of psychological puzzle. Volumes are written to discover the one idea which is supposed to have engrossed the poet in the composition of any given play; or on the moral and political tendency of his writings. In short, there is but one possible view that has been completely neglected, yet—strange enough—the most essential one. It seems to be quite forgotten that the dramatic poet addressed himself to an audience of men and women, and that his object was to sound the heights and depths of human sympathy.

Whether all that modern philosophers and critics have discovered in the works of the Athenian dramatists really exists there, we need not stop to enquire; but we may, at all events, safely affirm that we should seek in vain among the ancient writers for any authority for such views. They are the offspring of the last century, and were totally unknown to the Greeks themselves. It is sufficient, however, for the objects of the present paper, if the dramatic point of view be allowed to have been merely a subsidiary one. Aristotle, in his celebrated definition, pointed out the true aim of the tragic poet. Among modern critics, Lessing, in his *Dramaturgie*, was the first to discover the real meaning of the Stagirite; and though his interpretation has been ridiculed by Schlegel, in his third lecture on Dramatic Literature, we, nevertheless, hold it to be the correct one. The passions to be awakened are, fear for ourselves, pity for others; terms which comprehend all that we mean by human sympathy, when excited by the view or by the narration of some terrible calamity. But the authority of Aristotle is on the wane. His supremacy has long since been shaken in the realm of pure intellect, where, like Lucan's Pompey, "stat magni nominis umbra;" and the shadow is still, indeed, gigantic.

"Bacon, at last, a mighty man, arose,
Whom a wise king and Nature chose
Lord Chancellor of both their laws,
And boldly undertook the injur'd pupils' cause.
Authority, which did a body boast,
Though 'twas but air condens'd, and stalk'd about
Like some old giant's more gigantic ghost,
To terrify the learned rout,
With the plain magic of true reason's light
He chas'd out of our sight;
Nor suffered living men to be misled
By the vain shadows of the dead."[1]

The attacks of Aristotle's more modern assailants are directed against his canons of criticism and taste. On such subjects the plea of authority is even still less available. But whilst, at the bidding of his opponents, we here utterly disclaim and cast away any influence which may attach to the mere name of the Stagirite, and are content to be only so far guided by him as he may have had better opportunities for forming a correct judgment; so must his adversaries in their turn concede the privilege which they claim for themselves; and though many eminent names be enrolled among their ranks, they can hardly, on their own principle, expect us to adopt their speculations, except in so far as they may coincide with our own judgment and experience.

The Bishop of St. David's, at the close of a highly ingenious and eloquent essay "On the Irony of Sophocles," in the second volume of the *Philological Museum*, (p. 535, *note*) ridicules the notion that Aristotle's being a Greek of nearly the same age as the great tragic poets, as well as a philosopher, should be considered sufficient to enable him to comprehend the true theory of tragic art, and asks whether, if Lord Bacon had written a treatise on the art of poetry, we should now think his judgment conclusive on Shakspeare's notion of tragedy, or in the design and spirit of any of his plays? But though it is with much diffidence that I venture to differ from the opinion of so eminent a scholar, still it seems to me that we may concede all the benefit to be derived from a negative to this latter question, without materially damaging our view of Aristotle's compe-

[1] Cowley's *Ode to the Royal Society.*

tence. Tragedy would have appeared to the two philosophers under such totally different aspects, would have been surrounded with circumstances so wholly dissimilar, that whilst the opinion of the Englishman, in spite of his vast abilities, would be entitled to but little more weight than that of an ordinary individual, the judgment of the Greek would come recommended to us almost as the sentiment of a nation. In truth, the contrast is so striking, that it may be worth while to pursue it a little.

With Aristotle, to visit the theatre was to attend a high religious and public festival, at which not only thousands of Athenian citizens were present, but visitors from the remotest parts of Greece. The subject of the drama was one of national interest; if not some ancient and well known legend of Grecian history or mythology, at all events some more recent passage in the national annals—the taking of Miletus, or the destruction of the Persian host. In order to represent these subjects with adequate dignity and splendour, they were got up at the public expense; a chorus was assigned to such of the tragic poets whose performances appeared worthy of the stage; and in order to stimulate their exertions, prizes of different value were bestowed on the three most successful competitors, to be received in the face of assembled Greece. The delicate office of assigning these prizes was deputed to select judges. To discharge it properly would require a considerable degree of critical *acumen*; and though these arbitrators were probably much governed in their award by the feelings manifested by the audience, still it would have been shameful for any Athenian gentleman, any καλὸς κἀγαθός, liable to be chosen for such an office, to be ignorant of the principles of dramatic criticism.[2] The office, too, of those who assigned the choruses, if not so prominent and honourable, was certainly more difficult and more responsible than that of the final judges, inasmuch as they had no expression of public opinion to guide them. These circumstances, together with the universal interest excited by the theatrical contests, would naturally make dramatic criticism a subject of frequent discussion in Athenian society, and stimulate the wits of critics and philosophers to discover its true principles. That many treatises on the subject existed in the time of Aristotle can scarcely be

[2] On the qualifications of the tragic judges, see Lessing, *Leben des S* edited by Eschenburg, p. 89, *foll.*

doubted. One of the most important, as coming from the hand of so great a master, must have been that composed by Sophocles. Euripides even made his choruses the vehicles of criticism. That the opinions thus promulgated, and in the conversation of the Attic wits, must have reduced the art, with regard at least to its general principles, to something like a consistent uniformity, may be inferred from the fact, that two philosophers of such opposite tempers as Plato and Aristotle should so nearly agree in their views of the subject. As regards Aristotle, personally, we have the strongest motives for reliance on his judgment, not only in the high character of his intellect, but in the interest which he notoriously took in the drama. In the *Poetics* he assigns the preference to tragedy in comparison with epic poetry; and it is well known that he collected the *Didascaliæ*, or registers of dramatic exhibitions.

And now let us accompany our illustrious countryman to the play. To get there, he would probably have either to take a wherry to Bankside, or to wend his way to Shoreditch, or some other outskirt of the city; for though there was indeed a theatre in the Blackfriars, it was not established without the greatest opposition. Although James the First himself was sufficiently fond of dramatic entertainments, the puritanical spirit had already so engrossed the burgesses of London, that, so far from any prizes being given for their encouragement, they did all that lay in their power to eject stage-players from the city, as rogues and vagabonds, and corrupters of youth. When Bacon got to the theatre, he would have to pay for a seat in a miserable house, without scenery[3] or decorations, where, indeed, if he was fortunate in the choice of his play, he might be rewarded by the fine poetry of Marlowe, Peele, or Shakspeare; but even these for the most part disfigured by coarseness or buffoonery, to suit the ears of the *groundlings*. The only stimulant, both to poets and players, was the prospect of immediate gain; for how little hope or desire of fame was entertained, even by Shakspeare, the greatest among them, appears from his negligence with regard to the publication of his plays. In such a state of things it is not probable that Bacon would have regarded the theatre except as a

[3] Shifting scenery was introduced by Sir William Davenant. Mr Collier, in his *History of the Stage*, with considerable probability, attributes some of the finest descriptions in our old dramatists to the absence of scenery.

place in which to spend an idle hour; or that his mind, busied with the *Novum Organon*, should have found any inducement to make, like Aristotle, a collection of play-bills! And so we find in his book on the *Advancement of Learning*, that though his well known division of the intellectual powers into those of memory, imagination, and reason, obliged him to take a survey of poetry, to which, indeed, like Aristotle, he assigns a higher rank than to history; yet his treatment of it, in comparison with that of his other subjects, is very meagre, and more especially of that branch of it—representative poetry—which contains the drama. The latter he dismisses in a single sentence, and hurries away from the whole subject with the remark, that "it is not good to stay too long in the theatre."

So far, then, as mere authority can go in such a matter, it seems to me that there never was an author whose opinion is entitled to so much weight as that of Aristotle. But if we reject authority altogether, then the matter comes to be one of purely individual experience and judgment. Now few, I fancy, when beholding the mimic sufferings of a Lear or a Desdemona, a Jaffier or a Mrs Beverley, have felt inclined to consider whether the author had adhered to the fundamental idea of the play, and taken every possible opportunity of parading its moral; that unreflecting good nature, for instance, and unfounded jealousy, should be alike avoided; or that gambling, and trusting a woman with a secret, equally lead to certain destruction. To judge from some unequivocal symptoms, the audience seem on such occasions to be unconscious Aristotelians. There may, indeed, now and then be a stray philosopher behind the curtains of the side-boxes, cool enough to make the requisite analysis during the performance of the most pathetic passages. Yet the question still recurs,—what was the poet's object in addressing so many thousands? Did he mean only to afford an exercise for the philosopher's intellect? Is the crowd who have allowed their feelings to get the better of their understandings to be put to the door; or are we not rather entitled to apply Martial's line to the gentleman behind the curtains—

Cur in theatrum, Cato severe, venisti?

But here it may be necessary to explain. I do not mean to say that there is no moral in tragedy; so far from it, we may safely assert, that a play of an absolutely immoral tendency, or which

should represent the unmitigated triumph of vice, would stand no chance of permanent success. The *Agamemnon* of Æschylus is only the first portion of a trilogy. Aristophanes, in the *Frogs*, makes the author of that magnificent tragedy inculcate the maxim that poets are the pædagogues of grown up people:

—— Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παιδαρίοισιν
ἔστι διδάσκαλος ὅστις φράζει, τοῖς ἡβῶσιν δὲ ποιηταί.—1055.

Their teaching, however, must be by example, not by precept. In the passage just referred to, Æschylus is made to commend his *Seven against Thebes* as a good manly play, not for the sentiments expressed, but for the characters displayed; and for the same reason he blames Euripides for introducing his Sthenebœæ and Bellerophons. The moral must not be openly insisted on, or the ἡβῶντες will think themselves treated like children, and revolt. Lillo's *George Barnwell* is out of date even for the London 'prentices. It is not the poet's business to address himself *immediately* to the moral sense of his audience. That is the method of the moralist and the preacher. The tragic poet reaches his end by interesting the feelings. The Aristotelian term (ψυχαγωγεῖν) is very expressive. If he cannot rouse the imagination and touch the heart, he has mistaken his vocation; if he can, he may safely leave the moral to take care of itself. The tears of genuine sympathy will never flow for vice. And, if there be any truth in this view of the matter, Aristotle was quite right to confine himself in his *Poetics* to the question of art.[4]

In truth, what human action is there, real or mimic, that does not bring its moral to an observer of ordinary intelligence? Ethics are a part of human nature. To divest ourselves of moral feelings, is to divest ourselves of our humanity. They accompany us on all occasions. What more opposite states of

[4] On this head I may quote the opinion of a true critic, Lessing, in his *Life of Sophocles*, which, though a fragment, is by far the best account of the poet that has yet appeared. He is remarking on a corrupt passage in Plutarch, where we are told that Sophocles changed the character of the dramatic dialogue. "Sophokles soll den ganzen Charakter der Rede umgeschaffen, und ihn, so viel möglich, sittlich und moralisch gut gemacht haben? Das sieht dem Sophokles nicht ähnlich. Dazu war er zu viel Poet, und verstand seine Kunst viel zu gut! Der wahre Tragicus lässt seine Personen ihrem Affecte, ihrer Situation gemäss sprechen, und bekümmert sich nicht im geringsten darum, ob sie lehrreich und erbaulich sprechen."—P. 64.

mind can be imagined than those excited by tragedy and by comedy? Yet has comedy its moral as well as tragedy; and for the purposes of common life, perhaps a more useful and effective one:

—— Ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.

Shakspeare's *Othello* and *Merry Wives of Windsor* both present a picture of unfounded jealousy; and though nothing can be more striking than the contrast of the passion, as exhibited in the high-souled, impetuous Moor, and in his ludicrous counterpart, Mr Ford, still the moral that may be extracted from both plays is precisely the same. Hence it seems to me, that he who would make the moral the first object, either of a tragic or comic poet, goes to work with too universal a tool. He uses a key that picks all locks, but belongs to none.

On these grounds it is that I look with suspicion on all theories of art which do not make that particular end which it is the province of each to attain, the first consideration. I would equally reject the Hegelian theory, which makes the elaboration of some one idea the uppermost thought of the poet's mind, and that propounded by Blümner, Schlegel, and others, that Greek tragedy is essentially a developement of fatalism; though that religious feelings, moral ideas, and even occasionally the doctrine of fate, enter into and modify the works of the ancient tragic authors, according to their respective tempers, I do not mean to dispute. The first, perhaps, is more peculiarly the characteristic of Sophocles, the second of Euripides, and the last of Æschylus. All that I contend for, is, that these are mere accidents and modifications of tragic art; and that its essence —the primary object aimed at by the poet—is, or should be, by a well-developed plot, truthfully drawn characters, and appropriate sentiments and language, to arouse and concentrate human sympathy. In calling attention to these points, I should even fear that I was uttering a mere string of truisms, were it not for the method of criticism now in vogue respecting Greek tragedy, which is directed to any thing rather than to the dramatic point of view.

To come to the more immediate subject of this paper, I must confess, it is for these reasons that, with all my admiration of its ingenuity, I cannot bring myself to assent to the theory contained in the Bishop of St. David's essay before alluded to, *On*

*the Irony of Sophocles.* The relation in which Sophocles stood to the creatures of his brain, is there likened to that of a judge deciding between two contending parties; nay, even to that of a sort of god, the creator of his own little world, from the beings that people which he himself stands aloof;—viewing them neither with an eye "of human friendship, nor of brotherly kindness, nor of parental love," but with "that which he imagines that the invisible power who orders the destiny of man, might regard the world and its doings." Such a position might certainly afford abundant food for irony. But irony is a weapon that belongs to the armoury of the reasoner rather than to that of the poet; and of all that hang there, it is the one of the coldest and most tranchant metal. Dr. Thirlwall, it is true, has guarded his theory by distinctions between the different kinds of irony: as *verbal* irony; *dialectic* irony, such as that displayed by the Platonic Socrates; and *practical* irony. It is to the latter class, and indeed to its better and more benevolent species, that the irony of Sophocles is referred. Dr. Thirlwall has so eloquently described the temper of mind to which he alludes, that the reader will be glad to have his own words. They are as follows:—"All who have lived long enough in the world must be able to remember objects coveted with impatient eagerness, and pursued with long and unremitting toil, which, in possession, have proved tasteless and worthless; hours embittered with anxiety and dread by the prospect of changes, which brought with them the fulfilment of the most ardent wishes; events anticipated with the most trembling expectation, which arrived, past, and left no sensible trace behind them, while things of which they scarcely heeded the existence, persons whom they met with indifference, exerted the most important influence on their character and fortunes. When, at a sufficient interval, and with altered mood, we review such instances of the mockery of fate, we can scarcely refrain from a melancholy smile; and such, we conceive, though without any of the feelings that sometimes sadden our retrospect, must have been the look which a superior intelligence, exempt from our passions, and capable of surveying all our relations, and foreseeing the consequences of all our actions, would at the time have cast upon the tumultuous workings of our blind ambition, and our groundless apprehensions—upon the phantoms we raised to chase us or be chased, while the substance of good

presented itself to our view, and was utterly disregarded."—P. 486.

A preliminary objection might perhaps be raised, against the frame of mind here described being ranked under the head of irony. For, if this be irony, what other term shall we find for philosophy and wisdom?—for that view of the fallaciousness of all human hopes and pursuits which forced the wisest of monarchs and of men to exclaim that "all is vanity and vexation of spirit!" Strictly speaking, irony may, I think, be defined, or rather, described, as a method of exposing absurdity by a pretended agreement with the humours of the absurd person; or, by representing the actions which spring from his principles in such a light as to make them ridiculous. The former part of this definition refers to those two species of irony which Dr. Thirlwall classes under the heads of *verbal* and *dialectic*; the latter to that which he calls *practical*: but which, when talking of works of art, must be confined to the various species of the apologue and fable. In this last kind, Æsop was as great a master as Socrates was in the dialectic; and the congeniality of their humour cannot be more strongly exemplified than by the anecdote of the philosopher having turned the stories of the fabulist into verse. In modern times, Voltaire has given some elaborate specimens of the ironical apologue, drawn from human society, as in *Candide, où l'Optimisme*, and in several other of his—in their diabolical way—inimitable novels. To attain its end—to be in fact irony—it must ever be accompanied, like the verbal and dialectic kinds, with more or less of ridicule, with something of a sneer. No doubt, it may often be employed with a benevolent purpose. Perhaps one of the finest examples of grave irony of this description is the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes. Still, its first purpose is to wound; though in one case it may resemble the dagger of the assassin; in another, the knife of the friendly surgeon. Now, if there be any truth in this notion of irony, it is plain, I think, that no tone of mind can be more alien to tragedy, as a whole, than the ironical; though, doubtless, it may be often applied in particular passages with great force and effect. On the other hand, it seems very well adapted to comedy.

I do not, however, wish to rest my objection to Dr. Thirlwall's theory on any technicality of this description. The name is of but little consequence, and I prefer to take my stand

on the broader ground of the principle. My objection to the theory is the same as to others that I have noticed;—that it is too vague and general, and that the phænomena which it professes to explain, may be solved on principles more congenial to tragic art.

The themes of tragedy ever involve some signal mutation of fortune: they shew us blasted hopes and disappointed passions; the misery of guilt, even in the full current of its success; mad ambition toppling down from the giddy height to which it had climbed; innocent lovers, or disinterested friends, eternally torn asunder at the very moment which promised for ever to unite them. From such materials the ingenious and philosophic mind easily extracts those reflections which Dr. Thirlwall has so beautifully drawn from the plays of Sophocles; and there are but few tragedies, I fancy, that might not be successfully submitted to a like process.

Dr. Thirlwall has himself slightly adverted (p. 485,) to the irony which may be drawn from the predictions of the weird sisters in *Macbeth*; and it may be worth while to pursue the subject a little further, in order to shew that Sophocles is not the only poet to whom the theory may be applied with a considerable appearance of force.

The impression produced upon Macbeth's mind by the fantastic prophecy of the witches, is almost immediately strengthened by the fulfilment of the first part of it, in the announcement that he is Thane of Cawdor. His ambitious hopes are now raised to the highest pitch. He has had "earnest of success—commencing in a truth;" and hence incontinently assumes the consummation of the entire prophecy. His confidence in the omens leads him to communicate them to his wife; and by her he is goaded on to commit a crime repulsive to his better nature, in order to fulfil them. The irony is already sufficiently bitter. A murder committed to verify a partly true prediction, produces immediate disappointment and remorse, and ultimate destruction:—

> "Upon my head they placed a fruitless crown,
> And put a barren sceptre in my gripe;
> Thence to be wrench'd with an unlineal hand,
> No son of mine succeeding.—If it be so,
> For Banquo's issue have I fil'd my mind;
> For them the gracious Banquo have I murdered;

Put rancours in the vessel of my peace
Only for them; and mine eternal jewel
Given to the common enemy of man
To make them kings."—Act III. Scene 1.

"*If it be so?*" why it was part of the prediction that it should be so. Macbeth was warned of this consequence before he committed the crime. But this is one among the countless examples of our immortal bard's deep knowledge of the human heart. With the self-love inherent in our nature, Macbeth firmly believes all that part of the prophecy which is in his own favour; but his confidence in the remainder, is only strong enough to give him uneasiness without deterring him from crime; and so, as he has verified one part of the prediction by the murder of Duncan, he endeavours to falsify the other by getting rid of Banquo and his issue. The weird women are but the embodied representations of those overweening desires and foreboding fears which beset the man who abandons himself to a guilty ambition. Macbeth has felt the infernal nature of these predictions; their effect has been such as to make him envy the very monarch whom he has murdered:—

—— "Better be with the dead
Whom we to gain our place have sent to peace,
Than in the torture of the mind to lie
In restless ecstasy: Duncan is in his grave;
After life's fitful fever he sleeps well!"—Act III. 1.

Yet, with the infatuation natural to guilt, though he has discovered that the midnight hags have only brought him to a state which makes him consider life, like the wise Solomon, as a tale

"Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying—nothing,"

he still has confidence in them, and consults them as to the final issue of his abhorred and feverish struggle.

It is scarce possible to imagine a grimmer irony than may be extracted from this true but terrible picture. We might even, perhaps, assert, that it is more marked—more properly irony, than in the story of Œdipus; inasmuch as Macbeth rushes to his fate by his own act, foreknowing and forewarned, whilst the Theban king is, to a great extent, the mere sport of fate. The one is the victim of his own deliberate principles and actions,

and falls into the pit with his eyes open; whilst the conduct of the other, notwithstanding his pride and impetuosity, is that of a pious, wise, and beneficent sovereign. No wisdom merely human could have foreseen or averted the catastrophe of Œdipus.

But if it should be said, that herein is contained the very point at issue, and that the Sophoclean irony lay in exposing the nothingness of human wisdom when struggling with the dark decrees of fate, or, if you please, with the inscrutable designs of providence; then, if it be asserted that Sophocles universally applied this method, it must be shewn that all his plays exhibit a contest—not between man and man, but between man and his fate, or between man and the decrees of the ruling power of the universe. Now, I apprehend that, with the exception of the two plays on the subject of Œdipus, none will be found to do so. And, indeed, though this distinction has not been drawn by Dr. Thirlwall, still he acknowledges in effect that the ironical theory cannot be applied with equal success to the remaining plays of Sophocles, (see p. 503). The fatal web of Œdipus's story was woven before his birth. But in the other plays, we are presented with the results of human designs and human passions; and the struggle lies not between man and an unseen power, but between him and his fellow-men.

Since the traditionary tale of Œdipus was essentially a fate-fable, it was the business of Sophocles, as a tragic poet, to develope the salient point of his subject in the way best calculated to arouse the sympathies of his audience, and to inspire them with fear and pity. In so doing, he only took the course which every true artist would adopt, and which he has equally followed in the remainder of his plays, according to their different subjects. Now, if we reflect on what it is that is most terrible in the idea of fate, and most calculated to inspire pity for the sufferer, we shall, I think, find that it arises from these two circumstances—its sure and inevitable approach, and the fancied security of the victim. Without this we cannot have that reverse (περιπέτεια) which renders the contrast so fearful and overwhelming. Now, taking this clue with us, we may explain, on purely dramatic principles, the whole plot of the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, which Dr. Thirlwall has so beautifully analysed. The confidence displayed by the unhappy monarch in the former part of the drama; the persevering energy with

which he sets about discovering the polluter denounced by the oracle, wholly unconscious that it is himself; and the incredulous anger and bitter suspicion with which he receives Tiresias' announcement of the last fact, serve to throw into stronger relief the latter portion of the play, in which, with wonderful art, the links in the chain of that fearful evidence are one by one developed, till the whole truth stands before the miserable man, as convincing as it is terrible.

In viewing the plays of Sophocles on these principles, I would, however, guard myself from being supposed to mean that every tragic poet does, or can, go to work precisely in the same manner. It is enough that he make the appeal to sympathy his principal object: the details will of course partake of the temper and mind of the poet. The manly and sublime imagination of Æschylus luxuriated in scenes of war, or in painting the contests of the gods themselves; and even his men and women have a hardness and grandeur of outline which remove them far above the sphere of ordinary mortals. Euripides stands at the other extremity of the scale. He delights more in soft and domestic scenes, and in retailing the maxims which should govern our conduct in everyday life. But this temper, though it sometimes gave a more touching pathos to his pieces, frequently reduced his characters as much below the level of heroic dignity befitting tragedy, as those of Æschylus stood above it. Mid-way between these two, in genius as in time, partaking the beauties of both, without the faults of either, flourished Sophocles, who carried Greek tragedy to the greatest perfection of which it was susceptible. There was much in the personal history of Sophocles calculated to influence his dramatic career. The easy circumstances of his father not only enabled him to enjoy the best education which Athens could bestow, but gave him means and leisure to devote himself unreservedly to his favourite pursuit. Besides his high intellectual gifts, and the advantages of fortune, Sophocles was endowed with great personal beauty, and a constitution so vigorous, that he long survived, in full possession of his faculties, the term of life ordinarily allotted to man. His naturally placid and amiable temper was thus preserved unruffled either by the storms of fortune or the inroads of disease. The political aspect of the times in which he lived entirely coincided with the happy circumstances of his private life. He was just

at the age at which the feelings of patriotism begin to be felt with their greatest force, when the battle of Salamis gave a decisive blow to the Persian power, which had so long threatened the little state of Athens with annihilation. Sophocles, the handsomest and most accomplished of the Attic youth, led off the pæan which celebrated that memorable victory. His earlier manhood fell in the period of Athens' greatest glory and ascendancy. It can scarcely be doubted that these circumstances had an effect upon his genius. It would be a curious, and perhaps not an unprofitable speculation, to inquire into the influence which political events have exercised upon the literature of nations. Certain marked instances of this connection, both in ancient and in modern times, will present themselves to the most casual observer. But if there ever was a time in which such causes may be supposed to have operated, it may certainly be looked for during that generation of men who opposed themselves—a mere handful—to the gigantic hosts which the great king was pouring upon Europe, as well as during the following one, which, without actually participating in the unequal conflict, inherited that consciousness of strength and that tranquil pride which resulted from it. It can hardly be thought fanciful to ascribe much of the characteristics of Æschylus and Sophocles to the times in which they lived. The early manhood of the former fell in the very heat of the struggle. Æschylus had himself been present at Marathon. The desperate expedients of those troubled times, when the fate of the nation often hung, as it were, upon the cast of a die, were favourable to vast and gigantic imaginings, but left little leisure, and perhaps little care, to reduce them to harmony and order. Thus Æschylus abounds with images of terrific grandeur; the strife of hostile armies and the wailings of defeat; the firm and constant purpose to die rather than yield, such as must often have animated the breasts of the Athenians, and especially at that critical period when, at the approach of the Persian host, they abandoned their city to its fate, and trusted—a whole nation—to their ships. Thus tragedy with Æschylus was an inspiration;[5] in the hands of Sophocles it became a science. In the calmness of peace he had full leisure to elaborate the art, by

[5] According to Pausanias, (i. 21, 3,) Æschylus himself described his poetry as the immediate inspiration of Dionysus.

which he might present to his countrymen their ancient legends with the greatest dramatic effect.

The same diversity, springing probably from the same causes, may be observed in the religious opinions of the two poets. The religion of Æschylus is dark and terrible. Instead of a recognition of the calm and equable rule of Zeus, we have his authority impugned by insinuation, or openly opposed and set at nought in favour of a more ancient dynasty. He is even said to have been banished for his impiety; and if the story be not literally true, there must at least have been some foundation for it. Sophocles, on the other hand, gratefully acquiesced in the established order of things. He is called by the Scholiast on the *Electra*, (v. 831,) one of the most pious of poets; a character borne out not only by numerous passages in his plays, but by their general scope and tendency. The place of his birth probably contributed, in no slight degree, to nourish these religious feelings. The whole district of Colonos, as he himself tells us in his *Œdipus Coloneus*, was sacred ground, (χῶρος μὲν ἱρὸς πᾶς δ' ἔσι—*ver.* 54;) and represented religion in its most attractive aspect; awful, but not repulsive. Though the entrance of Hades itself was thought to lie here, its terrors had been mitigated by the immolation and descent of Œdipus for the benefit of Attica; though here was the grove of the Furies, yet, under the title of *Eumenides*, they had been domiciliated in it as beneficent to the Athenian people. Here reigned Poseidon; here were altars to Hephæstus and Prometheus, the most useful and philanthropic of deities. The region abounded with sacred olives, under the special protection of Zeus Morios; whilst the narcissus and golden crocus were ever springing to form garlands for the μεγάλαι θεαί. Nor must we forget that Sophocles was himself invested with a priesthood. All these circumstances tended doubtless to foster those feelings of religion and patriotism which are so conspicuous in his works.

But our business here is with his tragic art; and the clue to this will be best found in the alterations which he is recorded to have made in tragedy. The most important of these are,—the introduction of a third actor, and his custom of contending with single plays instead of trilogies.

The drama, in its proper sense, can hardly be said to have existed before the introduction of the second actor by Æschylus. Previously, the main interest of the piece centered in the cho-

rus, and the single actor differed but little from a mere rhapsodist, introduced for the purpose of relieving the chorus, by affording an interval of repose to their songs and dances. But though the introduction of dialogue by means of the second actor was a great step gained, still it was very far from enabling the poet to impart much dramatic interest to his pieces, either by means of contrasted characters, or a skilfully involved plot. Nothing can shew this more forcibly than a comparison of the earlier remaining dramas of Æschylus, in which two actors only are employed, as for instance, the *Suppliants*, the *Seven against Thebes*, the *Persians*, or even the *Prometheus*, with any of the plays of Sophocles. Æschylus, indeed, in some measure obviated this by making the chorus take a considerable share in the action, a practice to which he adhered, even after he had adopted the improvement of Sophocles, as in the *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*. In the *Suppliants*, indeed, and even perhaps in the *Eumenides*, the chorus may be regarded as the principal characters; but it is obvious, that from its want of individuality, the chorus is not calculated to sustain so prominent a part; since this not only renders it unfit for carrying on a dramatic action with propriety, but weakens the sympathy of the spectators, by dividing it. Sophocles, instead of drawing the sympathy of the audience towards the chorus, made them the means of directing it towards the actors. With him the chorus never belong to the plot; but they are always interested spectators of its progress, and by giving vent to their feelings regarding it in their choral odes, awaken the same emotions in the audience. Another advantage which Sophocles gained by the introduction of the third actor, was the power of contrasting his characters;[6] an artifice which he has used with the greatest effect in most of his remaining plays. In the *Electra* and *Antigone*, in particular, Chrysothemis and Ismene, by serving as foils, throw out the characters of the heroines in the strongest relief. The force of contrast may also be observed in the *Ajax*, between the hero and Ulysses; in the *Philoctetes*, between Ulysses and Neoptolemus; and in the *Œdipus Coloneus*, between Creon and Theseus.

By confining his plot to a single play, instead of extending it through a *trilogy*, or series of three tragedies, Sophocles sought

[6] See Müller's *History of Greek Literature*, ch. xxiv. §. 4.

the same object as by withdrawing the interest from the chorus to the stage; namely, the concentration of sympathy. The legend or mythe embraced by a trilogy, even if it presented us throughout with the same hero, must have done so under such dissimilar circumstances as to appear almost different fables; and it would have been impossible to fix the sympathy of the spectators with such effect on a series of actions as on a single one. By the preservation of the *Oresteia* of Æschylus, we have fortunately the means of judging of the effect of a trilogy. But in spite of the sublime beauties of that noble poem, it can hardly, I think, be looked upon as a perfect specimen of dramatic art. The *Agamemnon* closes in a most unsatisfactory way to the spectator, since it displays the unmitigated triumph of fraud and vice. No *single* play could have ended in that manner. But the next drama, which is to make amends for this, presents us with a totally different hero, Orestes, who has not once appeared in the former one. The catastrophe of the second play also requires something to follow, as it is too shocking to be left as it stands. Sophocles, in his single play of the *Electra*, avoided this by throwing the main interest on her instead of on Orestes. But in the concluding play of the Æschylean trilogy, though Orestes is indeed cleared from the stain of matricide, yet he plays but a subordinate part, and the chief interest is centered on the propitiation of the Furies, and the domiciling of them at Athens.

But here we must pause for a moment to examine a singular opinion advanced by M. Schöll, in his *Life of Sophocles*,[7] who not only considers that connected trilogies, in the manner of Æschylus, were written by Sophocles, but that we actually have a specimen of one in the two *Œdipuses* and the *Antigone*.

As it is the object of M. Schöll's work to assign, not only every play of Sophocles, but every choral song, and almost every verse, to some political conjuncture, it is of course his first care to fix the date of this assumed Œdipodean trilogy; and from certain passages in the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, he is led to assume that of B. C. 430. It is well known that there is no authority extant as to the time when that play was produced; and it may therefore be worth while to examine a few of M.

[7] *Sophokles, sein Leben und Wirken.* Frankfort-on-Maine. 1842.

Schöll's arguments, in order to see what kind of a guide we have got.

The play opens with a description of a pestilence, which very much resembles, it is said, that in Thucydides—probably because one calamity of that sort is very much like another—and hence it is incontinently inferred (p. 177,) tha .he piece must have been brought out at the date named, the year of the great plague. In confirmation of this, *ver.* 190, *foll.* are appealed to, which represent Ares, but the unarmed Ares, (ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων,) as the author of the pestilence; because the ranks of the Athenians were thinned by disease, whilst they were besieged and pent up in their city, without being able to fight. But surely this is an odd sort of argument. If *Ares*, here, has any reference at all to the God of War, it must be with respect, not to the Athenians themselves—though even they, it may be presumed, were armed—but to the Peloponnesians; since it was they who compelled the Athenians to remain huddled within their walls, and were thus the proximate cause of the pestilence. Yet I suspect that not even M. Schöll himself will contend that the Peloponnesians were unarmed. But the truth is, that *Ares* here has not the slightest reference to the God of War; as is indeed shewn by Sophocles expressly disarming him. He is merely the same πυρφόρος θεός before alluded to in *ver.* 27, the author of all kinds of calamities, besides these of war, as disease and madness, (*Ajax*, 706,) and whose unwholesome star was called πυρόεις by the Greeks. (See Musgrave's Notes on the above passages; and compare the article *Ares*, in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Ancient Biography and Mythology*.) Next we are told that the invocation of Athena first, (*ver.* 159,) the presiding deity of Athens, and then the appeal to Artemis, enthroned upon the market-place, specially give the play an Athenian application; since the temple of the latter goddess at Thebes *seems not* to have been on the Forum. (In Theben, scheint es, lag das Heiligthum der Letzteren *nicht* auf dem Markte, Pausan. IX. 17.) But we can hardly believe, with M. Schöll, that Sophocles was such an arrant blunderer as to appeal to Attic deities and localities when he laid his scene in Thebes. It is hardly necessary to say that Athena was a universal Grecian goddess. After a perusal of the chapter in Pausanias, cited by M. Schöll, I am quite at a loss to discover on what he founds his inference. So far from it, as Pausanias

there tells us, that the Ἀγοραῖος Ἑρμῆς was near the temple of Artemis, we may conclude that the latter also was near the Forum; and if this wants confirmation, we may appeal to Plutarch, who, in his *Life of Aristides*, tells us that, among the Locrians and Bœotians, Artemis had an altar and image *at every market-place*. (—ἔχειν παρά τε Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Λοκροῖς τιμάς· βωμὸς γὰρ αὐ τῇ καὶ ἄγαλμα παρὰ πᾶσαν ἀγορὰν ἵδρυται κ. τ. λ. c. 20.) The epithet εὐκλέα, too, points directly to the Bœotian Artemis, her name among that people being Εὐκλεία, (Plut. l. c.)

Again, M. Schöll finds in the merely general sentiment expressed in *ver.* 56-7,—

> ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν οὔτε πύργος οὔτε ναῦς
> ἔρημος ἀνδρῶν μὴ συναικούντων ἔσω—

another particular allusion to the Athenians at the period of the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war; because the Thebans, being an inland people, had no ships! and because he finds in these words a complaint against Pericles for restricting the Athenians within their walls, (p. 179.) But it is difficult to follow M. Schöll's train of reasoning here. The opinion of the priest is, that a fortification and a ship are worth nothing without men. Well, Pericles was forcing the men into their fortifications and ships.

The reader will hardly, perhaps, think it necessary to proceed any further with M. Schöll's argument respecting the date and political application of the *Œdipus Tyrannus*. Not that there is any thing, *per se*, improbable in the period that he assigns to it. It is just as likely that it was produced in B. C. 430, as in any other year of the sixty during which Sophocles brought out tragedies—and, with the exception of the last decade, not more so. When, however, he asserts that the *Œdipus Coloneus* and the *Antigone*, formed part of a trilogy which opened with the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, and were consequently represented at the same date at which he fixes that play; so strange an opinion requires some examination, notwithstanding that Reisig, Süvern, Lachmann, and K. F. Hermann, seem to agree with him so far as regards the period at which the *Œdipus at Colonos* was produced.

With the exception of the *Antigone* and *Philoctetes*, none of the remaining plays of Sophocles has such good evidence as to its date as the *Œdipus Coloneus*. And as this is so coolly set aside by M. Schöll and his confederates, it may be worth while

to give the principal authorities *seriatim*. First, then, the argument to the *Œdipus Tyrannus* tells us that by some that play was called the *former Œdipus*, on account of the period of its exhibition, (εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ Πρότερον αὐτὸν, οὐ Τύραννον, ἐπιγράφοντες, διὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν διδασκαλιῶν). M. Schöll endeavours to invalidate this by an argument in which nobody will gainsay him,—that it could not have appeared in the *Didascaliæ*, under the title of πρότερος. The author of the argument merely says that it was known to later critics under that name, who were, of course, led so to entitle it from the position it occupied in the *Didascaliæ*. From the first argument to the *Œdipus Coloneus*, we learn that Sophocles wrote that play in his old age (τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα τῶν θαυμαστῶν· ὃ καὶ ἤδη γεγηρακὼς ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἐποίησε, κ. τ. λ.); and in the third we are told that it was brought out by the younger Sophocles, four years after the death of his grandfather, (τὸν ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ Οἰδίποδα ἐπὶ τετελευτηκότι τῷ πάππῳ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ ὑἱδοῦς ἐδίδαξεν, υἱὸς ὢν Ἀρίστωνος, ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μίκωνος, ὃς τέταρτος ἀπὸ Καλλίου, ἐφ' οὗ φασιν οἱ πλείους τὸν Σοφοκλέα τελευτῆσαι). With these accounts respecting the date of the play Cicero agrees, adding the anecdote of the accusation of Sophocles by his sons, that he had fallen into a state of imbecility. "Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragœdias fecit. Quod propter studium cum rem familiarem negligere videretur a filiis in judicium vocatus est ut, quemadmodum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem, a re familiari removerent judices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat et *proxime scripserat*, Œdipum Coloneum, recitasse judicibus, quæsisseque num illud carmen desipientis videretur? Quo recitato, sententiis judicum est liberatus."—*De Senect.* 7. So, too, Valerius Maximus: "Prope enim centesimum annum attigit (Sophocles) *sub ipsum transitum ad mortem* Œdipode Coloneo scripto." (VIII. 7, 12). To the same purport are the passages in Lucian, *Macrobii*, 24; Plutarch, *An seni ger. Resp.* 3; Apuleius, *Apolog.* p. 298. No fact in the life of Sophocles is supported by the concurrent testimony of so many authors of different ages, countries, and tempers. How does M. Schöll meet this array of testimony? By producing passages that run counter to it? No, there is not one. It is amusing to observe the widely different opinions on this subject of those who have been tempted to desert the beaten path of testimony and tra-

dition. We have already seen that M. Schöll and others, place the *Œdipus at Colonos* in B. C. 430. M. Böckh assigns it to Olymp. xc. 1. (B. C. 420), or eleven years later; yet still long before the death of Sophocles. Hermann, with surprising acumen, contends, *from the versification*, that it could not have been later than the 89th Olympiad. Jacobs finds in the play traces of old age; while Thiersch, on the contrary, discerns in it the young and unpractised hand of Sophocles' grandson![8]

As a consequence of fixing this date for the *Œdipus Coloneus*, M. Schöll of course rejects the anecdote respecting the charge of imbecility brought by Iophon against his father, from which Sophocles escaped by reading a portion of the play; a story which rests upon most of the authorities already quoted for the date of the tragedy, with the addition of others; as the author of the anonymous Life of Sophocles, and the Scholiast on the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, *ver.* 73. Iophon, it is said, was induced to take this step out of jealousy at Sophocles shewing more partiality to his grandson by the *hetæra* Theoris, than to himself, his legitimate son by Nicostrate. Few, perhaps, will agree with one of M. Schöll's attempts to explain away the story, by supposing that the Theoris here mentioned was a mere allegorical personage, denoting the love of Sophocles for his art. The story itself, notwithstanding some contradictions in the details, into which there is not room here to enter at any length, I hold to be substantially correct. In endeavouring to refute it, M. Schöll draws his best argument from a passage in the *Frogs*, which shews, he contends, that Iophon must have been on good terms with his father at the time of the latter's death. In that comedy, Dionysus is represented as visiting the infernal regions, for the purpose of bringing back to earth some good tragic poet, of which, after the death of Sophocles, Athens stood much in need; and when he is advised to select the latter, he answers that he will not do so till he tries what Iophon can do without the assistance of his father:—

> οὔ, πρίν γ' ἂν Ἰοφῶντ', ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν μόνον
> ἄνευ Σοφοκλέους ὅ τι ποιεῖ κωδωνίσω.—*ver.* 78.

These lines, it is contended, imply that the father and son must

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[8] See Bernhardy, *Grundriss der Griech. Litteratur*, Th. II. p. 810, Note.

have been friends at the time of Sophocles' death. But this is by no means a necessary consequence. The breach that took place between them happened, according to all the accounts, but a short time before the father's death; and to make his argument complete, M. Schöll must shew that Iophon produced a play during that breach, or in the year which preceded the decease of Sophocles. Up to the time of the quarrel, Sophocles might have been assisting him; and though Aristophanes does not allude to any difference, his words do not necessarily imply that there was none. A quarrel would, as effectually as death, have deprived Iophon of his father's help, nay, more so, as Sophocles might have left some unfinished sketches of which Iophon might have availed himself. That part of the story which alludes to the preference of Sophocles for his grandson is in a great degree confirmed by the fact, that it was the latter, and not Iophon, that brought out the *Œdipus Coloneus* after the decease of his grandfather. Sophocles left as a legacy to his grandson, the very play with which he had defended himself from the accusation of his son. Nor can any argument be founded on the circumstance of Iophon having erected a monument to his father. Two impulses sufficiently common may have prompted that act: repentance, or a feeling of pride in being descended from so great a poet, although he had treated him ungratefully during his life. The argument that Sophocles could not have written such a play at so advanced an age, is worthless. It is known that he produced the *Philoctetes* only four years before his death. The internal evidence of the *Œdipus Coloneus*, very strongly confirms the truth of the story. The episode in which the ungrateful son, Polynikes, is introduced, and departs with his father's curse, seems to have a painful reference to the poet's family history. Still more striking are the touching allusions in the choral ode which concludes that episode, and which turns on the misery that attends too long a life. Not to be born is best; and next to that, to die in infancy. For what is life but a succession of labours and misfortunes? It is made up of slaughter, sedition, strife, and ENVY; and its end is *a lonely and friendless old age*, abounding with all sorts of evils. In which period of life, *not I alone*, but also this unfortunate stranger, Œdipus, resemble some wintry shore exposed to the northern blast, and lashed unceasingly by the waves.

—— τίς οὐ καμάτων ἔνι;
φόνοι, στάσεις, ἔρις, μάχαι,
καὶ φθόνος · τό τε κατάμεμπτον ἐπιλέλογχε
πύματον, ἀκρατὲς, ἀπροσόμιλον
γῆρας ἄφιλον, ἵνα πρόπαντα
κακὰ κακῶν ξυνοικεῖ ·
ἐν ᾧ τλάμων ὅδ', οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος,
πάντοθεν βόρειος ὥς τις
ἀκτὰ κυματοπλὴξ χειμερία κλονεῖται.—1233.

Referred to the action of the play, these beautiful, but melancholy, lines seem to have but little meaning. For why should the old men of Athens, who compose the chorus, thus lament the age and the woes of Œdipus, whose approaching death was to bring such blessings to their country? But with reference to the bitter sorrows of the poet, deserted in his old age by those who should have honoured and cherished him, they possess a most touching interest.

M. Schöll, however, true to his theory that all the plays of Sophocles have a political colouring, adduces some passages from the *Œdipus Coloneus*, in order to shew that it was produced at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. For the satisfaction of the reader, it will perhaps be sufficient to give one example of M. Schöll's method of handling these.

There is a little scandalous story in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes (*ver. 523, foll.*), that the Peloponnesian war originated from the anger of Pericles at the Megarians having stolen two wenches belonging to Aspasia. Nobody, I believe, has ever attributed any historical weight to this squib. Aristophanes is in fact his own refuter; since in the *Pax*, (606, *foll.*) he hints at quite a different motive, namely, that Pericles' object in bringing forward the Megaric Psephisma, was to divert the public attention from the peculation which, in conjunction with Pheidias, he had committed, by purloining some of the gold destined to adorn the statue of Athenë. From this latter charge, though believed by Diodorus Siculus (XII. 40), Pericles is absolved by the character given of him by two authors of much greater weight. We learn from Thucydides that he was incorruptible by money (II. 65), and Isocrates, though not altogether friendly to the character of Pericles, (see Ἀρεοπαγιτικός, § ιθ), tells us in his speech περὶ Εἰρήνης, § μ', that he was so ne-

gligent of his own fortune, that he left his paternal inheritance less than he found it, (οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον χρηματισμὸν ὥρμησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οἶκον ἐλάττω τὸν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρέλαβεν). The tale of Aristophanes is incompatible with such a character; and from the falseness of the one charge we may readily estimate the credit due to the other. But though M. Schöll is such an adept at discovering historical allusions, he has an odd way of looking at historical authorities. He holds that the reason why Thucydides did not particularize the *enlèvement* of Aspasia's two wenches, was his broad way of treating things, and that they were included in the charge made against the Megarians of harbouring run-away slaves! (*Note* 106, p. 212). Having thus, to his own satisfaction, turned the Pasquinade of Aristophanes into an historical fact, he proceeds to apply it to the tragedy of Sophocles, and finds an allusion to it in the scene where Creon endeavours to carry off the two daughters of Œdipus! Sophocles is supposed, indeed, to take up this story with the view of defending Pericles; but, to say nothing of the good taste he would have displayed in putting the two royal Theban maidens on a level with Aspasia's two prostitutes, he would surely have shewn more kindness towards Pericles, had there been a shadow of truth in the tale, by leaving it to sink as fast as possible into oblivion.

But one of the most wonderful feats performed by M. Schöll in making out this trilogy, is the way in which the *Antigone* is dragged into it. Luckily we know with tolerable accuracy the date at which that play was brought out. It must have a little preceded the Samian war in B.C. 440, since Sophocles is said to have had a command in the war, conferred upon him in consequence of the merit of his play. It was produced, therefore, more than ten years before the date assigned by M. Schöll to the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, as he himself is forced to acknowledge; and if the trilogy had ever existed in the poet's mind, it is rather strange that he should have committed the *hysteron proteron*, of playing the last play first. But with ingenuity there is a way out of every thing. The play was recast (p. 230). Thus it appears that, though Sophocles did not shew much military talent during his generalship, he had not been to the wars for nothing; for it was certainly a trick of the old soldier again to foist upon the Athenians an old vamped-up play which had al-

ready gained the prize.[9] We must at least assume that the play was very considerably altered. But then comes the question, —which edition do we possess? According to M. Schöll's reasoning, we have both at once—a thing which, to ordinary minds, seems impossible. In several passages we are told that the three plays cannot be well understood except in connection (see page 176, note 109, page 225, &c). If this be so, then we must have the *last edition* of the *Antigone*, viz. that of B. C. 430. Yet previously (p. 133, *foll.*) M. Schöll has been reasoning upon the contents of this very play, as adapted to the political conjuncture of 440, the period of the Samian war, and therefore the *first edition!* The reader will perhaps be inclined to say, that allusions which can thus be made to signify any thing, mean, in fact, nothing.

Into M. Schöll's arguments for a trilogy, drawn from the internal evidence of connection, there is not space to enter; nor will it perhaps be deemed necessary. They who have read the plays know that each is complete in itself, and requires not another to precede, or follow it. If there be any doubt on this point, let them be compared with the Orestean trilogy of Æschylus.

But to return to the subject from which M. Schöll's trilogy has so long diverted us. Another excellence in the dramatic art of Sophocles, pointed out by Aristotle (*Poetics*, § λδ), is the way in which he manages his chorus; and, in consequence of the length to which this paper has extended, to this we must confine ourselves. But, in order to understand this point, it is necessary to have a correct view of the nature and design of Greek tragedy; and of the manner in which it differs from the modern.

The true notion of Greek tragedy, as might be easily deduced from the accounts of its origin and progress, is, that it consists of a series of distinct episodes, each terminated by a choral ode. These episodes present—to borrow a phrase from the modern French drama—so many different *tableaux* of some phase of passion springing out of the subject of the piece. Each episode should not only have its own unity, and be complete in itself, but, in a well written tragedy, the combined series of them developed the progress of the action in a gradual and natural manner, and produced the unity of the whole piece. Thus the

[9] We hear of *unsuccessful* plays again competing for the prize; but the *Antigone* must have been a successful one.

object of Greek tragedy, in its more perfect form, and such as we find it in the hands of Sophocles, was to present at once variety and unity; variety in the parts, unity in the whole. Some Greek tragedies, indeed, were purely episodic; that is, they presented a series of episodes, connected together by no natural thread. We have an example of this species of fable, but doubtless a very favourable specimen of its class, in the *Prometheus* of Æschylus; in which the episode of Io has no connection whatever with the main action of the piece. One might have supposed that the consummate art of Sophocles would have banished this kind of tragedy from the stage. From the *Poetics*, however, § 18, we may infer that such pieces were still produced in the time of Aristotle, who attributes it to two causes; want of skill in the poet, or a desire to humour the performers.

Technically speaking, an *episode* is that part of a play which lies between two choral songs. We must not, therefore, count the *prologue*, or that part which precedes the entrance of the chorus, and which serves to explain how matters stand at the opening of the play; nor the *exode*, or that part which follows the last choral song. In this, the catastrophe being over, there is no further room for the sympathy of the chorus, who, therefore, commonly leave the stage with a few verses containing some moral reflections on the subject of the piece. The prologue, from its nature, not calling for any sympathy on the part of the chorus, it was not necessary that they should be present. Hence, their first ode is usually a mere general exposition of the state of their feelings regarding the principal personages of the drama. But, the action once begun, they take the most lively interest in the changing fortunes of the hero, which they express in the odes which terminate each episode.

It is these latter odes, then, that chiefly display the skill of the poet; and this will be still further shewn by considering the requirements of Greek tragedy. We must remember that the chorus, though it had been considerably abridged and restricted in the days of Sophocles and Euripides, still formed one of its most prominent and essential parts. The audience took the greatest interest and delight in the orchestral dancing and music. Now, it would have been very tedious to have had these of one uniform character throughout the play. Variety was indispensable. It followed that there must be variety in the tenor of the different episodes; from which, in a well-

conducted play, the choral odes naturally arose, taking their colouring from them, and forming their appropriate conclusion. It was here that Sophocles particularly excelled. He not only preserved the unity of the episode and its concluding ode, but whilst he did this, contrived, as I shall endeavour presently to shew, to give the greatest variety to his choruses. Euripides, and other less skilful poets, obtained this latter grace by sacrificing, in a great degree, the unity of the episode, and by concluding it with an ode which had but little connexion with its subject. In process of time, this abuse grew to such a height that the choral odes became mere ἐμβόλιμα, or inserted pieces, altogether foreign to the subject of the play. We are told by Aristotle, (*Poet.* ᾗ λδ) that this practice was introduced by Agathon; and the great critic censures it by saying, that it would be just as reasonable—*i. e.* the unity of the play would be just as well preserved—if a speech, or a whole episode, were transferred from one tragedy to another. Nothing could more strongly illustrate his view of the necessity of unity in the episode and its concluding ode than this remark.

From this view of Greek tragedy, which I take to be the correct one, though I do not remember to have seen it formally propounded, we may deduce two conclusions:—

*First*, That it was not, as the Hegelian school of critics hold, merely a developement of one idea. It might be better described as a developement of several different phases of passion, springing from one subject or action. The changes of emotion gave it variety; the oneness of the subject unity.

*Secondly*, That an unfortunate catastrophe, though the best, was not so indispensable to ancient tragedy as it is to modern. With us, the songs and dances of the chorus, which formed so great a part of the ancient entertainment, being wholly banished, it is necessary to fix the attention of the spectator by a gradual accumulation of the tragic interest. The attraction of a modern play lies wholly in the story and the characters; in an ancient one, it was divided between these and the orchestral entertainment. Hence, too, the reason that the modern poet is more elaborate in his display of character. He often has whole scenes which contribute little or nothing to the progress of the action, but which, by making us more familiar with the *Dramatis Personæ*, have much effect in engaging our sympathies. If the ancient poet obtained the requisite variety of emotions in

his songs and dances, it was not of such vital importance whether the more tragic ones stood first or last. In three out of the seven remaining plays of Sophocles, the commencement is more touching than the conclusion,—viz. the *Electra*, the *Philoctetes*, and the *Œdipus at Colonos*. For though the last is concluded by the death of the hero, still it is such a happy and even glorious release from his former misery and degradation, that we cannot help thinking the change is for the better. And though Œdipus is left alive at the conclusion of the *Tyrannus*, still there are few, perhaps, but would agree that its catastrophe is infinitely more touching than that of the *Coloneus*.

Having thus laid down the principles on which, as I conceive, the more perfect Greek tragic poets conducted their episodes, it only remains to illustrate them by examples drawn from the more immediate subject of the present paper—the works of Sophocles.

Let us take our first example from the *Ajax*. In spite of the beauty of detached passages, this has been commonly regarded as one of the most faultily constructed of the remaining plays of Sophocles. It will, perhaps, however, gain something in the point of view proposed,—that is to say, as to the unity of the separate episodes, and their variety. Such a view will not, of course, embrace that of the unity of the whole play; and we may therefore leave the prologue and exode out of the question.

The first episode (263—495) is of the most pathetic description. It exhibits the hero restored by returning reason to a sense of the full extent of his misfortunes, for which he sees that there is no remedy but death. He takes a last farewell of his infant son Eurysaces. He gives instructions respecting the disposal of his body; and rejects, even with harshness, the entreaties of Tecmessa, that he should live for her sake, and for his child's. In conformity with this character of the episode, the choral ode of the Salaminian sailors which closes it, is of the most melancholy character. It was not enough that they should have left their homes so long to suffer hardships, and their constant fear of death at Troy. Some recompense for their woes was the pride they took in the glory of their chief; but this he has dissipated by his extravagant conduct. Their thoughts then revert to the grief with which the aged parents of Ajax will receive the tidings of their son's misfortune. The music of the ode must have accorded with these melancholy

ideas; and the cry αἴλινον, αἴλινον, denoting the lament of the mother, must have been set to the most pathetic notes.

How different is the character of the short episode which follows! It is made up entirely of the speech of Ajax; and shews the hero resigned, or feigning to be resigned, to his fate. He leaves the stage with an ambiguous hint, which the chorus interpret literally, that he may yet live, and be reconciled to the Atridæ:

—— καὶ τάχ' ἄν μ' ἴσως
πύθοισθε, κἢι νῦν δυστυχῶ, σεσωσμένον.—693.

The choral song, therefore, which concludes this episode, is in perfect contrast to the former—a burst of exulting joy. So great is the revulsion of feeling, that it borders on the terrible: ἔφριξ' ἔρωτι, κ. τ. λ. (obtutu gelida ora premit, *lætusque per artus*, —*Horror* iit, Stat. *Theb.* I. 493). Pan is invoked to appear from the rocky and snow-beaten tops of Cyllene, and to trip with the chorus to lively Dionysiac measures. Contrasting with the αἴλινον, αἴλινον of the preceding ode, we have the exulting shout ἰὼ, ἰώ; while the strains of the music, and the steps of the dancers, must have been lively and triumphant.

This speech of Ajax, displaying so sudden and total a change of sentiment, has often been considered inconsistent, and incomprehensible in point of art. Two solutions have been proposed. The older and more general opinion is, that Ajax purposely intends to mislead the chorus by false hopes, in order that he may not be interrupted in the perpetration of his meditated suicide. Welcker, on the contrary, in an essay on the *Ajax*, published in the *Rheinisches Museum* (1829), thinks that he had no such design; and that Tecmessa and the chorus misunderstand the speech only, through their eagerness to interpret it according to their wishes.[10] But though I am inclined to prefer the older interpretation as agreeing better with several passages in the speech, and especially with that already quoted; still, there is no occasion to enter into this question at all, if it be allowed, as I think it must, that either solution affords a satisfactory cause for the joyous nature of the following ode. The poet's intention was to produce a contrast with the

[10] The reader will find this point fully and ably discussed by Dr. Thirlwall, who agrees with Welcker's view, in the *Philological Museum*, Vol. II. p. 515. *foll.*

preceding ode; but at the same time, to produce it in a natural and probable manner. Now, neither of the solutions proposed can be regarded as in itself improbable. There is nothing at all unnatural, either in a man about to commit suicide, dropping expressions calculated to put those who were likely to interrupt him off their guard; or, supposing such expressions accidental and unmeant, in the friends to whom they were addressed, interpreting them in the most favourable manner. In either way the poet gains his end. He produces a striking contrast in his choral ode, without sacrificing the truth of nature. The *Philoctetes* presents us with an artifice of much the same kind, in the sudden change of mind in Neoptolemus.

In the third episode, the chorus are undeceived in their view of the matter. The arrival of the messenger with the prophecy of Calchas, announcing the danger which threatens Ajax if he should leave his tent that day, first rouses their suspicions. They leave the orchestra, a very unusual thing in the Greek theatre. The scene then changes to a desert place, where Ajax commits suicide. The deed is followed by the lament of Tecmessa and the chorus, and then by that of Teucer. Lastly, Menelaus arrives, who forbids the burial of the body; but this command is disregarded by Teucer, who begins the rites. The choral ode that follows is completely in unison with the tenor of the episode. The hero is dead, and there is nothing more to fear or hope on that subject. Their reflections, therefore, turn naturally enough on the interminable nature of their misfortunes, which they lament with that sort of weary sorrow and dejection which accompany disappointed hope.

In this method of looking at the play, its action must not be considered as terminating, as some critics think, (see Müller, *Gr. Lit.* p. 349), with the death of Ajax at *ver.* 865; but with the conclusion of the episode at *ver.* 1222. It must, however, be confessed that the Exode, where the contest about the burial is renewed, Agamemnon opposing it till brought over by the arguments of Ulysses, appears to our modern ideas an excrescence. The best apology for the poet in this instance seems to be that adopted by Professor Welcker, that the Athenians took a particular interest in Ajax, as the eponymous hero of one of their tribes, and that therefore the discussion concerning the honours of his burial did not appear to them tedious or misplaced.

I shall take the *Electra* as the next instance of Sophocles' mode of composition; because though the phases of passion are as strongly and clearly marked off in this play as in the *Ajax*, still it is not done exactly in the same manner. Among the Greeks we must not look for any stereotyped form of tragedy. There is great diversity even in the plays of Sophocles, the most regular of the Attic dramatists. Some of his pieces have only two or three episodes, others four or five; some have a more lyric, others a more purely dramatic form. But though the action of the *Electra* is very dramatic, it is nevertheless, as regards its form, one of the most lyric of the plays of Sophocles. It derives this character, not from the choral odes, which are few and short, but from the τὰ ἀπό σκηνῆς, and long *commoi* given to the principal actors. In this lyric character, as well as in its subject, it resembles the *Choëphoræ* of Æschylus. The nature of the play is announced at its opening. Electra herself, by delivering the anapæstic verses which usually accompany the parode of the chorus, seems almost to identify herself as their leader.

The first episode opens with Electra's lamentation for the misery she endures, in her father's house, at the hands of Ægisthus and her mother. The ensuing dialogue with her sister Chrysothemis, is very artfully contrived to enhance Electra's heroic turn of mind. Not all the fresh torments which Chrysothemis announces as in preparation for her unless she changes her conduct, can shake her resolution. Towards the close of the scene, however, a gleam of hope appears, in the narrative given by Chrysothemis, of the dream which has disturbed their guilty mother. The chorus seize on this for the subject of their ode, and infer from it that vengeance is at hand. The tone of the whole episode, therefore, is a transition from the borders of despair to a certain degree of confidence.

In the second episode Electra, who seems to have gathered fresh courage from the omen of the dream, boldly remonstrates with her mother on her iniquities. Clytemnstra is evidently shaken, and prays to Apollo to avert her dream. But the arrival of the pædagogue, and his feigned description of the death of Orestes in the Delphic chariot races, again plunges Electra in despair, and inspires her mother with confidence and guilty joy. The *commos* that follows between Electra and the chorus is of the most melancholy character. Then Chrysothemis en-

ters to announce the supposed return of Orestes, as she infers from certain discoveries made at their father's tomb. But Electra succeeds in convincing her sister as to the truth of the story respecting the death of Orestes. In that quarter there is now no hope of succour left; and with the settled resolution of despair, Electra resolves to take with her own hand that vengeance on her father's murderers which she had expected from the return of Orestes. She asks her sister to join in the deed, who refuses. The episode is concluded by a choral ode, in which the filial piety of Electra is commended.

But the third, and last episode, completely reverses this state of affairs. Orestes, whose person is of course totally unknown to his sister, enters with the urn supposed to contain his own ashes. Electra takes it into her hands, and pours over it the most passionate lament. Orestes, touched by the affectionate grief of his sister, can no longer refrain from discovering himself, though aware that by so doing he may endanger the success of his plot. The lyric verses attributed to Electra and Orestes, after this discovery, betray the most ungovernable joy, till the pædagogue enters and points out the danger which an indulgence in it may occasion. The short choral ode which concludes the episode is almost wholly unimportant; the force of contrast in this play, in conformity with its lyric character, lying in the *commoi* and τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς.

It would be tedious to go through all the remaining plays of Sophocles with a view to illustrate this point of dramatic art. An examination will shew that they are all constructed with a view, more or less, to this principle of contrast; and that each has at least one *Stasimon* of a more joyous character than the rest. The *Œdipus at Colonos* is the play where it is least perceptible. But it may admit of some doubt whether that play was ever intended for representation; and though fully sensible of its merits *as a poem*, I have always felt surprise that Schlegel should prefer it, as a drama, to the *Œdipus Tyrannus*.

Before concluding, however, I would suggest whether this method of viewing the plays of Sophocles in reference to the unity of each separate episode, and the choral ode which concludes it, might not throw some light on the real design of the poet in the *Antigone*. The first episode of the play, in which the heroine does not once appear, seems to me highly significant of its tendency.

It opens with the long speech of the new-made monarch Creon to his senate (the chorus); an artfully contrived apology for his impious stretch of arbitrary power, by which he endeavours to bring the chorus over to his views. But though they profess the most servile and unlimited obedience, even to the total surrender of their lives and liberties, still it is evident, that if they dared to speak out, they disapprove of Creon's conduct. They endeavour to excuse themselves from his commands. Cannot he enjoin them on some younger man? When it turns out that all Creon wants of them is not to take part with those who disobey him, they merely reply that nobody would be so foolish as to desire death. Warm approbation! Hearty sympathy! It is plain that they side with Creon only from fear; and to this emotion, and to this only, must be referred those subsequent passages in which they seem to agree with him. The watchman now enters, and relates how the edict of Creon has been violated, and the body of Polynices buried. The manner in which the chorus seek to divert his anger, by observing that the hand of the gods is visible in the act, is repressed by the monarch in the most contemptuous and impious way. How could his senate be such fools—that is his word—as to think it concerned the gods at all? It is the work of some rebellious subject. But even Pluto himself shall not save the perpetrator.

We here see Creon exhibited not only as a tyrannical, but as an impious sovereign. Every hint at the violation of his commands is received, not with the stern, but gentle dignity of a beneficent prince, resolved to have his just commands obeyed, but with violent outbursts of ungovernable passion, which betray the lurking consciousness that he is wrong. He has been the principal personage of the episode, and against him, therefore, are the expressions in the ode which finishes it directed. They cannot be levelled at Antigone, who has not once appeared. That would be contrary not only to the unity of the episode, but to the commonest principles of dramatic art. Nor can they be referred to the unknown agent in the burial. The chorus have expressed their opinion that it was done at the suggestion of the gods, and must be, therefore, a blameless act. The tenor of the ode also proves that Creon is the person aimed at. The general reflections on the audacious nature of man with which it begins, find their particular application in the last antistrophe. The first strophe represents man's dominion over sea and earth;

the corresponding antistrophe, his power over the animals which they contain. The second strophe brings us to his arts of civilization,—the dwellings he has reared, the speech he has invented, the civil laws and customs he has ordained. Thus, by a gradual transition, we approach, in the last antistrophe, the political conduct of Creon himself. Man, in his civil state, sometimes tends to good, sometimes to evil; as when he abrogates the laws of the land, and tramples on the sacred ordinances of the gods. *Even the head of the city is no citizen, if unrighteousness dwell with him.*

ποτὲ μὲν κακόν, ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἐσθλὸν ἕρπει,
νόμους παρείρων χθονός,
θεῶν τ' ἔνορκον δίκαν·
ὑψίπολις ἄπολις, ὅτῳ τὸ μὴ καλὸν ξύνεστιν.

For the reasons before given, none of these expressions can be referred to Antigone. Indeed the only one capable of being so applied, is that which relates to a breach of the laws or customs of the land. But, first, Creon's recent edict, even if by courtesy it may be called a law, cannot at all events, with any propriety, be called a law *of the land*; and secondly, that it refers to laws established long before Creon's accession, is shewn by the remark of the tyrant himself in a subsequent passage:—

δέδοικα γὰρ μὴ τοὺς καθεστῶτας νόμους
ἄριζον ἢ σώζοντα τὸν βίον τελεῖν.—1068 (*Böckh*).

I may here advert to a strong resemblance observable in the tendency of this play and that of the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, and which is highly suitable to the religious character of Sophocles. Though Œdipus is the victim of fate, yet the poet has contrived to throw several touches of hardness and impiety into his character, so that his fall does not seem quite undeserved. Such are his occasionally impious reflections on the oracles, and his harsh treatment of the sacred prophet Tiresias; passages which afford Sophocles an opportunity of inculcating piety and submission to the will of the gods in the choral odes of that play. The *Antigone* has many passages of an analogous character; and the scene between Creon and Tiresias, in the fifth episode, is almost the counterpart of that between Œdipus and the same prophet in the *Tyrannus*. Hence it seems to me, that an appeal to the religious feelings of his audience was a

subordinate view in both plays; but to do this effectually, Sophocles knew that his first care must be to produce pieces of the most consummate dramatic art.

THOMAS DYER.

## IV.

## ON A VASE REPRESENTING THE AMPHORITES AGON.

THE vase in the British Museum Collection, No. 720., formerly in the possession of the Prince de Canino,[1] and one of the hundred select vases, is interesting as illustrating one of the obscurer passages of Pindar. It is of the shape conventionally called hydria; and as a positive relation exists between the subject on it and the vase itself, this name cannot be refused to it.[2] The figures are red upon a black ground, a very unusual style on vases of this class, and are well executed. The subject on the neck itself, or frieze, as it is usually called, represents a youth on a couch, having his head crowned with ivy, or vine-leaves, κισσοστεφής of the spurious Anacreon, and looking behind him; his form is ἡμίγυμνος, or half-draped from the waist downwards, and he holds a Chelys (lyre) in his left hand, and a plectrum in his right. He reposes on an embroidered cushion. Behind him, similarly draped, and in the same attitude, is an old man, bearded, holding a full cylix in one hand, and an inverted one in the other. As both look in the same direction, they have formed part of one composition; but the subject is too general to conjecture who are intended. On this part is the name of the artist, ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ, "Critias painted it." The name of this artist is only known from this vase, and has been hitherto erroneously read Phitias,[3] or Phintias,[4] but

[1] *Musée Etrusque*, p. 70–71, No. 551.

[2] For the name assigned to this shape cf. Panofka, *Recherches sur les veritables noms des Vases Grecs*, I. 11; Gerhard, in the *Annali d' Instituto Archæologico*, III. p. 247; Letronne, *Observations sur les noms des Vases Grecs à l'occasion de l'ouvrage de M. Panofka*, 4to.; *Journal des Savans*, 1833, p. 10. f. 54; Gerhard, *Arch. Zeit.* No. 44. Aug. 1846, s. 328.

[3] *Mus. Etrusq.* l. c. p. 70–71.

[4] Gerhard, *Rapp. Volc. Ann.* 1833, p. 178, No. 696.

an inspection of the vase itself is only necessary to restore it to Kritias.[5] His style is fine, noble, and of the best period of the fictile art. The lower part, or picture, represents three naked youths, each with a hydria, or water vase, approaching a fountain, which issues out of a lion's mouth. The first, crowned with vine or ivy leaves, holds a hydria in both hands, which he fills from the jet of water; the second bears his hydria, apparently empty, by one hand, upon his shoulder, and turns round to address an old bearded man, draped from the loins downwards, and leaning on a ῥάβδος or σκῆπτρον. He is crowned with vine leaves, while the youth is crowned with myrtle. The old man regards the fountain. Behind him is another youth, crowned with vine-leaves, holding a hydria, apparently full, before him, and afraid of letting it fall. Now this subject, I conceive, is a representation either of the landing of the Argonauts at Ægina, or of the Amphorites or Amaphorites Agon, which was instituted in remembrance of it. When Pindar records the victories of the Rhodian athlete Diagoras at Ægina, the Scholiast suggests that these must have been either in the Amphiphorites, or the Amphorites Agon, the contest of Amphoræ mentioned by Callimachus. Although the term is Ἀμφορίτης in the Scholiast,[6] I am disposed to connect it directly with the ἀμφιφορίτης of the *Parisian Etymologicum*, who had either the ἄμφιφορίτης αγω of the Iambi of Callimachus in view, or else the epithet subsequently applied to some victor in this contest. The last mentioned authority of the Etymologicum affords a full description of the nature of the contest: Ἀμφιφορίτης: ὅτι ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἔδραμον περὶ τὴν Ἀσωπίδα κρήνην ὑδρεύσασαι· ὅθεν καὶ ἄγων ἄγεται ἀμφιφορίτης λεγόμενος παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις· ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖσε ἀγωνιζόμενοι τοὺς κεράμους ὕδατος πεπληρωμένους κατὰ τῶν ὤμων παραλαμβάνοντες τρέχουσι περὶ τῆς νίκης φιλονεικοῦντες κατὰ μιμήσιν τῶν ἡρώων.[7] From this passage, it is evident that the contest was of a peculiar nature. The contending athletes ran with empty vessels, or amphoræ, to the fountain Asopis, where they struggled to fill their vases, and bearing them on their shoulders,

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[5] It is not the same name as that of *Phintias*, who worked for Deiniades; Gerhard, loc. cit. p. 180, n. 728, reads *Philtias*. Panofka, *Mus. Blac.* i. p. 47; Raoul Rochette, *Notice du Catalogue du Pr. de Canino*, p. 6, restores it to *Phintias*.

[6] Schol. *ad Pind. Olymp.* VII. 156.

[7] Cramer, *Anecdota Græca*. 8vo. Oxon. 1841, p. 10; *Etymol. Grac.* codex Paris, 2720.

strove who should first return to the starting place. The passage as to the imitation of the heroes would in itself be obscure, but this refers to the landing of the Argonauts[8] at the island of Ægina, on their return to Pagasæ, when an actual race and struggle took place from the shore to the fountain Asopis and back, in order to supply the Argo with water, which gave rise to the subsequent Amphorites, or Amphiphorites Agon. The question of the existence of a river, or fountain, called the Asopis, is decided by Didymus, who mentions the Æginetan Asopus, as distinct from the Arcadian; and by Callistratus,[9] who speaks of the Asopis evidently as the fountain mentioned by the Etymologicum. Now, Asopis was one of the twenty daughters of the Asopus, and sister of Ægina, from whom the island derived its name; and the fountain was probably situated on the S. E. side of the island, as it would be on this shore that the Argonauts would land, in their course to Pagasæ. Hence there is no difficulty in the chorus awaiting the return of the Æginetan Aristocleides[10] "at the waters of Asopis." Now, the expression amphorites,[12] and that of amphoræ, seems to imply that the contest was performed with vessels of that shape, which would preclude the appearance of the hydria, for there can be no doubt that the amphora was a two-handled vase.[13] But it is remarkable that the Panathenaic amphoræ are called hydriæ,[14] and that the word amphora merely implied vessel,[15] from which it may be inferred that the poetic phrase was subsequently replaced by the newer shape of the water vessel, for Callimachus commences to use the term calpis instead of hydria.[16] Now such would be the explanation of this subject, unless it might be preferable to adopt that of the Argonauts themselves approaching the Asopis fountain; in which case the aged man should be Æacus himself, and not the epistates or paidotribos. There was indeed a festival at Athens of the Hydrophoria, or water-carrying, emblematic of the deluge of Deucalion, but this was

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[8] Apollonius Rhodius, v. 1765–1772; Apollodorus, I. 9, 26.

[9] Schol. *ad Pind. Nem.* III. 1.

[10] *Nem.* I. 6.

[11] Heyne *ad Pind. Nem.* III. 6.

[12] The Ἀμφιφορείτης, Cramer, *l. c.*, and Ἀμφιφόρεις in Hesychius, *s. v.*, is an Attic, or rather poetic form.

[13] Stephanus, Lex. *s. v.*; cf. Mœris, *Lex. Attic.* 8vo. Lips. 1831, p. 33.

[14] Cf. Schol. *ad Pind. Nem.* 64, 65, ed. Heyne; Schol. *ad Aristoph. Nub.* v. 1001.

[15] Bekker, *Anecd. s. v.*; *Lex. Rhetor.*

[16] Schol. *Pind. l. c., Fragm.* ed. Ern. 102, p. 490.

probably held by females, who carried these vases on their heads, and not upon their shoulders; and no doubt can be entertained that the explanation of the Argonauts at Ægina, or their commemoration festival, is preferable. In this portion is the inscription ΜΕΓΑΚΛΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ; and Megacles had probably himself gained a prize in the very contest.[17]

S. Birch.

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## V.

## MISCELLANIES.

### 1. On the Particles Ἄρα and Ἆρα.

A correct knowledge of the Greek particles, upon which so much of the logical meaning of sections and clauses of sentences depends, appears to me to be yet a desideratum among scholars. In many instances it is not easy to trace them to their respective roots, nor to reconcile the different significations they are supposed to have in various authors. None have occasioned more discussion, and none appear to be less understood, than the two at the head of this article. Hermann, in his preface to the *Œdipus Coloneus* of Sophocles, says, according to Ellendt, *Lex. Sophocl.* "nunquam versus causa ἆρα dictum pro ἄρα, sed vim conjecturæ faciendæ perpetuo retinere ἆρα, interrogandi ἆρα." This doctrine appears to me to be correct, but not the meaning he attaches to ἄρα. Ellendt himself states in his *Lex.* p. 213, "Nec tamen usquam ἆρα pro ἄρα dicitur, sed ἆρα pro ἄρα." How ἆρα could be used for ἄρα, and not *vice versâ*, it would be difficult to discover. The late Dr. Arnold, in a note on Thucydides, (I. 75,) says, "The word ἆρα, although accented and pronounced differently, is no other originally than the illative conjunction ἄρα." The Oxford Lexicographers echo the same opinion, "ἆρα, interrog. particle, = Lat. *num?* in accent and signif. a stronger form of ἄρα: 1. It makes the question more doubtful, so that usually a negative answer is expected, which is sometimes more clearly shewn by the use of ἆρα μή." This

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[17] I do not think that this can represent the landing of the Argonauts for water on the coast of Bithynia, which appears on the cista found at Præneste, *Mus. Kirch.* Aen. Tab. I. 6, 8; K. O. Müller, *Denkmäler*, Götting. 1832, No. 309, which compare with the vase; Gerhard, *Griechische Vasenbilder*, Tab. CLIII.–CLIV.

doctrine I hold to be altogether erroneous; because, besides the difference in quantity of the first syllable of the two words, which cannot be accounted for, if they were originally the same, and the very great difference in the meaning of both, it is well known that the classical Greek authors never used ἄρα any more than γὰρ at the commencement of a sentence, whereas ὄρα is often found occupying that position. Ἄρα, with the acute accent, denotes an *inference* drawn from what preceded, or *a consequence* following upon it. It does not imply the same degree of certainty as οὖν. It seems to be derived from the verb ἄρω, *to fit, adapt*, &c. Ἆρα, having the first syllable circumflected, is always used as an *interrogative* by the Attic writers, and can never be interchanged with ἄρα. The interrogative ἆρα appears to be derived from ἀράω, or, as a deponent, ἀράομαι, *I pray*. There are, no doubt, several examples in the Greek poets, in which the versification requires the *first syllables* to be long, and yet the general meaning of ἄρα is inadmissible, nor can the sentence be read interrogatively. If the doctrine, which I have stated at some length in *Dissertation Second* of my Greek Prosody, be correct, viz. "That a short or doubtful vowel is sometimes lengthened by the Attic poets, when it is the second syllable of the Iambic foot, though not supported by two consonants;" then ἄρα may have its first vowel lengthened when in that position. The poets sometimes avoided this license by employing τοι before ἄρα, and contracting the two words into τἄρα. See Soph. *Aj.* 1137, and Aristoph. *Vesp.* 299, Bekker's Ed. In the former play, v. 979, the chorus address Teucer, who had just been informed of the death of his brother, ὄλωλεν ἀνὴρ, Τεῦκρε, τοῦτ' ἐπίστασο. Teucer replies, ὤμοι, βαρείας ἆρα τῆς ἐμῆς τύχης! Woes me, *then*, for my heavy calamity! Here ἆρα, the interrogative, would be out of place; and if the reading is not τἄρα, which it unquestionably ought to be, the first *a* must be pronounced long, as it is the *second syllable* of the Iambus. Ellendt has quoted *Œd. Tyr.* 1395, λύγῳ παλαιὰ δώμαθ' οἷον ἆρά με—as an instance where ἆρα must necessarily come in place of ἄρα. But the reading ought to be—οἷα τἄρα με κάλλος κακῶν ὕπουλον ἐξεθρέψατε. Not *such you reared me*, but *how*, in that state in which I was brought up, *you reared me*. In Soph. *Œd. Col.* 408, the common reading is οὐκ ἆρ' ἐμοῦγε μὴ κρατήσωσιν ποτέ; so said Œdipus emphatically to the observation of Ismene, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐᾷ τοὔμφυλον αἷμά σ', ὦ πάτερ, *no then, never shall they* BE MASTERS *of me*. Elmsley has properly given οὐ τἄρ' κ. τ. λ. In the line following, ἆρα is also said to be substituted for ἄρα, Ism. ἔσται ποτ' ἆρα τοῦτο Καδμείοις βάρος. I have little doubt that the reading ought to be, ἔσται τότ' ἄρα τοῖς τοῦτο Καδμείοις βάρος, *then this*, (*as a consequence*,)

— —| ⏑ ⏑ ⏑| — —|⏑ —| — —| ⏑ —

*will be resented by* THE *Cadmeans*. The article here seems to be in-

dispensible. But if this reading should be considered too bold, then ἔσται τότ' ἄρα will require the *a* of ἄρα to have the ictus, as being the second syllable of the Iambic foot. Every prosodian knows that the A of Ἄρης is naturally short, and yet we find it lengthened in the following line, τούτῳ γὰρ Ἄρης βόσκεται.—*Æschyl. S. Th.* 230.

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These observations will, I imagine, enable us to understand the meaning of line 328, in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, which two of the contributors to the *Classical Museum* have, in my opinion, unsuccessfully attempted. Both of them, as well as several commentators who preceded them, seem to me to have mistaken the meaning both of ἄρα and the verb ἀνασείω, and have mistranslated the verb ἐμέλλετ', on the authority of Elmsley. The reading is, ἐμέλλετ' ἄρα πάντες ἀνασείειν βοῆν (βοῆς). Elmsley says, "Grammatica structura hujus versus nondum mihi satis comperta est; sententia vero, quæ fefellit interpretes, hujusmodi videtur; ἐμέλλετ' ἄρα παύσεσθαι τῆς βοῆς. *Noster Ran.* 268. Ἔμελλον ἄρα παύσειν ποθ' ὑμᾶς τοῦ κόαξ· Pro ἀνασείειν βοῆν, eodem sensu dicere poterat poëta, ἀνήσειν τῆς βοῆς, ut in *Pac.* 318. Ἐξολεῖτέ μ', ὦνδρες, εἰ μὴ τῆς βοῆς ἀνήσετε. Ceterum ἀνασείειν agnoscit Suidas in ipsa voce." And in his *Auctuarium Annotationum*, he adds, "Verbum μέλλω eodem sensu usurpatur a nostro, *Vesp.* 460. Ἆρ' ἐμέλλομεν ποθ' ὑμᾶς ἀποσοβήσειν τῷ χρόνῳ. *Nub.* 1301, φεύγειν; ἔμελλον σ' ἆρα κινήσειν ἐγώ. Ad hunc locum optime monet Brunckius, *sic loqui solent, qui multo labore tandem id effecerunt quod contenderunt.* Dicerent nostrates, *I thought I should make you hold your tongue.*" I have no hesitation in saying, that both Elmsley and the other commentators on this passage have totally mistaken the meaning of the verb ἀνασείω. In no passage in the classic authors that I can discover, does it ever signify *to cause to cease*, or *give over*. Its general meaning is, *to shake* or *toss up*; sometimes *to brandish*. In the quotation given by Elmsley from *Aristoph. Vesp.* 460, the line ought to be read in this order, ἐμέλλομεν ποτ' ἄρ' ὑμᾶς

⏑ – |⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ –| –

ἀποσοβήσειν τῷ χρόνῳ. In that from the *Nubes* (1301) he has also

⏑⏑|⏑ –| – –| ⏑ –

given a false arrangement. Instead of φεύγειν; ἔμελλον σ' ἆρα κινήσειν ἐγώ, the common reading and the correct one is, φεύγειν; ἔμελλον

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ἆρα σε κινήσειν ἐγώ. I cannot imagine how Elmsley could have ex-

⏑ ⏑| ⏑ –| – – |⏑ –

tracted the meaning, *I thought I should make you hold your tongue*, from the passage: μέλλω, the first person may be so translated, as in the verse from the *Nubes*, 1301, ἔμελλον ἆρα σε κινήσειν ἐγώ, so I thought I should make you sheer off! But it never can have such a meaning as *I thought* with the second or third persons.—Let us now return to the *Acharnians*. Professor Malden's proposed reading of

ἀνησείειν is altogether inadmissible. For who ever saw such a desiderative? I think the true sense may be brought out without altering a single word, by simply attending to the meaning of ἆρα and ἀνασείειν. The verse, according to my view of ἆρα, ought to be read interrogatively, ἐμέλλετ' ἆρ' ἅπαντες ἀνασείειν βοῆν; Dicæopolis, having brought the chorus to their senses by his threats, asks them, disdainfully and with a sneer, *Were you going, pray, all of you to kick up a row?* to use the Aristophanic slang. He employs the verb ἀνασείω in consequence of the chorus using the same verb, ἐκσέσεισται χαμᾶζ', οὐχ ὁρᾷς σειόμενον; instead of what might have been expected, ἀνατείνειν βοῆν, a pun upon the word very common with Aristophanes. This, I imagine, will be confirmed by what he says a few lines below,—

δεινὸν γὰρ, οὕτως ὀμφακίαν πεφυκέναι,
τὸν θυμὸν ἀνδρῶν, ὥστε βάλλειν καὶ βοᾷν.

GEORGE DUNBAR.

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2. ON ÆSCHYL. PROM. 1094, εἰ δὲ τάδ' ἀτυχεῖ, τί χαλᾷ μανιῶν.

Such is Brunck's conjectural reading of the first dipodia of this much disputed passage, which was approved by Schütz. It would be superfluous to quote all the various readings that have been suggested, as several of these violate both the sense and the metre. Linwood, in his Lexicon to Æschylus, mentions Hermann's in his *Obs. Critt.* c. 3., τί τάδ' ἠτύχθη; τί χαλᾷ μανιῶν; *quid his perterritus est? quid de insania remittit? Coll.* Hom. *Il.* ζ. 468. "This," says he, "Butler approves, having himself conjectured, εἰ δ' εὖ τάδ ἔχει—supposing τί χαλᾷ μανιῶν to have arisen from a gloss on the former line. Blomf. adopts a conj. of Pors., εἰ μηδ' ἀτυχῶν, τί χαλᾷ μανιῶν; i. e. *si ne quum ausis quidem exciderit*, &c. Well. proposes, εἰ τῇδε τύχῃ, τί χαλᾷ μανιῶν, considering τι as equivalent to *nihil*." Dindorf's conj. (which comes nearest the reading of Med. εἰ τοῦδε τύχη), says Linwood, appears the simplest and best. He observes, "τοῦδε propterea est necessarium, quia ab sententia communi, quæ præcedentibus versibus continetur, ad Promethei fortunam, cui nihil ad mentis alienationem deesse ait, orationem deflectit Mercurius." Neither the above, nor all the different readings I have quoted, appear to me to cohere strictly with the preceding verses; nor can I elicit any meaning from either in strict reference to what precedes or follows. Brunck's reading seems to be the only one in conformity with the preceding lines, and conveys some degree of sense. I apprehend, however, that the translation, *quum tanto prematur infortunio*, is incorrect: ἀτυχέω does not signify

*to be borne down by misfortune*, but, *to be unfortunate, not to succeed in the object of one's wishes*, as in the following passage from Thucydides, II. 62., *αἴσχιον δὲ ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι, ἢ κτωμένους ἀτυχῆσαι, it is more disgraceful to be deprived of a thing when in possession of it, than to fail in acquiring it.* In Brunck's reading, *τάδε* must be referred to *βουλεύματι* in line 1091.

*τοιάδε μέντοι τῶν φρενοπλήκτων*
*βουλεύματ' ἔπη τ' ἐστὶν ἀκοῦσαι.*

The *βουλεύματα* were the purposes of Prometheus to oppose the will of Jupiter, and the *ἔπη* must have a reference to his preceding speech, in which he indignantly refuses to comply with the request of Mercury and the chorus. The principal objection to this reading is, that an *anapæst* follows a *dactyle*, by which too many short syllables meet in the first dipodia. But there are several examples of such a collocation in all the Tragedians. Schoemann, in his edition of the Prom. B. (Greifswald, 1844), reads, *εἰ τάδ' ἐπανχεῖ, τί χαλᾷ μανιῶν;* but it may be remarked that the verb *ἐπανχέω* does not occur either in Æschylus or Euripides. It is found in Soph. *Antig.* 479, *τούτοις ἐπανχεῖν καὶ δεδρακυῖαν γελᾷν*; here it governs the *dative*, its legitimate construction. In the *Electra*, v. 65, it is used intransitively. We find it also in the *Aves* of Aristophanes, governing the *dative*, v. 628, *ἐπανχήσας δὲ τοῖσι σοῖς λόγοις.* From these examples, then, it is evident that Schoemann's reading violates the construction, as *ἐπανχέω* never governs the *accusative*, and *τάδε* with *ἐπανχέω* cannot possibly be taken *adverbially*, the proposition *ἐπί*, in composition, requiring the *dative*. The following conjectural reading seems to me to convey exactly the mind of the poet.

*εἰ δ' ὡς τάδ' ἔχει, τί χαλᾷ μανιῶν;*
— — | ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ —

This comes pretty near Bishop Butler's reading, which, however, cannot convey a correct idea of the poet's meaning. I would translate this line, so amended, thus,—*If this is so (if such is his language), in what respect does he relax from his madness?* what remission is there of his madness? Various examples of a similar construction of *ὡς* with *ἔχω*, occur in all the poets, *Soph. Trach.* 622.

*τὸ μὴ οὐ τὸδ' ἄγγος, ὡς ἔχει, δεῖξαι φέρων.*

And, *καὶ γὰρ ἐξεπίστασαι*
*τά γ' ἐν δόμοισι ὡς ἔχοντα τυγχάνει.*—v. 625.

GEORGE DUNBAR.

COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH, *March* 1847.

### 3. On a Passage in Virgil's First Georgic.

Virgil, in his first Georgic, (v. 203,) declares that the husbandman is called upon to study the constellations as much as the mariner who navigates the perilous straits of a tempestuous sea; and proceeds to fix the epochs for several important agricultural operations, by the risings and settings of particular asterisms. He then alludes, in a well known and highly laboured passage, to certain details connected with the five zones, to the position of the poles, and more especially to the annual career of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac. The lines which immediately succeed are printed as follows in the editions of Wakefield—of Brunck—of Hunter, (who professed to pay the greatest attention to punctuation)—of Heyne, as published originally by himself, and as re-edited by Wagner—of Forbiger, the most generally useful which has yet appeared—and in a multitude of school copies, which are for the most part taken directly from one or other of the above.

. . . . . .

Illic ut perhibent aut intempesta silet nox
Semper et obtenta densentur nocte tenebræ
Aut redit a nobis Aurora diemque reducit;
Noscque ubi primus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis
Illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.
Hinc tempestates dubio prædiscere cœlo
Possumus, hinc messisque diem, tempusque serendi;
Et quando infidum remis impellere marmor
Conveniat; quando armatas deducere classes,
Aut tempestivam silvis evertere pinum.
Nec frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus
Temporibusque parem diversis quatuor annum.
Frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber,
Multa, forent quæ mox cœlo properanda sereno,
Maturare datur: durum procudit arator
Vomeris obtusi dentem; cavat arbore lintres;
Aut pecori signum, aut numeros impressit acervis:
&c. &c.

Now, since the division into paragraphs, unknown in the oldest MSS., and adopted very sparingly by editors, even as late as the days of Burmann, was introduced for the purpose of assisting the reader to comprehend aright the connection of the different parts, the arrangement, as set down, must be intended to indicate that a new section commences with—

Nec frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus,

and that these words serve as an introduction to the advice subjoined; and so we are expressly told by Martyn and Heyne, of whom the former says on *Nec frustra*,—"Here the poet urges still farther the use-

fulness of astronomical knowledge. He observes, that many works are to be performed by the husbandman, the proper time for doing which depends upon a knowledge of the seasons;" and on *Frigidus imber*, " the poet does not seem to mean that these works are to be done when any sudden shower happens; but when the winter season comes on, which he had before expressed by *brumæ intractabilis imbrem*;" while the latter remarks, " Habet etiam alias utilitates, si observes siderum ortus et occasus et vices anni temporum. Si pluvium tempus *continet* h. e. domi tenet (v. Burm. h. l.) agricolam, multa interea parare et facere licet quæ mox sereno cœlo parum tempestive curanda essent. Hoc poëta ornatius extulit, post Hesiodum, quem compara 493, sqq."

The idea of Martyn, that *frigidus imber* denotes simply *winter*, seems to be completely overturned by *siquando*, which distinctly points to an occasional event, and by the fact that the occupations of the long winter nights are treated of elsewhere (v. 291). The lines of Hesiod, although they unquestionably insist upon activity in domestic concerns during severe cold, are so widely different in all respects from those before us, that we can scarcely regard the two passages as even parallel. The precept of Virgil, then, inculcates generally the importance of economizing time, " Whenever, in consequence of bad weather (*frigidus imber*, may be rendered either " chill rain" or " snow"), you are unable to work abroad in the fields, you may busy yourself in many useful tasks within doors, which you would be obliged to hurry over imperfectly at some other period if you passed your days in idleness until the return of a calm clear sky." Since, therefore, the injunction here given relates entirely to a temporary suspension of active operations abroad, a suspension altogether independent of the seasons, it is manifest that Virgil would never have ushered in a piece of advice so simple, with regard to a contingency which could, in every case, be ascertained by the direct evidence of the senses, without any appeal to astronomical phenomena, by any such solemn preface as,

> Nec frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus
> Temporibusque parem diversis quatuor annum;

although these expressions are highly appropriate as the peroration of the magnificent lines which precede them. We ought, then, manifestly to print,

> . . . . . .
> Illic, ut perhibent, aut intempesta silet nox
> Semper, et obtenta densentur nocte tenebræ
> Aut redit a nobis Aurora diemque reducit;
> Nosque ubi primus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis,
> Illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.
> Hinc tempestates dubio prædicere cœlo
> Possumus, hinc messisque diem, tempusque serendi;

Et quando infidum remis impellere marmor
Conveniat, quando armatas deducere classes
Aut tempestivam silvis evertere pinum.
Nec frustra signorum obitus speculamur et ortus,
Temporibusque parem diversis quatuor annum.
Frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber
Multa, forent quæ mox cœlo properanda sereno,
Maturare datur, &c.

And thus these verses stand in two of the most beautiful specimens of typography in existence, the edition of Baskerville, (4to. Birming. 1757,) and the edition of Didot, (fol. max. Paris, 1798,) except that they both begin a new paragraph with

Hinc tempestates dubio prædiscere cœlo,

which is, at all events, unnecessary, the connection of that and the six following lines being very close with those which go before.

Although the truth of what we have stated is so obvious, that it must have struck many among the countless readers of the Georgics, it seems remarkable, that what appears to be a palpable error, should have found its way into all the most popular editions of the most admired among the Latin poets, and have been permitted to remain so long unchallenged.

We may farther observe, that another new paragraph should commence at v. 267.

Quippe etiam festis quædam exercere diebus,

ending with

Incusum, aut atræ massam picis urbe reportat;

but this is a matter of comparatively small moment.

W. R.

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## VI.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. A Latin Grammar, on the System of Crude Forms. By T. Hewitt Key, M. A., late Professor of Latin in University College, London, now Professor of Comparative Grammar, and Head Master of the Junior School. (London, Dulau & Co., 1846. 8vo.)

This work is entitled to our special notice for many reasons. It is the production of a scholar whose name has long been associated with the cause of Classical learning in the metropolis, as Professor of Latin

in University College, and Head Master of the Junior School, and may therefore be considered as containing the result of extensive experience. It exhibits many proofs of accurate and minute scholarship, as well as extensive philological research; it displays an intimate knowledge of the works of the modern German grammarians, and still differs from them all so much as to establish for itself a legitimate claim to originality both of plan and execution;—it contains much that the practical teacher may turn to good account, and presents in a new light, not a few of the nicer questions of Latin philology; and yet, as a whole, we have scarcely met with a work on the same subject so ill adapted, without other and more intelligible aid, for enabling a pupil to acquire a knowledge of the language of which it treats. It is, moreover, the only independent attempt which has been made in Great Britain, since the time of Ruddiman, to construct a Latin grammar, and on this account alone, should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. There might be some difficulty in forming a correct estimate of two works which have appeared after the interval of a century. The principles on which they are compiled are different, but the object which they have in view is the same. The London Professor is not inferior to the Scottish Schoolmaster in Latin scholarship, nor in extent of classical reading; while as a linguist he is greatly superior, and has had the advantage besides, of the philological works which have appeared during the long interval: but, while we admit that his work elucidates many points in Latin syntax which Ruddiman left obscure, and explains others on more correct principles, we do not discover in it the patient research, the deliberate balancing of authorities, and the calm judgment of the northern grammarian.

Professor Key designates his work "a Latin Grammar, on the System of Crude Forms,"—a system, some of the peculiarities of which were explained in our last Number. It is not our intention at present to controvert any of the opinions advanced in the paper alluded to, nor to call in question the superiority so confidently claimed for this novelty; but as we have had considerably more than "seven years' daily experience" of the old system, we may, perhaps, take an opportunity hereafter of showing our youthful fellow-labourer that, notwithstanding his defection, it is still capable of defence; and that his assumptions and averments are not to be allowed to pass current as facts. In the mean time we have to deal with Mr. Key's work, merely as a grammar of the Latin tongue, irrespective altogether of its *systematic* peculiarities, and to examine its merits as a full and correct exposition of the laws which regulated the language of ancient Rome.

It is divided into 1476 sections, of which 29 are assigned to the alphabet and pronunciation; 7 to word-building; 830 to the Inflexion,

Gender, Conjugation, Derivation, Forms, &c. of the various parts of speech; and the remaining 610 belong to the syntax. The system of minute sub-divisions, without any mark to distinguish the more important laws from what may be regarded merely as exceptions, appears to us decidedly objectionable, and calculated to mislead. The inexperienced pupil will naturally estimate all the facts as of equal value, and will fix both in his mind, without probably being able to make the necessary distinction.

In the remarks which we intend to offer, we shall do little more than transcribe the notes which we made during a careful perusal of the book; we have neither time nor space to extend them.—We cannot approve of the system of orthography which our author has adopted. It is not consistent; and besides, it savours somewhat of affectation, and has the appearance, at least, of a desire to be singular. We do not affirm that the forms which he employs are not found; but some of them, we know, are supported by slender authority. Besides, we do not see any advantage likely to arise from the change which he patronises. The tendency of it is to familiarise the eye of the pupil with forms of words which he will seldom see any where else, and to conceal from him the same words in the form in which the best editions of the Latin Classics present them. The latter consideration alone is of paramount importance; and involves the principle which has hitherto been adopted, not only in Latin grammars, but in those also which treat of every other cultivated language. The Latin writers, at various periods of their literature, differed from each other as much as the English do, and we possess no means of fixing with certainty on the system employed by any one of them. (See *Wagner's Virg.* vol. v. Pref.) An Archaic grammar would be curious, and useful too in reading the fragments of the early writers, as well as Lucretius, Plautus, and Terence, but would fail when the reader advanced to Cicero; whereas one compiled on the usual principle, requires only to be supplemented, to render the older forms of the language intelligible. We doubt if Professor Key will give currency to such forms as *haut, contio* (for *concio*) *sescenti, quom, neglego, nequiquam, pluvit, viciens*, &c. The form *es* in the acc. plur. of the third declension, is given along with *is* in the inflected examples (§ 88), and in the adjectives (§ 217, &c.); but, if we mistake not, occurs no where else; the older form being, on all occasions, preferred to it. (See § 456, &c.) But why is the third form *eis* not recognised? For this too, authority may be adduced.

The author enters into a minute analysis of the case-endings of nouns, and of the personal terminations of verbs, throughout which he displays an unusual degree of ingenuity, acuteness, and philological skill; and traces analogies where, at first sight, they may appear to be

least expected. This, which is obviously a favourite pursuit, is considerably overdone; as in § 407, where it is stated that the suffix of the first person sing. of Latin verbs was originally *om*, a form which "is scarcely altered in sum, or in inqu-am." The analogy of the English verb *am*, we cannot admit. Now this seems to us a conclusion much too important to be drawn from premises so limited; and especially when we bear in mind the corresponding part of the Greek verb, and the direct influence which the language of Greece had upon that of Italy. He lays it down as a principle (§ 44), that "the *nominative* (of nouns) is formed by the suffix *s*." It cannot be disputed that a very large number of nouns do present that termination; but the exceptions are too numerous to be accounted for on one principle. "The nominative," we are told, "marks the quarter *from* which an action proceeds. Thus, in the sentence, 'the master strikes the slave,' the blow comes *from* the master." Let us change the nominative, and see what the effect will be; "the slave is struck by the master;" the word slave is here the nominative, and cannot possibly be said to "mark the quarter *from*." Again, it is stated (§ 47), that "the genitive signifies *from*: as, calor solis, *the heat* from *the sun*;" and it is added (§ 48), "the nominative and genitive both signify *from*: but they differ in this; the nominative belongs to a *verb*, the genitive to a *noun*." This distinction, we fear, will not be very intelligible to a young pupil.

One of the leading defects of the book, in our estimation, as a practical treatise on Latin grammar, arises from the author's excessive love of theory. An example occurs in § 49. "The *dative* is formed by the suffix *bi*, often changed into *i*." Now it is well known that the personal pronouns *tu* and *sui* are the only words in the language which form the dative in *bi*, with the exception of the adverbs *alibi*, *ibi*, and *ubi*, which we readily add to the list. Here, again, is a deduction which we refuse to admit. Is the author at liberty to infer from *two*, or even *five* words, and these all belonging to the pronominal portion of the language, that the dative of all Latin nouns was originally "formed by the suffix *bi*?" We are farther informed in the same Section, that "the dative answers to the question *where*, and is translated by *at* or *in*: as, Sulmon-i, *at Sulmon*; ali-bi, *in another place*. It is used also for *to*, if there is no motion: as, haeret ti-bi, *it clings to you*." The theory, that the Latin dative originally and properly signifies *at* or *in*, may probably be new to a majority of our readers; but it forms, nevertheless, an essential element in Mr Key's system. Such, indeed, is his fondness for it, that he ingeniously and courageously forms a dative of *place* in *i* (§ 114) for nouns of the second declension, and represents, as exceptions to the general rule, those of the third, which cannot be disposed of by the general assertion that the best MSS. have *i*,

(see § 990, *note**). In § 159, *domus* is furnished with three forms of the dative, one of which is "domi, *at home.*" This we have hitherto considered as a genitive; and have sometimes thought that it might be proved to be so by the expression in Ter. *Eunuch.* IV. 7, 45, *domi foci-que fac vicissim ut memineris ;* and by that in Nepos, *Hannib.* 9, (an authority, however, which Mr Key would reject, see p. 185, note II.), *in propatulo domi;* especially when taken in connection with Livy's expression, *in propatulo ædium* (*Lib.* XXIV. 16, and XXVI. 13), respecting which there can be no doubt.

The farther developement of this favourite theory is interesting. In § 784 we find the following statement:—"the following, sometimes called adverbs, are in origin datives denoting *the time when*, or *the place where*, &c. heri, *yesterday ;* mani, *in the morning ;* luci, *in the daylight ;* domi, *at home ;* ruri, *in the country ;* foris, *out of doors ;* multimodis, *in many a way.*" Here we have an addition of six words, of which the first has always been regarded as an adverb, and, except in Cicero, is invariably found written *here*, (see Freund's *Lex.*): respecting the second, Schneider (*Ausf. Gram.* v. 2, p. 453) says that the form *mani* is found only in Plaut. *Pœnul.* III. 3, 37 (see also *Freund*), where, however, Weise reads *mane ;* and in Virg. *Cir.* 350, which is a false reference. *Luci* and *ruri* are adverbial forms, or varieties of the ablative, the latter being never found in connection with an adjective. In a note appended to the preceding Section, it is stated that "the final *s* in *multimodis* is probably only an adverbial suffix, and not a mark of plurality," thus rendering the last a dative singular. May the same advantage not be extended to *foris ?*

It appears again in the syntax in a still more extended form (§ 950—954), where the principle is laid down that "the dative case answers to the question where? in or near what place? and to the time when?;" although we are told (§ 992) that "time 'when' is commonly expressed in the ablative." We do not attempt to reconcile the two statements. We are farther informed (§ 989,) that "the ablative is only another form of the dative, and its uses are therefore very similar." That the two cases were originally identical is, we think, very probable; indeed the analogy of the Greek dative renders it almost certain; but the Latin grammarian has to do with the cases as he finds them, and to explain them according to the usage of the best writers. The next Section limits the principle: "'at a town,' or 'in a small island,' the poets express by an ablative when the metre requires it: as, Dardaniumque ducem Tyria Karthagine qui nunc Expectat. (*Virg.*)" Here we are assured, in a note, on the authority of Servius, that *Karthagine* is only a licence for *Karthagini*; and farther, that "in Livy the best MSS., where reported, have Karthagini;" in those cases, we presume, in which the dative would have been ac-

ceptable to Mr Key. We could not, without subjecting ourselves to a great deal of trouble, contradict the statement; but the perusal of the editions of Drakenborch, Kreyssig, and Twiss, and of the four books so admirably edited by Fabri, has left on our mind a different impression. We regret that we have not had an opportunity of examining the various readings of Alschefski. Indeed, the note of Ruddiman (*Gram. Lat. Institut.* v. II. pp. 253 and 254) is, in our opinion, quite satisfactory. But our author seems to have no profound respect for either vowels or consonants. Under his plastic hand, they assume the desired form, with a grace, or a rapidity at least, quite remarkable; disappearing, or putting on a new dress, as circumstances require.

We must still request the indulgence of our readers, while we add a short appendix. We have already found that the dative may assume the meaning *in* or *at*, *where* or *when*; and that the deviations from this principle are to be considered as poetical licences. There remains, however, still a stumbling-block in the way, which must be removed. The doctrine hitherto received is, "that 'from' or 'by' a place is expressed in the ablative," and the circumstance that nouns of the first declension are so used, has been held as conclusive proof. Not so, according to Mr Key, whose opinion is as follows, (§ 1021): "A true ablative ending in *d* belonged to the old language, and the loss of this *d* led to a form very similar to the weakened dative commonly called the ablative. Hence, 'from a town' is sometimes expressed by a mere ablative." Here we are presented with a "weakened dative" at once manufactured from "a true ablative ending in the letter *d*;" the weakness of which dative arises from "the loss of this *d*," and, at the same time, conveys to it the meaning "from," instead of *in*, *at*, *where*, or *when*. We are not informed whether nouns of the first declension undergo a similar metamorphosis; but we may infer that they do. Are the opinions of former grammarians to be overturned by such reasoning as this? *See* a farther extension of the favourite theory § 935 *note*, and § 946 *note*, where even *minoris*, *pluris*, and *hujus*, narrowly escape being converted into datives. We have pleasure, however, in adding that the author's conjectures, in the *notes* referred to, are extremely ingenious.

The Sections (149–163) which treat of Defective and Irregular Nouns, are not so full and complete as might have been expected from the minuteness of detail which pervades other parts of the work. We shall mention only one example of this. In § 153 it is stated that *vis* has no gen. singular. We admit that the authority of Tacitus (*Or.* 26.) is not unexceptionable; but it is at least as good as any (*Auct. Bell. Afr.* 69,) which can be produced in favour of the dative. The Sections (183–197) which treat of Gender, are liable to the same objection. But, on the other hand, we have no where seen the Nume-

rals and Pronouns arranged and explained with the same degree of skill and exactness. We readily extend our unqualified commendation to the Sections which include the indeclinable parts of speech (767–865).

The author has obviously bestowed great attention on the verbs. His arrangement of the tenses, and his explanation of the various meanings which they assume when placed in combination with other words, are singularly clear and satisfactory. But he has presented to us an elaborate commentary on the uses of the different tenses; a minute logical exposition, to be appreciated by the scholar, and not a simple conjugation of them, to be committed to memory by the learner. The conjugation of *scribo* alone, as an active verb, fills sixteen closely printed pages. The verbs are divided into *transitive*, *intransitive*, *reflective*, and *static*. The first two terms are well known; the others require some explanation. "A *reflective* verb (§ 376) denotes an action upon oneself, and in Latin is conjugated in the imperfect tenses with a suffix *s* or *r*:" as, vertor, *I turn myself*; and "a *static* verb (§ 385) denotes a state:" as, sum, *I am*; dormio, *I sleep*. That certain Latin verbs (and Virgil supplies a considerable number,) were used exactly as we find the middle voice of the Greek verb, was not unknown before; but Mr. Key is the first, so far as we know, who has had the boldness to claim for them the right of being considered as the original representatives of the passive verbs. Within reasonable limits, we are not disposed to question the truth of his theory. He admits (§ 380) that the "passive use of a verb with a reflective suffix, is much more common than the proper reflexive use;" but, at the same time, regards the deviation from the original form merely as an exception. He even assigns *armans* and *armaturus* to *armor*, which he gives as the example of a reflective verb. Nearly all the static verbs belong to the second conjugation, and many of them have active forms, which are arranged under the first or third. We do not exactly comprehend the principle on which this new class is constituted; especially as we find included in it *jaceo*, *habeo*, and *amo*, verbs which present to our mind no bond of union.

The lists of verbs (533–555) are copious, and have been drawn up with considerable care; but they are defective in the compounds. A few only of these are given, and chiefly, it would appear, for the purpose of shewing the change which the simple verbs undergo in composition. This, however, is a department in which works on Latin Grammar are generally defective; though, in practical teaching, it is one of very great importance. We have marked various verbs, in respect to which, there appear to us to be errors, both of omission and commission; parts acknowledged which are doubtful, and parts omitted which are supported by respectable authority. A few of these

we shall take the liberty of mentioning; we cannot go much into detail.

We are not aware that any authority can be produced for such supines as *sonitum* and *tonitum* (§ 550,) except the verbal substantives *sonitus* and *tonitrus*; and if this principle is admitted, *fluo* may present a very fair claim for *fluctum*, which has hitherto been denied to it. The legitimate analogy would give *sonatum* and *tonatum*. (See Hor. *Sat.* I. 4, 44, and *Epod.* II. 51.)

*Mulceo* is said (§ 553) to have "no sufficient authority for the perfect and supine." These parts have hitherto been recognised by grammarians, and seem to rest on authority, not much, if at all, inferior to that which can be produced for many others. *Mulserat* occurs in a line of Ennius, quoted by Priscian; and *mulsus* is found in Plautus, Columella, Cato, and Pliny. For the perfect and per. participle of *permulceo*, the authorities are indisputable. (See Livy, VII. 40, and XXXIX. 3; Virg. *Æn.* V. 816, &c.) Had the author not been careful to specify in other cases compounds which are found in parts that do not exist in the simple state, he might have been excused. His partiality for Plautus should, we think, have secured his support for the supine of *mulceo*; it has been shown in other cases which are not less questionable.

With respect to *sedeo*, we are informed (§ 553) that "the perfect usually given belongs to *sid*, of the consonant conjugation." This is completely reversing the order of things. The orthodox doctrine hitherto has been that *sido* had only a questionable perfect *sidi*; and that its compounds were indebted to *sedeo* for the perfect and supine which they have assumed; "absque Supinis *Sido*que, sed soboli *sedeo* dat mutuo *sedi*" (*Ruddim.*) The same opinion, so far as we know, has been maintained in substance by all succeeding grammarians; those of Germany assign the same perfect and supine to both.

Again, the perfect is withheld from *urgeo* and *turgeo*; while *vieo* has been deprived of both perfect and supine. The perfect of the last verb is doubtful; the representative of the supine appears in the perf. participle. But the system of despoliation appears in other instances quite as remarkable, all of which we have not room to specify; as in *careo*, *caleo*, *doleo*, *jaceo*, and *lateo*, &c., of which the future participles are acknowledged to exist. Can Mr. Key produce equally good authority for *sonitum* and *tonitum*, both of which have obtained his sanction?

The chapter on the "Derivation, &c. of words" (§ 740–756), and along with it the following sections, 191–194, 225–239, 264–267, 317–358, 366, 767–807, present by far the fullest account of Latin Derivative words which we have seen. The words are arranged in classes, and great skill is displayed in assigning meanings to the various ter-

minational forms. The derivations which are given in these Sections and elsewhere, are ingenious, and generally recommend themselves by their aptness. There are, however, some exceptions: thus, in § 834, *discors* is said to be a compound of *dis* and *corda*, *string*, and to signify *of a different note*. The old opinion, which comprehends all the adjectives of the family, is more probable. In the *note* appended to the same section, "neglego, (*leave behind*), *neglect*," is said to furnish "the solitary example of" the prefix "neg;" this prefix being "identical with the German *nach*, and consequently with the English *nigh*." From this statement, we beg leave to dissent. The prefix here is no other than the negative *ne* or *nec*; and the original meaning of *negligo* is not, *I leave behind*, but, *I do not gather*. Nor is this a "solitary example;" the same prefix appears in *nego*, which is a compound of *ne* or *nec*, and *aio*, *I do not say yes*, *I deny*. The opinion here offered rejects the analogy between *neg* and *nach*, or *nigh*. The author's strict adherence to the system of considering the whole of the derivative word, with the exception merely of the *root*, as terminational, sometimes forces him to adopt clumsy expedients. We are told (§ 755) that "a few verbs, called desiderative, are formed from verbs with a suffix *turi*, which is liable to the same changes as the participial suffix *to*." Now, we are prepared to maintain that these verbs are derived immediately from the fut. participle; and that the probability of our derivation is supported, not only by their *form*, but also by their *meaning*. The change of quantity in the antepenult is no valid objection. *See also* § 807.

We are inclined to consider the syntax as by much the ablest portion of Mr. Key's Grammar, and as calculated to place his name high in the list of Latin philologists. It contains many proofs of acute scholarship,—of extensive and careful reading, and practical experience in rendering the works of the classical writers into genuine and racy English. It is encumbered, however, by a superabundance of minute subdivisions, which do not appear to have the effect either of simplifying his system, or of rendering it more complete. Many of these would have been more appropriately placed as notes, or explanations of the leading principles. To take an example at random; § 1010. "The ablative of quality is the name usually given to that use of the case which denotes a condition of mind or body, &c. But it is essential that an adjective accompany this ablative; as, tanta est eloquentia (*Cic.*)" In the following section, we are furnished with a supplement which farther informs us, that "this ablative is occasionally used when the state is not a permanent one; as, nullo frigore adducitur, ut capite operto sit (*Cic.*)" Now, we are of opinion, that permanency does not enter into the principle at all; and we even doubt if the two cases are to be explained by the *same* principle; but, ad-

mitting this, nothing seems to be gained by the addition;—we should have been better pleased to see the author's ingenuity exercised in establishing a distinction between the use of the genitive in § 928, and that of the ablative in § 1010.

We regret that we have but little room left for remarks, and that we can avail ourselves of only a few of our notes. The explanation of the accusative of the perf. participle of passive verbs (§ 892), is a step taken in the right direction. It necessarily follows from the author's theory of the reflective verb, and requires only to be stated to secure its immediate adoption. We are not prepared to admit into the list of verbs which govern two accusatives, those mentioned in § 896 and 897. We cannot discern any difference of principle between "Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit" (*Liv.*), and the expression of Sallust, "Senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostes judicat" (*Cat.* 30.) That the latter would be held by Mr. Key himself to be a case of *apposition* or *attraction*, is proved by an expression which he quotes under § 1060, "Illis hostibus judicatis" (*Cic.*)

Mr. Key is a devoted Latinist, and has compiled his Grammar on the principle, that the language of which he treated was quite independent of its older and more polished neighbour. Hence, we find him defending, (§ 939, *note* *) as native idioms, certain forms of expression which have generally been regarded as Græcisms, and explaining them accordingly. We suspect they must still be traced to a Greek source. In explanation of the example from *Virgil*, (Æn. II. 126,) see *Wagner*, *Thiel* and *Forbiger*, and *Orelli ad Hor. Sat.* II. 6, 84. The same principle will account for the anomalies mentioned § 946 and 947.

We are pleased to see the construction of the so-called "ablative absolute" reduced to its proper dimensions. We have long been of opinion that but few cases will be found which cannot be reduced to "the time when," "the means by which," or the "attending circumstances." The system of punctuation which is followed in almost all school editions of the Classics, gives to this ablative a degree of prominence to which it is not entitled. The account of the subjunctive mood is more definite and complete than any which we recollect to have seen. We quite agree with the author in the principle on which he accounts for the government of such expressions as "sunt qui," "inventi sunt qui," &c. It is the most correct, as well as the most comprehensive; and embraces many other expressions, which, on the principles of Crombie and Carson, require separate rules. We beg to refer our readers to the account of the "obliqua oratio," and to § 1213—1231. We are at a loss to comprehend the exact meaning of § 1194, "an assertion is limited and explained by qui and the subjunctive; as, Peccasse mihi videor qui a te discesserim" (*Cic.*)

Now, it humbly appears to us, that there is here neither a "limitation," nor an "explanation," but merely the statement of a reason; and, we believe, it is generally agreed among grammarians, that *qui*, when it performs this office, is followed by the subjunctive. For an explanation of the principle involved in the example from Virg. *Ec.* v. 7, given under § 1197, we refer our readers to Wagner's note to a parallel passage, Virg. *Ec.* iv. 52.

The syntax bears evident marks of having been compiled after the earlier part of the Grammar was printed. *Propius* and *proxime* are given (§ 830) along with *prope*, in the list of prepositions; while they are said, in § 908, to be adverbs. We are disposed to believe that all three belong to the latter class; and something like a proof is furnished by the construction of the adjectives *propior* and *proximus*. *Coram*, *palam*, and *clam*, which are excluded from the list of prepositions § 830 and 831, are classed as such § 914 *note* *.

We think Mr. Key occasionally shows some rashness in the readings which he adopts or condemns. From the instances which we have marked, we select the following:—In § 800, *note* †, it is stated, that "perinde is only a corruption of proinde, and in no way related to the preposition per: indeed, the MSS. generally, have proinde where editions give perinde." We readily grant that, in many cases, the MSS. differ; but we do not admit that the confusion is "general." Had the author seen Hand's elaborate dissertation on these words, he would perhaps have modified his assertion (see Hand's *Tursellinus*, vol. iv. p. 451–465.) Even Cicero's Latinity does not escape censure. In § 1226, the following clause is quoted from the Roman moralist:—"Præmium proposuit ei qui invenisset novam voluptatem;" with this remark, "Orelli omits the word ei, without which the Latin would be faulty." Now, that the omission was made deliberately by the Swiss editor, is obvious from his note. But Kühner has even defended the omission, and, as we think, successfully; and Ramshorn (*Latein. Gram.* p. 558,) quotes this passage, along with many others, in illustration of the principle that the antecedent is sometimes omitted. Kühner's note will be found in p. 368 of the edition 1835. Our readers will now be prepared for the unconditional condemnation of the "bad Latin" of Nepos, with the exception of the *Life of Atticus*, (see § 972, *note* ii.) This is a summary mode of disposing of a long-agitated question.

Systematic prosody has been altogether omitted!—But we have already exceeded our prescribed limits, and must therefore take leave of Professor Key. We have ventured to express our opinion of his book freely; but, in doing so, we trust we have shewn that we have perused it deliberately. We shall regret extremely if we have in any respect misrepresented his meaning. We conclude our remarks, by

assuring him, that we consider his *Latin Grammar* as superior, in many respects, to any which we have; and by expressing our fear that the peculiarities of his system will deter many from reading it, who would otherwise have been eager to avail themselves of its contents.

G. F.

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2. A Tour from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai, by R. Lepsius. Translated by Charles Herbert Cottrell, Esq. London, 1846.

This is a small book, but it contains important matters. The author, during his route, turned his attention mainly to the three following historical points:—*First*, the primeval Egyptian colonies, the inscriptions and remains of whose temples, in the northern mountains, have drawn the attention of travellers, and given rise to such marvellous hypotheses. *Secondly*, the places mentioned in the Bible, connected with the journey of the Israelites through the wilderness. And *thirdly*, the so-called Sinaic inscriptions, which were formerly held to be the work of the Israelites.

In regard to the first point, the author's opinion, previously entertained, was confirmed by local inspection, that the inscriptions are simply *stelae* to record the working of the copper mines in the neighbourhood, and are not, according to the received hypothesis, the work of pilgrims.

The second point he has discussed with great candour and ability. With regard to the geographical position of Sinai, he comes to the conclusion that it is the Serbál, and not Gebel Mû'sa, and that "the Mount of God, Horeb," is the same with "the Mount of God, Sinai."

On the third point—the Sinaic inscriptions—he is decidedly of opinion that they are chiefly, if not entirely of *Christian* origin—the work of a Christian pastoral people acquainted with the art of writing—not of pilgrims, nor confined to any particular locality. We are inclined to this view of the matter; at the same time we could wish that the author had come a little more strongly out, both on the capability of the Israelites to write the inscriptions, and on the improbability of their having done it.

On this, and one or two other points, we wish he had done more, just because, if he had seen it meet, he could have done more so well.

There is no attempt at getting up a book;—no writing for want of something to say. The narrative is firm, bold, decided—the author has a keen eye, a richly gifted and highly cultivated mind—and shews great candour, judgment, and tact, in testing by facts the opinions of

others, and in making the lights of history and science available in clearing up a dark point. A fine philosophic spirit pervades his views and reasonings, hallowed by a love of truth, and a reverence for the Scriptures. We regret exceedingly that it did not accord with his plan, to pursue the track of the Israelites till they reached the promised land. On several points we desiderate his opinion, even after the observant, judicious, and faithful Robinson. The completion of the route, with an accompanying map, would be no small contribution to our geographical and biblical knowledge.

W.

## VII.

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## VIII.

### GODS AND HEROES OF LEGENDARY GREECE.

A HISTORY OF GREECE. By George Grote, Esq. London: John Murray. Vols. I. & II. 1846.

WE have waited with a feeling akin to impatience, to see if this, the only Classical Journal of our country, would notice this truly classical work. At last, at the risk of being charged—perhaps chargeable—with presumption, we have ventured on the duty, which we are conscious others would have better discharged. Our readers have now been in possession of the two preliminary volumes for nearly twelve months; and the leading critical journals of the day have given their opinion at great length on their merits. Yet, though somewhat late, it may not be too late to pronounce the verdict, which we *know* those best qualified to judge have come to,—that this work presents us, so far as it goes, with the best History of Greece extant in any language.

These are strong words. We are only warranted in using them by the authority to which we refer. It is our part now, not to analyze this history in its details, as might be necessary with readers of the general class, but to give some of the grounds on which we deem ourselves individually justified in concurring in this favourable decision.

And, first, generally, we have risen from the study of this work with somewhat like the satisfaction experienced while en-

joying the view of a production of art, where the labour must have been great and unremitting, but where, from the perfect command possessed by the artist over materials and tools, no indication of painful exertion anywhere appears. Whether or not the reader agrees with all Mr. Grote's speculations and conclusions, he feels that he is in the presence of a man who has mastered the records of antiquity, so that they have become part and parcel of his mind. The example set before him by Niebuhr and others belonging to the modern school of historical enquiry, of patient, unwearied industry, combined with independent thought and originality of view, he has worthily followed; and he has certainly excelled most of them, in the distinctness of manner in which he has developed the result of his researches. It was not to be expected that any scholar acquainted with the manner in which similar subjects have, of late, been treated, would have ventured into the field without a minute acquaintance with the authorities, on which he would have to rely. Niebuhr, besides, had already taught that, as the development of the mind in ancient *history* is the development of the mind in *man*, usages and principles may be illustrated from all regions where the human mind operates in analogous circumstances. But this has the more raised the standard by which we are in future to judge of such works, and increased the difficulty with which our author had to contend. More especially, the admirable manner in which the Bishop of St. David's had broken ground in the same department, must have intimidated from competition all rational men but one who felt that he had the power to handle his theme competently. And of both we may say, that Thirlwall is the fit predecessor of Grote, and that none but Grote could have followed Thirlwall.

In both the points now hinted at, a profound acquaintance with, as well as a masterly use of, his authorities, and a comprehensive view of human nature, as developed in Grecian history and in that of other countries, our author has left nothing to be desired.

As to the first, we have carefully traced a very great part of his references, and on the strength of our labour feel entitled to give our opinion. Every one who has had any thing to do with following out a narrative—whether of fact or of opinion—is aware of the small appearance often made by the result of a prodigious amount of labour. To establish a date, to confirm an

allusion, to warrant an incidental illustration, the enquirer may be obliged to hunt through whole books; and, in the compass of a sentence, or a clause, may be included the fruit of many hours' toil. It may seem, therefore, but trifling with a great work like this,—to nibble at detached portions. But it is, in reality, to shew that we are not speaking at random, that we venture to confirm the rule of our author's accuracy, by pointing out what struck us in the course of our reading as exceptions. After all, how few are these instances, and how unimportant!

"First in order of time, (we are told by Hesiod) came Chaos, next Gæa, the broad, firm, and flat earth, with deep and dark Tartarus at her base. Erôs, (Love,) the subduer of gods as well as men, came immediately afterwards."—Vol. I. p. 5.

The passage of Hesiod referred to, (*Theog.* 116, &c.), is well condensed, except that there is no authority for the words "immediately afterwards." The production of Gæa, Tartarus, and Eros, are represented as simultaneous. It would not, however, have been worth while to notice this, were it not that on the simultaneousness of the appearance of Gæa and Eros, next after Chaos, an argument for the antiquity of Love is founded in Plato, (*Sympos.*, § 6), Φησὶ (Ἡσίοδος) μετὰ τὸ χάος δύο τούτω γενέσθαι, Γῆν τε καὶ Ἔρωτα.

Zeus is said, (vol. I. p. 11,) to have released the Cyclopes and the Centimanes, in return for which "the former supplied him with thunder and lightning, and the latter brought into the fight their boundless muscular strength." The references are, Hesiod, *Theog.* 140, 624, 657; Apollodor. I. 2, 4. To the passage from Apollodorus bearing on the release of the Cyclopes, add Hesiod, *Theog.* 561, &c. as important.

In page 16, note 2, for Iliad XIV. 249, read XIV. 246.

"The Hesiodic theogony gives no account of any thing like a creation of man, nor does it seem that such an idea was much entertained in the legendary vein of Grecian imagination; which commonly carried back the present men by successive generations to some primitive ancestor, himself sprung from the soil, or from a neighbouring river or mountain, or from a god, a nymph, &c."

Our author has surely overlooked the force of ὁμόθεν in this line,—

Ὣς ὁμόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι.

Hesiod, *Op. et Di.* 108.

This indicates more than a negative; gods and men were sprung, not the latter from the former, but both from the same common source, whatever that may have been; ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, says the Scholiast. The difference was that the one was mortal, and the other immortal. As in Lucian's *Vitarum Auctio*, we find the question and reply of the Bidder and Heracleitus,—Τί δαὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι; Θεοὶ θνητοί. Τί δαὶ οἱ θεοὶ; Ἄνθρωποι ἀθάνατοι.

"He (Zeus) had determined to produce from her a son superior to all his prior offspring,—'a specimen of invincible force both to gods and men.'"—Vol. I. p. 267.

In a note, the passage, a portion of which is thus translated, is given,—

"Hesiod, *Scut. Her.* 29, *ὄφρα θεοῖσιν Ἀνδρασί τ' ἀλφηστῆσιν ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα φυτεύσῃ.*

The rendering here is, surely, too loose. The idea conveyed by Hesiod of the great redresser of wrongs, is loftier than that of a mere specimen of invincible force.

In an instructive passage regarding the Amazons, our author says,—

"Strabo, on the contrary, feeling that the grounds of disbelief applied with equal force to the ancient stories and to the modern, rejected both the one and the other; but he remarks at the same time, not without some surprise, that it was usual with most persons to pursue a middle course,—to retain the Amazons as historical phænomena of the remote past, but to disavow them as realities of the present, and to maintain that the breed had died out."—Vol. I. p. 294.

The passage from Strabo, (XI. p. 505.) is given at full length in a note.

We are afraid (with an ingenious critic[1]) of falling into error, while differing in opinion from so accomplished a scholar as Mr. Grote. But we cannot help thinking that he lays more on the passage quoted than it will bear. The most important words are, ἐπιτείνει δὲ τὴν ἰδιότητα καὶ τὸ πιστεύσθαι τὰ παλαιὰ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νῦν. Strabo had previously mentioned the reports attesting the then existence of the Amazons, given among others by Metrodorus Scepsius and Hypsicrates, to which, though both of these were

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, No. 170, p. 366.

acquainted with their alleged locality, he gives no credence. He expresses his utter disbelief in their existence past and present, and proceeds to state, as it appears to us, *two* peculiarities in the belief of the Amazons as "historical phænomena." The one is the existence of that belief in spite of the monstrous incredibility attaching to the old as well as the modern stories regarding them: Περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεται καὶ νῦν καὶ παλαὶ, τερατώδη τ' ὄντα, καὶ πίστεως πόρρω. The other, and additional peculiarity is, that not only are the stories incredible, but contradicted by all present experience. For he proceeds to mention the cities and countries which are said to have been theirs, and adds, ὅπου δὲ νῦν εἰσὶν, ὀλίγοι τε καὶ ἀναποδείκτως καὶ ἀπίστως ἀποφαίνονται. We think, then, that the sentence on which our author founds, means simply, "what adds to the peculiarity is, that old traditions are credited in preference to present experience."

"With perfect propriety, therefore, (Καθόλου δὲ πιθανῶς,) was he (Actæon) transformed into an animal, such as those he had hunted, and torn to pieces by the very dogs who had killed them."—Page 355, Note.

This is part of a translation from Diodorus, IV. 81, (through inadvertence, the reference is made to IV. 80.) The passage, in the original, begins, Οὐκ ἀπίθανον δὲ, which our author translates, "It is not improbable." Should καθόλου δὲ πιθανῶς not be rendered, "It is entirely consistent with probability?" Our author, in his note, says, "Both of these (Diodorus and Pausanias) appear implicitly to believe the fact, that Actæon was devoured by his own dogs, but they differ materially in their explanation of it." The introductory words of Diodorus (*l. c.*) are, . . . . . Αὐτονόην, ἐξ ἧς φασιν Ἀχταίωνα γενέσθαι, τὸν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κυνῶν διασπασθέντα · κ. τ. λ. Do not the words κατὰ τοὺς μύθους strike a sceptical key-note? And do not ἀπίθανον and πιθανῶς refer to the plausibility and appropriateness—the perfect keeping of the details of the mythe?

Our author proposes, (p. 441, Note 2,) an emendation on the text of Strabo, in which, unfortunately, we cannot concur. Strabo, (XIII. p. 593,) after combating the claim of the inhabitants of the contemporaneous Ilium, to be the occupants of the site o the ancient city, proceeds to narrate the history of the Iliu then existing, from the time of Alexander the Great. As t

text stands, this is its history in brief:—This city (πῶλιν τὴν νῦν,) was a mere village (κώμη) at the time of Alexander's visit to it, which was after the battle of the Granicus. He promised, both then, and when in Persia, to do great things for it. After his death, Lysimachus surrounded it with walls; built in it a temple, and added to it the population of the ancient and ruined towns in the neighbourhood, (about B. C. 290.) And this was done immediately after he had attended to Alexandreia Troas, which became a respectable city. But his efforts for Ilium were not quite so successful. For at the time of the first arrival of the Romans in Asia, (B. C. 190,) it was little better than a village still (κωμόπολις), and was altogether in a ruinous condition. Even at the time of the passage of the Gauls into Asia, (B. C. 277,) it was, according to Hegesianax, without walls. It is principally this last statement, we presume, along with the authority of Livy, (XXXVIII. 39, not 37, as inadvertently given,) bearing, that the "aggregation of Gergis and Rhœteium to Ilium was effected, not by Lysimachus, but by the Romans," that has led our author to propose his very ingenious emendation, which is thus introduced.

"I cannot but think that this contradiction (by Strabo to Livy) arises from a confusion of the text in Strabo's *first* passage, and that in that passage, Strabo really meant to speak only of the improvements brought about by Lysimachus in *Alexandreia Trôas*; that he never meant to ascribe to Lysimachus any improvements in *Ilium*, but, on the contrary, to assign the remarkable attention paid by Lysimachus to *Alexandreia Trôas*, as the reason why he had neglected to fulfil the promises held out by Alexander to *Ilium*. The series of facts runs thus:—1. Ilium is nothing better than a κώμη at the landing of Alexander; 2. Alexander promises great additions, but never returns from Persia to accomplish them; 3. Lysimachus is absorbed in Alexandreia Trôas, into which he aggregates several of the adjoining old towns, and which flourishes under his hands; 4. Hence, Ilium remained a κώμη when the Romans entered Asia, as it had been when Alexander returned."

Now, in Alexander's time, it was a κώμη; at the time that the Romans entered Asia, a κωμόπολις; in Strabo's own time, a πόλις. Strabo seems to allude to the effects of the Roman aggregation mentioned by Livy, when, speaking of the period subsequent to the first visit of the Romans, he says, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπανόρθωσιν ἔσχε πολλήν. At all events, we can lay no great

stress upon his departing from the authority of Livy. In this very passage, he is at variance with the authorities followed by Arrian, (I. 11,) and Plutarch, (*Alexander*, p. 22, ed. Bryan.) who make Alexander visit Ilium, not *after*, but *before* the battle at the Granicus. True, we can hardly reconcile Strabo's account of the walls built by Lysimachus, with the statement of Hegesianax. But we do not know how far this objection, which is principally chronological, would have startled Strabo. There seems to have been no reason why Strabo should have digressed for the purpose of accounting for any neglect on the part of *Lysimachus* to fulfil the promises made by Alexander, especially as Antigonus had ruled in that district before him. In the passage, Λυσίμαχος μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως ἐπεμελήθη, μάλιστα can hardly refer to Lysimachus being "absorbed in Alexandreia Trôas," as we find him busied with the restoration of other cities; as Smyrna, (Strabo, XIV. p. 640,) and Ephesus, (Strabo, p. 646.) It seems to mean, that among the generals of Alexander the Great, he alone undertook this work. And although, undoubtedly, the passage, as read by our author, is, in many respects, satisfactory, it seems too violent a measure in the circumstances, because unnecessary, both to omit and to transfer.

We may mention, as a minor matter, that in the proposed emendation, the word πόλεως has dropped out before Ἀλεξανδρείας.

"And we accordingly see the poet Ovid in his Fasti, when he undertakes the task of unfolding the legendary antiquities of early Rome, re-acquiring, by the inspiration of Juno, the power of seeing Gods and men in immediate vicinity and conjunct action, such as it existed before the development of the critical and historical sense." — Vol. I. p. 598.

It strikes us that this is somewhat straining the language of Ovid, (*Fast.* VI. 6, 20.) The poet had already gone through the greater part of his undertaking. Janus had before appeared to him, (I. 95.); Mars in person had instructed him, (III. 171.); Venus had inspired him with a full knowledge of her own month of April, (IV. 15.) We are somewhat puzzled, on other grounds, to account for our author's selection of this illustration, especially as Ovid has warned his readers of the inventive source of such visions.

"Non equidem vidi, valeant mendacia vatum,
Te, dea."

There is Horace, with his

"Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
Vidi docentem."

And, not to mention others, our own Burns:

"When click! the string the sneck did draw,
And, jee! the door gaed to the wa';
And by my ingle-lowe I saw,
Now bleezin bright,
A tight outlandish hizzie, braw,
Come full in sight.

. . . . . .

"And wear thou this,—she solemn said,
And bound the holly round my head;
The polished leaves, and berries red,
Did rustling play;
And, like a passing thought, she fled
In light away."—*The Vision.*

But none of these, nor the quotation given from Ovid, bears out that the gods and men were seen in immediate vicinity and conjunct action.

It may seem to be ungrateful to one from whom we have derived so much instruction, to use any thing but the language of respectful commendation. But we are anxious to remove out of our way all that has struck us as diminishing in the least the excellency of the work,—and that appertains almost entirely to *manner*, and not to *matter*,—in order that we may deal more leisurely and connectedly with its characteristic excellencies.

We admire the manly and unaffected perspicuity of our author's style. But we think that, without adopting the expedient to which Arnold has had recourse in narrating the legends of early Rome, he might have risen with his themes. The mythes admit of those delicate touches of fancy and of poetical diction, which would be out of place—*purpurei panni*—in the details of history. Even in translation, it strikes us, the style is too homely. Take as an example,—

Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπε πολύαρνι Θυέστῃ·
Αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λεῖπε φορῆναι.
*Iliad*, II. 106.

"Atreus, at his death, left it to Thyestês, the *rich cattle-owner*. Thyestês, in his turn, left it to his nephew Agamemnôn, *to carry*."—Vol. I. p. 212.

We feel this objection the more forcibly, because we have often passages manifesting the command of a sober, massive diction, redolent of poetical feeling, as in the excellent account of the hymn to Demeter. (Vol. I. p. 51.)

We should like to have been instructed by our author more fully in the transitional history of the meaning attached to the *Demons*. (Vol. I. pp. 96, 364, &c.) The Christian use of the term, as applied to the heathen gods, was certainly, at first, different from that which it acquired in the time of Clemens and Tatian. Paul, for instance, (I Cor. X. 20,) says, Ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύει τὰ ἔθνη, δαιμονίοις θύει, καὶ οὐ θεῷ· οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι. Now, neither in this, nor in any other similar passage, is it meant to represent the δαιμόνια as any thing else than heathen deities, so called to contra-distinguish them from the true God; there is nothing to identify them with demons, recognized by their worshippers as evil.

We do not perceive the force of the quotation from the 106th Psalm, in vol. I. p. 254. We would, with all deference, question the perfect propriety of the analogy, if it is meant to institute one, between the prayers of Æacus and those of Phineas.

"Now it is the remarkable characteristic of the Homeric age, that no such co-existence or contention [between the conceptions of religious and mythical faith, and positive science,] had yet begun. The religious and mythical point of view covers, for the most part, all the phaenomena of Nature; the conception of invariable sequence exists only in the back-ground, itself personified under the name of the Moerae or fates, and produced generally as an exception to the omnipotence of Zeus for all ordinary purposes; voluntary agents, visible and invisible, impel and govern every thing."[2]—Vol. I. p. 482.

It strikes us that the introduction of the Moerae in this passage is doubly out of place. So far as we can recollect, they

[2] Should this not be, "for all ordinary purposes, voluntary agents, visible and invisible, impel every thing?"

had no connection whatever with any thing pertaining to physical science or the phænomena of nature. Invariable sequence goes on without them,—voluntary agents, as our author says, visible and invisible, impelling every thing. It was maintained by the ceaseless agency of the gods; and just on account of the invariableness of the phænomena, as cause and effect, was the belief of their ubiquity and power maintained and strengthened. The gods were every where, and the gods did every thing, but not at the bidding nor under the influence of the Moerae. Nor do we remember an instance of their interference to stop or direct the every day work of natural invariable sequences. But besides, the Homeric Moera, (for Homer seldom mentions more than one,) does not seem to have possessed the power of controlling Zeus; that idea is the progeny of a later age. At the same time, if applied to its proper time, and limited in its application then to the ends to which the actions of gods and men were directed by a resistless necessity, we accept of our author's brief notice, as happily suggestive of the origin of the notion of the Moerae, and of their proper place among the functionaries of heaven. We get thus to see that antiquity had its dim glimpse of a power to control and direct—of a predestinating force, that made past, present, and future, to be but the fulfilments of one great, undefinable, incomprehensible law of *moral* sequence, to which all, both gods and men, were subordinate.

In Mr. Grote's judicious remarks on the application of chronology to Grecian legend, (vol. II. p. 47, &c.) we almost entirely concur. Some of the arguments are particularly happy. We could specify that regarding eponymous heroes, (p. 73,) as an illustration. We are afraid that, henceforth, the personages of legendary Greece, retained by Mr. Clinton as real personages, must be condemned to wander among the phantoms of the unproveable,

Ἔνθα τε ναίουσι ψυχαὶ, εἴδωλα καμόντων.

But there is one point, in which we think justice is hardly done to Mr. Clinton's mode of computation. This laborious scholar takes as a central point the Trojan war, and Eratosthenes for his main authority, because his computation is "founded on a careful comparison of circumstances, and approved by those to whom the same stores of information were open;" but still he maintains that it is open to enquiry. (*F. H.* vol. I. p. 130.) Eratosthenes commences his chronology at

the era of the Trojan war, and ends at the death of Alexander, of course tracing events downwards. Taking his authority as he finds him, Clinton maintains that down to a certain point—the Ionic migration—other events, *known from other sources*, exactly fill up the interval, which is one of 140 years. Again, all are agreed that the Olympiad of Corœbus took place about July, B. C. 776, the first date in Grecian chronology which can be fixed upon authentic evidence. Thus we have a fixed *point of time*, the first Olympiad, and a fixed *period of time*, 140 years. What occurred between the close of the period and the point of time, we have no means of ascertaining from independent sources. "No testimonies exist which enable us to determine the amount of the interval between the settlement under Neleus and the Olympiad of Corœbus."—(*F. H.* vol. II. p. 9.) On the events which bridge that chasm, depends the date of the Trojan war. And, accordingly, finding Eratosthenes opposed by the opinions of many preceding writers, who fixed a lower date, and his statement adverse to the acknowledged length of generations in the most authentic dynasties, Clinton inclines to follow other guides, Phanias and Callimachus, who give a shorter interval. On the supposition that Mr. Clinton trusted his authorities, all this is fair and clear enough. Indeed it does not appear how he could have done otherwise. If we knew from authentic sources how many years had elapsed between the birth of Christ and the reign of Constantine, and how many from our own time to the Reformation, the interval being unknown, or at least chronological authorities differing, how could we proceed to ascertain the date of the Christian era, but by computing *downwards* from the birth of Christ, and *upwards* to the Reformation, and determining the duration of the interval with as much accuracy as we had the means of doing?

Our author, however, remarks on this:—

"The distinction which Mr. Clinton draws between an upward and a downward chronology, is one that I am unable to comprehend. . . . All chronology must begin by reckoning upwards; when, by this process, we have arrived at a certain determined era in earlier times, we may from that date reckon downwards if we please. We must be able to reckon upwards from the present time to the Christian era, before we can employ that event as a fixed point for chronological determinations generally. But if Eratosthenes could perform correctly the upward reckoning from his own time to the fall of Troy, so he

could also perform the upward reckoning up to the nearer point of the Ionic emigration." (Vol. II. p. 54. note 1.[3])

True, but it is precisely because Mr. Clinton thinks that Eratosthenes has not performed correctly the upward reckoning to the fall of Troy, that he agrees with other chronologers, in assigning a lower date than Eratosthenes does to the Ionic emigration, and consequently—the interval between these events being considered to be authentically fixed—to the fall of Troy. Our author seems to have hurriedly taken up the impression, that Mr. Clinton agreed with Eratosthenes as to the date of the fall of Troy, but differed from him as to the interval between the Ionic emigration and the first Olympiad. Now it is really the case that Mr. Clinton differs from Eratosthenes as to the date of the fall of Troy, and thinks, in the absence of all collateral authority by which to test the question, that the interval has been filled up conjecturally by Eratosthenes, and is therefore open to question.

The greater part of these introductory volumes necessarily consists of dissertations rather than History properly so called. One reviewer[4] seems to think that this has been carried too far, and that much which should have been reserved for the notes, has found its way into the text. Another,[5] evidently magnifying the objection, defends our author on this score as to the past, but tenders him advice as to the future. Now, this whole question of notes and dissertations, is one of great difficulty. In the *Account of the Life and Writings of Dr. Robertson*, by Dugald Stewart, there is an interesting and instructive discussion on the subject, which had occupied the attention of Adam Smith, Hume, Robertson, Gibbon, and Dr. Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury. From it, (p. 141, ed. London, 1801,) we learn that Adam Smith—

"—carried to such a length his partiality to the ancient forms of classical composition, that he considered every species of note as a blemish or imperfection; indicating either an idle accumulation of superfluous particulars, or a want of skill and comprehension in the general design."

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[3] In Mr. Grote's references to the *Fasti Hellenici*, for vol. I. Introduct. p. IX., read vol. II. Introduct. p. IX.; and vol. III. p. 123, read vol. I. p. 123.

[4] *Quarterly Review*, No. 155, p. 143.

[5] *Edinburgh Review*, No. 170, p. 375.

No one now will agree in this with even Adam Smith. Indeed, Dugald Stewart himself says strongly and truly,—

"The general question concerning the expediency of imitating the ancients, in limiting an author's intercourse with his readers to what is conveyed in the text, does not seem to me to admit of discussion. Considered as sources of authentic and of accurate information, the value of the classics is infinitely diminished by this very circumstance; and few, I believe, have studied Mr. Smith's works, (particularly his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*,) without regretting, on some occasions, the omission of his authorities; and, on others, the digressions into which he has been led, by conforming so scrupulously to the example of antiquity."—P. 148.

Robertson published his proofs and illustrations, even those connected with his dissertations, separately from the text. In this he is blamed by Dugald Stewart, who thinks that the separation is judicious in historical narrative, but injurious to the full force of the argument in dissertations, there being a danger that a considerable portion of the matter, which ought to be incorporated in the text, should be parcelled out among the notes. And this is even more strongly the opinion of the Bishop of Salisbury. Gibbon at first printed his notes separately; but states, in a letter published in his posthumous works, (vol. I. p. 178;)—

"The public importunity had forced me to remove them from the end of the volume to the bottom of the page; but I have often repented of my compliance."

Dugald Stewart makes a distinction between notes intended for the gratification of the curious, and references to authorities and short explanatory sentences, which being intended to facilitate the reader's progress, should be brought before his eye at the same time with the passage they are intended to elucidate. And he sums up with great judgment thus:—

"After all, whoever attempts to interest the world by any literary undertaking, whether historical or speculative, will find it necessary for the complete satisfaction of accurate enquirers, to engage in occasional discussion, which could not be introduced into the body of the work, without digressions inconsistent with a simple and distinct arrangement; nor compressed into notes at the bottom of the page, without stopping the reader's progress, and misleading his attention. No writer has been more completely aware of this than Mr. Hume, who, in all his publications, both historical and philosophical, has dis-

tinguished carefully those incidental suggestions which are necessary to prevent any hesitation about the text, from the critical disquisitions useful for satisfying men of anxious research, or for obviating the doubts of more refined speculators."—P. 147.

We would shelter ourselves under Dugald Stewart's authority; and—agreeing with the *Quarterly Reviewer*, that "we would not burn a sheet of this book;" and with him of the *Edinburgh*, that "no one who wishes to understand what Greece was, would desire to see one page of Mr. Grote's argumentative chapters expunged"—we would recommend a careful consideration of the notes. Many of them, it would be well, in the disquisitional parts, to embody in the text; and in those that are historical, the proofs and illustrations of doubtful points were far better away from the immediate eye of the reader, as they too often attract his attention, and break the current of the narrative.

We may here give a proof of the propriety of the first part of the suggestion. Almost all that is said in the notes regarding Æschylus, (vol. I. pp. 510–517,) could have been both easily and profitably incorporated in the text. So much is this the case, that our author seems to think, sometimes, that what he has said in a note occurs in the text. Thus:—

"Sophoclês, the prime political genius of Grecian tragedy, dwells upon the same heroic characters, and maintains their grandeur, on the whole, with little abatement, combining with it a far better dramatic structure, and a wider appeal to human sympathies. Even in Sophoclês, however, we find indications that an altered ethical feeling, and a more predominant sense of artistic perfection, are allowed to modify the harsher religious agencies of the old epic."—P. 518.

Now, the *even*, at the commencement of the second sentence, startled us; for a modification might have been expected from a wider appeal to human sympathies. But we find that the *even* depends not on the text at all, but on an idea working in the mind of the writer, and embodied in a note in the next page:

"Æschylus seems to have been a greater innovator as to the matter of the mythes, than either Sophoclês or Euripidês."[6]

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[6] The author will do well to see that the notes are not repeated, as they occasionally are; as in this note, which, in substance, is nearly the same with another, p. 516. We had noticed, but not noted, some similar instances.

The sentence beginning "Even in Sophocles," read after this, receives its full force.

It will be noticed that our remarks have been confined to the portion of the work relating to legendary Greece. The discussion of the Homeric poems would require, and it certainly deserves, a separate article; and the examination of "Historical Greece," will be better taken up when we have more of the consecutive history, properly so called.

In the meantime, before leaving the subject of the authorities, and the manner of the work, with which we have hitherto been principally dealing, we may be allowed, on the strength of our minute examination, to express an opinion, that too high praise cannot be bestowed on the fidelity, the philological skill, the profound learning, and the philosophical grasp, displayed by our author in the use which he has made of his materials; on his industry and the minuteness of his research into every nook and corner where a fact was to be found; and the sagacity by which fragments, that to others would appear detached and uninteresting, are compacted into well-jointed and pourtrayable specimens of an earlier world.

A distinction of great importance is suggested by Dr. Arnold, when he says:—

"Meanwhile, we have in this place an immense help towards the study of modern history, in our familiar acquaintance with the history of the ancient world, or, at any rate, with the works of its greatest historians."[7]

A man may possess a familiar acquaintance with the works that narrate a nation's history, and yet neither feel nor know that history itself. We may know events in the order of time; we may understand the outward form of political institutions; we may follow the march of armies, and the peaceable settlement of colonies,—and yet be far from realizing an acquaintance with a nation's inner life. To do so, we must, for the time, believe with them, feel with them, suffer with them, triumph with them. And yet, if we succeed in so far unstripping ourselves of the present, we run the risk of losing the benefit of comparison. To become wholly a Greek in feeling, as philosophers have become Platonized, so as to lose identity, ἢ Πλάτων

[7] *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 42.

Φιλωνίζει, ἢ Φίλων Πλατωνίζει, would be to add only one more to Greek historians. The Cænis of the old mythe was useless as an expositor of woman's feelings, when changed in nature, as in form, into the manly Cæneus. As useless is the metamorphosed cat of the fable. She cannot, though wearing a woman's shape, interpret to us what her race feels, and, in form human, she is still in reality feline in heart. The modern historian of Greece, who would instruct us, must feel and believe with us as well as with those whom he describes. We must know wherein lies the difference between us and them, that so we may be led really to understand them. In order to accomplish this, we need not only to fight in their ranks, to listen to their orators, and to walk their streets, but to enter their temples,—by stream and grove to exult in their hymn of praise, to glory in the ancestral line of mighty heroes and demigods, to feel ourselves surrounded on mountain and in plain, by sea and on the land, by powers invisible but felt,—who dispense to us with their own hand, and at their will, sunshine and shower, every blessing and every curse. A difficulty of interpretation this, greater than it falls to the lot of the mere verbalist to overtake. The Greek brought to our bar—he examines, and translates his words to us. But if we, as strangers hear, and as strangers feel, we may wonder—it may be, admire—but we do not know Greek history, the history of the men of Greece, having souls within them that shaped and fashioned their outward lives. To know children, we must feel like children. If "the child is father to the man," father and son should live together. The son should not be forisfamiliated, nor should he turn his father to the door, when he has outgrown the feelings of his need. So have we had philosophers that expounded lofty themes to admiring men, and suddenly enchanted whole tribes of children with sweet songs, that children still feel and love. So have we educationists, entrancing youth with tales that fit and yet elevate it, as the food of infancy gives a vigour that soon requires other sustenance; and, after feeling with the young, turning to grown men, and teaching them too to feel for them as they ought, and so to do them justice. To teach us then to know the youth-time of Greece, we must have one who shall know it and feel with it, and yet know us and feel with us.

After Alexander the Great had entered Susa, and wished, in the generosity of his soul, to honour as nobly as he could the

mother of Darius, he sent her, along with Macedonian robes dyed with imperial purple, a request to teach her granddaughters to spin a robe for him as an acceptable present. His own sisters had spun the robes which he then wore; and he had doubtlessly learned in history[8] of the fatal robe woven by Amestris for her consort, king Xerxes. But Persian manners had changed; at least, they were not those of Greece. Syzigambis burst into tears of incontrollable anguish at what she deemed a foul outrage to her imperial race, believing that thus they were regarded as the conqueror's slaves. Alexander immediately apologized, and said in defence, *Nostri me decepere mores.*[9]

How often may the historian exclaim, *Nostri me decepere mores!* There is a proneness in all men to judge of others by their own feelings,—the standard of their own time or country,—confounding things that differ and things that agree; deeming the common feelings to be diverse, because differently manifested; and concluding that feelings must be the same, because the actions correspond. "Quand j'ai été rapellé à l'antiquité," says Montesquieu, "j'ai chérché à en prendre l'esprit, pour ne pas regarder comme semblables des cas réellement différens, et ne pas manquer les différences de ceux qui paroissent semblables."[10]

We have examples innumerable, both small and great, of this confusion. There is a story current in Scotland, of the fortunes of a now aristocratic house having thus arisen. When James VI. left Scotland, he was indebted to a worthy tradesman in the large sum of £5000, Scots money. The tradesman followed the prince some time after, and was fortunate enough to make his claim when the exchequer was not quite empty. Presenting the account duly vouched and indorsed, he received his money in pounds Sterling, exactly eight times more than what he ought to have received; and, nothing loth, he profited by the error of the treasurer, who had taken things different in reality, for things similar. How serious are the errors that thus sometimes arise! Though, unquestionably, there was much of selfishness in the aims of the conspirators against Cæsar, who can doubt that many mistook the days in which they lived for those earlier times when the free spirit and valiant arm of a Brutus had gained for Rome liberty and glory?

[8] Herodot. IX. 109.
[9] Quintus Curtius, v. 2.
[10] Preface to the *Esprit des Lois.*

Had Cicero written a history of those times, we should have had a memorable example of a double error—confounding the plebeian Brutus of his own time with the race of the aristocratic Bruti, and the degeneracy of Rome effete with the vigour of Rome in her hot youth. At least, hear himself:—"Et ipse, (Junius Brutus,) dominatu regio rem publicam liberavit et ad similem virtutem et simile factum stirpem jam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit."[11] Modern history furnishes her full exemplification of such mistakes, at which we know not sometimes whether to smile or shudder. Remorseless slaughter and devastation committed in the name of the God of peace, and under the belief that men were following out, with similar views, and in similar circumstances, the examples recorded in Holy Writ,—the shedding of the blood of thousands in the streets of Paris in the name of liberty, while the murderers tricked themselves, by Grecian fancy dresses and Grecian nick-names, into the belief that they were filled with the noble spirit ascribed to Harmodius and Aristogeiton; these, and examples like these, shew us how apt we are to deceive ourselves in the lessons that history teaches.

Even when the consequences are less striking, so far as meets the eye at least, the error does not the less exist. It is especially abundant in judging of political institutions. Men transfer their own feelings to the actors in other countries or times, and either lose themselves in the ideas which they themselves have created, or wonder at what they cannot understand, because they cannot feel. Of the latter, we have an example in the case of Aristotle, as narrated by our author.

"Nevertheless, so completely were the feelings about kingship reversed among his contemporary Grecks, that he finds it difficult to enter into the voluntary obedience paid by his ancestors to their early heroic chiefs: he cannot explain to his own satisfaction how any one man should have been so much superior to the companions around him as to maintain such immense personal ascendancy: he suspects that in such small communities, merit was very rare, so that the chief had few competitors."—Vol. II. p. 89.

We have a striking instance of political confusion in the account given by both Livy and Dionysius, of the history of Servius Tullius. Accustomed by the usages of their time to disregard

[11] *Philip.* I. 6, 13.

the old distinction between the *populus*, the real burghers of Rome, and the *plebs*, its real plebeians, they mix up the whole details of his reign in a confusion almost inextricable. And, politically, they make the grand error of representing an institution, which was in reality intended to form a new body opposed to the old aristocracy, as if it were contrived for the very purpose of strengthening the aristocratic principle of the state. What errors this has introduced into the views that most historians have taken of the subsequent history of Rome, it is unnecessary here to state.

Who, that remembers Homer's account of the *Agora*—the pliant Nestor and Ulysses—the silent and obedient chiefs—the bawling people smartly chastised for their very obedience, by the willing hand of Ulysses—Thersites, threatened to have the coat torn off his body, and beaten till he wept like a child, and weals rose on his writhing body,—can refrain from smiling, when he reads so civilized an account of the early Greek constitution as the following ?—

"As in the general confederacy, the council of princes regulated the resolves of the monarch, and the voice of the assembly ruled that of the council; so in each particular kingdom, the decisions of the senate prevailed over the will of the prince, and the acknowledged majesty of the people controlled the decisions of the senate."[12]

We have here, King, Lords, and Commons,—with a speech from the throne, a debate among the Peers, a remonstrance from the Commons, praying for the redress of grievances, and a Tudor-like application of the sceptre, which was remembered, no doubt, long after by him who said, "Remove that bauble," —no bauble, in good sooth, to his predecessor Thersites, whose wrongs were thus avenged. We have the same political idea expressed broadly by another writer, regarding the kind Phæacians.

"In the government of Phaeacia, as described in the Odyssee, (VIII. 387), the mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, is not less clearly marked than in the British constitution. One Chief, twelve Peers, (all honoured like the Chief, with the title which we call King), and the assembly of the people, shared the supreme authority."[13]

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[12] Gillies's *History of Ancient Greece*, vol. I. p. 69, 6th Edition.

[13] Mitford's *History of Greece*, c. III. § 2.

Common as the error is, in matters of political institution, it is still more prevalent in matters pertaining to religion, for in this feeling is always concerned. The great object of a historian being to impart knowledge, both in regard to public events and to the spirit which actuated a people, in short, to enable his reader to live and act with them for the time, it is necessary to attend to the elements that have combined to form that spirit; and this apart from the manifestations of what Dr. Arnold calls the external life of a nation. We may take the enumeration of two masters in the art, Montesquieu and Dr. Arnold. The former commences the fourth chapter of his fourth Book thus:—

"Plusieurs choses gouvernent les hommes, le climat, la religion, les loix, les maximes du gouvernement, les exemples des choses passées, les mœurs, les manieres; d'où il se forme un esprit général qui en resulte."

Substantially, with the exception of climate, Dr. Arnold has followed Montesquieu; only his mode of enumerating and classifying the particulars is instructive.

"The history," he says, "of a nation's internal life, is the history of its institutions and of its laws, both of which are included under the term *laws*, in the comprehensive sense of that word as used by the Greeks; but for us it is most convenient to distinguish them. Let us consider how much these two terms include.

"I would first say that by institutions, I wish to understand such offices, orders of men, public bodies, settlements of property, customs or regulations, concerning matters of general usage, as do not owe their existence to any express law or laws, but having originated in various ways, at a period of remote antiquity, are already parts of the national system, at the very beginning of our historical view of it, and are recognized by all actual laws as being themselves a kind of primary condition on which all recorded legislation proceeds. And I would confine the term *laws*, to the enactments of a known legislative power at a certain known period."[14]

Under institutions he afterwards enumerates religion, and public instruction generally, and that branch pertaining to manners and morals, which is called Æsthetics,—the spontaneous

[14] *Lectures on Modern History*, p. 18.

elements to which belong science, art, and literature. Our present enquiry is, in circumstances where we may take for granted a writer's industry, information, or erudition, which of all these elements is it most difficult for himself to enter into, or to impart to his disciples? And we unhesitatingly answer,—religion, in those cases where it acts influentially, operating upon and actuating the minds of men,—where it moulds their internal life, and incites in that which is external. We do not say it is the most important, but the most difficult element to understand, to feel, and to impress on others.

Let us explain this a little.—That climate is an element in the formation of character, has been denied by Hume, and it is omitted by Arnold. It cannot well, however, be overlooked by a historian, especially if living in a climate very different from that of the country whose history he is narrating; nor was this consideration disregarded by the Greeks themselves. But we do not think the point, though it ought to be attended to, to be so important as many others. Even here, in the foggy north, we have sometimes days so clear and sunny, so full of balm and elasticity, that we can feel what must have been the influence of the clime,

> ——"Where the Attic bird,
> Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long."

We admit fully the difficulty of entering into manners and domestic usages, that which depends on and influences universal character and taste, through individual and every-day operations. And we can have no better proof of it than the effects left upon the mind by such works as Valerius and Charicles. Delightful as they are, in the first, Roman life all along seems a trapping, selected as one expedient to give the story more of grace and piquancy; and in the other, at every turn, the teacher makes his art apparent, of conveying instruction through a pleasing tale. But, after all, it is possible, without the absurdity of the physician in the almost forgotten tale of Peregrine Pickle, to know enough of ancient life, and to realise it sufficiently, so as not to err greatly in our general survey of a tion's history. So with regard to the arts, the sciences, an literature of antiquity. In our time at least, so much att has been paid to the effects of these upon onal char that a historian may calculate on the s f the g

portion of his readers. It is, however, observable on the head of general usages, and we observe it now as a point preliminary to what we shall have occasion to dwell on more fully at a subsequent stage of our enquiry, that wherever our sense of the truthful or the reasonable is offended, we may believe that what we are told is true; but we cannot feel with the actors in the scene, nor speculate on it with any certainty. So Aristotle felt with regard to the obedience paid to kings in certain times. He could not deny that it was paid, but it offended his sense of what was reasonable and truthful. To take an illustration from the East. When we read in the works of travellers, that provisions are often not to be had for purchase, but that the very parties who refuse to *sell*, can be forced by the heavy horse-whip, well applied, to *give*, we feel it most difficult—not to believe that such things are, but—to speculate on the feelings and the national destinies of men so circumstanced. We want a *fulcrum* for our lever,—a foundation, however sandy, for our superstructure. It may be human nature, but it is not our human nature.

Our principal object, however, here, is to ascertain the different degrees of difficulty that attend the historical perception of political institutions, and of religion. And in this we may compare Greek and Roman history. It so happens that we obtain the earliest knowledge of the consecutive history of Rome at a time when the early religious faith had passed, with the intelligent, into the comparing and the questioning mood. The spirit of its youth had infused itself into its institutions, and thus had, in reality, been transferred to historical times. But of its development, as it appeared to the earliest worshippers of Mavors and of Saturn, we have hardly even a glimpse. When we get at Roman history, we find that the historians themselves were incapable of realizing, though they admired, the religious spirit of their fathers. All agreed that they were a religious race. But that is exhibited to us in their public actings, in their respect to oaths and treaties, in their obedience to law, rather than in those habitual practices, and that life-long and daily veneration, which early Greece exhibits. Religion had become a political institution; at least we have the vaguest impressions of it as a part of a Roman's ordinary life, as haunting his steps in market and in the field, at home and in the camp. The proper enquiry, then, of one who wishes

to reconstruct Roman life, is not, certainly, to neglect religion entirely, so far as the *Fratres Arvales*, and Ennius, and Virgil, and Ovid, in their antiquarian moods, will allow him,—but principally to take it as an integral portion of the political institutions. It has become, in Roman history, so interwoven in the fabric of her political existence, that we cannot separate it without destroying both. And hence the great aim of modern research is, to detect and display the political constitution of Rome. We march side by side with Cæsar, without feeling or caring about his belief in the destinies of his house as descended from Julus, and through him from Jupiter. We feel that this, as applicable to himself, would be wholly unreal, nor do we believe—for we have no evidence—that it moved any of his soldiers one jot. We are not much moved by the twin riders at the lake of Regillus, for no Roman ever appeals to that in the hour of need, when, in after time, the battle is hottest; but we want to know, how did the war then ended, leave the two peoples that inhabited Rome, and what was the effect of the banishment of the kings upon the political and social condition of their former subjects. When we say that, with a given degree of learning and sagacity, it is easier to arrive at the results of this, so far as to place ourselves in the condition of the Romans, with their feelings and prepossessions, than it is to realize the habits and feelings of the primitive Greeks, with whom religion, as a feeling, was more predominant, we cánnot be supposed to be exalting one class of historians at the expense of another. For, let us remember, if the difficulty in the one be greater, the materials are more ample, and Roman history in this sense requires more sagacity to reconstruct, Grecian more sensibility to realize.

It is not impossible, we think, to get at some of those principles which render it easier to understand the political institutions of a country, so as even to sympathize with the inhabitants—taking sympathize in its lowest sense—than to react with them matters religious, and appertaining to religion. All well-informed men have now, from the spread of knowledge, and that intimate personal intercourse with other nations which is the result of peace and civilization, ceased to wonder that others are governed differently from themselves, and understand what *is*, though they may differ as to what *ought to be*. No doubt, more is required of the historian himself. He needs, to borrow

the language of Dr. Arnold, "the essential accompaniment to all our knowledge of the past, a lively and extensive knowledge of the present; the habit of continually viewing the two in combination with each other,—that master power which enables us to take a point from which to contemplate both at a distance, and so to judge of each or both, as if we belonged to neither." Without this we have, as he remarks, the antiquarian and the scholar, but not the historian. The great peculiarity of political institutions—as well indeed as that of most of the usages of ordinary life—as distinguishing them from religion, is, that they indicate the outward mind of man, and not his inward. Any man could settle in another country, and, without its being impossible, however difficult, conform himself to all its political usages, acquire its habits, forbear from violating its arbitrary enactments of decorum, and understand, with a little common sense, how to comport himself without giving offence. But it is a different thing, even where there is no material difference in religious belief, to enter into its religious feelings. Let us take for an illustration, the great Niebuhr. He sojourned in Edinburgh in 1798–9. He seems, from his letters, to have understood the state of society there, to have comprehended its feelings, to have known how the usages differed from those of his own country, and to have been an acceptable companion and a cherished friend; but he seems never to have understood the general tendency of the religious feeling of Scotland. It is amusing enough to read his summary of its religious state in his letter of May 7, 1799.

"Scotland, ever since the Reformation, enjoys, far and near, a high reputation for piety. The clergy are not adapted to the community; every one who knows the country allows this. The piety of the people is mostly eye-service, a customary formality, without any influence on their sentiments and conduct. They say table-prayers, a grace, got up by heart, even before and after tea. They observe all the ordinances of the kirk; and curse infidels, deists, and atheists, with all the pride of a soul which feels sure of its *privilegium* for heaven. In short, I no longer blame Hume when he judges them, in the time of Charles the First, with harshness and contempt. I expected to have found austerity; but I have found only coarse rusticity."[15]

[15] Translated by Cox. *Tait's Magazine*, vol. XII. p. 101.

What the mind desiderates, is the true as recognized by itself. We want but to perceive that there is something of truth on which to build certain conclusions, and we are willing to make allowance for climate, or prejudice, or national usage, or any thing else that may lead to notions different from our own. In civil institutions, it is rare, indeed, that we do not find that there is something in our own nature that corresponds with the principles on which they rest. And hence, though we may be most unwilling to apply the rule to our own case, or recognize it as just, or at all events as wise, we may feel with those that are under it, and understand how it is obeyed. Let us take an illustration of this from the Roman law, as expounded by Heineccius in his *Elementa Juris Civilis secundum Ordinem Pandectarum.* He first, in each case, lays down a certain principle which he defines. From that principle all the consequences are deducible, as a demonstration in geometry follows a succession of axioms and postulates. We may not agree with the morality or the right of men to hold slaves. But when, in history, we are called upon to sit in judgment on the transactions of those in whose community slaves existed, there is in our own nature enough on which to found the principle, that while all men are participant, so far, of our common nature, there are some whom we might unjustly, but still conceivably, be disposed to regard as having no right to mingle in our society, or share in our peculiar privileges, but only to exist as ministers to our wants. In short, the moment that we can entertain the notion that it is possible for man to hold property in his fellow-man, the feelings connected naturally with the right of property emerge. How clear and convincing is the following enunciation of deductions, whenever you grant the postulate, each step being, also, supported by positive law.

"Homo est cuicunque mens ratione prædita in corpore humano contigit, sive mas sit, sive femina. Persona est homo consideratus cum suo statu.—(Lib. I. Tit. v. § 122.) Servi sunt homines, non personæ, in alterius justo dominio constituti. Quum itaque servi non sunt personæ, consequens est, 1. ut sint res; 2. et quidem mancipii. II. Ut sint sine capite, ideoque pro nullis, immo pro mortuis habeantur. Quod si itaque servi sunt res, facile intelligitur, 1. Cur domino in servos fuerit jus vitæ et necis. 2. Cur quidquid adquirunt, adquirant dominis. . . . . Quumque servi caput non habeant, consequens est, 1. ut expertes sint juris publici et privati, adeo ut nec ir

juria adfici credantur; 2. ut omnes sint ejusdem conditionis," &c.—(§§ 132, &c.)

In Athens we find, as every scholar knows, the startling inconsistency of virtuous women, uneducated, without influence, confined with the most rigorous exclusion, and watched with the fiercest jealousy; while the *hetairæ* are accomplished, the favourite guests of the leading men of the state, and indulged in their most expensive whims. The first point has attracted notice at all times. Nepos, in his preface, thinks it necessary to allude to it as a characteristic, which being unknown, Greek manners could not be understood. It is possible enough, that with regard to it, there may be men who, even now, in our own land, may, looking upon women as the Athenians did, feel with them. But, with most of us, while it is not difficult to believe that this was the state of matters, it is most difficult to realize it so as to bring it home as an every-day fact. And, hence, we are inclined to believe we seldom think of Athenian women at all, as existing in the community. If we contrast our remembrance of Tarquinia, Clælia, Cornelia, Portia, and others in Roman history, with the absence of female influence in historical Athens, we seem to realize a race of anti-Amazons. How then to sympathize with the Athenian feeling? It may not be gallant nor chivalrous for the time being, but we have only to lay down the Athenian postulates of a woman's province—the beall and the end-all of her life, and we can enter into the feelings of a state of society the most opposite to our own—we can become Athenian husbands, and at once behave with profoundest respect and thorough indifference to the sex, whose destinies are so much below our own. Perhaps the same mode of dealing with *usage*, as Heineccius deals with *law*, will tend to show that in the one, as in the other, the principle once laid down, cognizable deductions may be drawn. We have omitted the authorities, in the quotation from Heineccius. In our own demonstration also, we give none, as we deal with a matter, the details of which are familiar to every scholar. (See a collection of them, *Quarterly Review*, vol. XXII. p. 163; Bekker's *Charicles*, p. 339, English translation; Smith's *Diction. of Greek and Rom. Antiquities*, *s. v. Marriage*.) We may only preface our propositions with the authority of Demosthenes: Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας [ἔχομεν] τοῦ παιδοποιεῖσθαι γνησίως καὶ τῶν ἔνδον φύλακα πιστὴν ἔχειν.

Homo est cuicunque mens ratione prædita in corpore humano contigit, sive mas sit, sive femina. Sed inter homines hoc discrimen est; feminæ maribus natura sunt inferiores, nec ad vitam ornandam formatæ, sed ad, 1. Liberos legitimos procreandos; 2. rem domesticam curandam. Quum itaque sunt maribus inferiores, consequens est, 1. ut nec educandæ sint, nec colloquia cum viris, ut inutilia, frequenter habere debeant. Quod si itaque non educandæ sint, ita non liberos educare, sed nutrire tantum licet. Et quum formatæ sint ad liberos legitimos procreandos, et rem domesticam curandam, jus nostrum requirit, 1. ut nullis, cognatis nisi, et iis raro, et semper coram marito, aditus ad eos fiat: 2. ut dos, ad rem domesticam bene agendam valde conducens, in sponsa eligenda, forma vel moribus, exquisitior sit: 3. ut, ne exeant foras, nisi ad sacra quædam, interdicantur."

Throughout the whole domain of the truthful, the mind has little difficulty in finding its way, so far as that domain is occupied by mere outward institutions. We see the fact, that men act in a certain way. The principle on which they act, we may not at first perceive. And this it is the part of the historian to discover and announce. These general principles so discovered, have a counterpart in every breast, springing as they do, from our own common nature. It may be that, in the manifold ramifications of the human heart, the complications get so involved, that only a master hand can unravel the twisted cord, and exhibit its several strands. But this once done, the great difficulty is over, we have only to follow human nature in her workings. Insomuch so, that if we learn the position in which Helots were placed relatively to Spartans, though we could not personally share in a Helot-hunt, we can, from the grounds of our common nature, share both in the feeling of Spartan fear, and in that of the Helot's hate. And, all the while, the mind may be sitting in judgment upon both. History were unproductive of advantage otherwise. If we did not, in part, feel with the tyrant in his fears, while we loathed his oppression, we would no more benefit by our sympathy with the vengeance of the wronged, than if we were reading an account of a wolf-chase, or of the destruction of a tiger in his lair,—the punishment would be stripped of its whole moral force.

With regard to our religious sympathies, the case is the same, so long as we have the ground of a common feeling to go upon. While we regard religious worship as the outpouring of grati-

tude to a great and unknown benefactor; or the deprecating of the wrath of an unseen but terrible power that regulates all, but whom we cannot reach, save through prayer and sacrifice; or the expression of an earnest wish that He, who governs the universe, the Supreme, would confer on us some boon fervently longed for, we feel with all worshippers, Pagan and Mahommedan. But this is because we believe that the feeling is founded upon a reality. That what we deem actually to exist, should excite kindred feelings, not only strikes us with no surprise, but appears to us most natural. Contradict the sense of the true in religion, and you contradict what is felt even more keenly, than when you find the rules that regulate the relationships between man and man contradicted. We are there concerned with belief, with that inner law (νόμος ἔμψύχος) which influences and governs all. The foundation of all religions, true or false, is the recognition of a power out of man, and superior to man. This notion of superiority is involved in all religious worship, and is felt as an act of faith. Deny the superiority, or deny the faith, and—in the last instance, it is an act of mere human compliance with usage, which is perfectly conceivable, and within the reach of sympathy; in the first—the denial of the superiority—the sympathy it becomes almost impossible to give. Moral superiority we expect to find in the objects of worship. We can sympathize with those who respect or love, for certain qualities, men that are defective in others. But divine worship is another thing; and here the mind desiderates what is suprahuman both in degree and in kind. There is left a physical superiority, and fear has its sympathies; destroy that, and all is gone. Men can easily understand mere outward acts as an exposition of feeling, but they refer these to their own feeling. Nay, they can do more: they can realize the force of habit, and the effects upon the mind of an outward act often repeated. But this is limited by the rule, that what is the feeling engendered by an outward act, shall not be contradicted by daily experience. Men may live under the rule of a mild despotism, till they shall believe that despotism is the best form of government after all. They may commence with inward dislike, but outward obedience, till the oft-repeated act produces a feeling of passive obedience, and that, uncontradicted, produces belief. But if this is contradicted by daily acts of injustice and oppression, the mind cannot sympathize with any such belief. And so

in acts of worship. Men may through habit be led without inquiry into a firm belief of a being or beings morally or physically superior to themselves; but if what they are told of the objects of worship contradicts the notion of moral superiority, or if the sense of physical superiority or power at all is in any way shaken, we cannot conceive the continuance of the worship, nor can we sympathize with the worshippers. That the Romans should have erected altars, and offered sacrifices to their dead or living emperors, is conceivable, for we know to what lengths fear and flattery will go even among ourselves. Their belief in the reality of the *apotheosis* is beyond our utmost powers of credence or sympathy. Knowing them to have been like ourselves, we are convinced that they knew in their hearts —the seat of religion—the falsity of the tale which they affected to believe.

The process is the same in our judgment passed upon all matters connected with other men, and consequently, in all our historical sympathies. Political institutions presuppose something of civilization; and hence, in the difficulty of deciding between the degrees of human progress, we infer that those who possess them, resemble ourselves. In all instances where there is no manifest contradiction of the truthful to be found in some part of our nature, and that covers the vast majority of those cases with which we have to do, we understand and sympathize, less or more, as the truthful to us predominates or not; and we have little difficulty in making those adjustments which are necessary to place us in the position of the persons presented to our view, so that we can go along with them, and estimate their doings, to a certain extent, by their own standard. These institutions all proceed upon the basis of certain relationships, actually existing and cognizable among ourselves. Now religion, also, proceeds upon a conscious or an unconscious belief of certain relationships. But if they do not exist among ourselves, or if we do not believe that they ever existed at all in reality, we have the utmost difficulty in the supposition that they ever existed, even in the belief of our fellow-men. They are things that we have never felt, and never known. In order to get at the true state of matters, we require to *unknow*. We need to divest ourselves of the source of our present knowledge, and to suppose the relationship as proved. There are therefore but two courses, and these have constantly been had recourse to

regarding religious belief. Supposing intelligence in the professors of a faith different from our own, we deny the belief; or, supposing the belief, we deny the intelligence. Even among Christians, it is most difficult for one man to realize the belief of another, in that which is not a portion of his own creed; and hypocrisy or ignorance is often thus charged, not against individuals only, but against whole classes of men. Even the acutest observers can hardly sympathize with the states of mind that are superinduced by religion.

"When I perused," says Sir Walter Scott, "these passages in the old manuscript chronicle, I could not help feeling astonished that an intellect so acute as that of Louis XI. certainly was, could so delude itself by a sort of superstition, of which one would think the stupidest savage incapable; but the terms of the king's prayer, on a similar occasion, as preserved by Brantome, are of a tenor fully as extraordinary. . . . . It chanced that Louis, being engaged in his devout prayers and orisons at the high altar of our Lady of Clery, whom he called his patroness, and no person nigh except this fool, who, without his knowledge, was within earshot, he thus gave vent to his pious homilies:

"'Ah! my good lady, my gentle mistress, my only friend, in whom alone I have resource, I pray you to supplicate God on my behalf, and to be my advocate with him, that he may pardon me the death of my brother, whom I caused to be poisoned by that wicked Abbot of St. John. I confess my guilt to thee, as my good patroness and mistress. But then what could I do? He was perpetually causing disorder in my kingdom. Cause me then to be pardoned, my good Lady, and I know what reward I will give thee.'"[16]

In the language of M. Ampère, when writing of the Scandinavian Saga, as quoted by our author, (vol. I. p. 481,) we may say of any religion, which alone we can believe to be a religion held by human beings,—"elle peut se tromper, mais elle ne ment jamais." Accordingly, when among the Greeks themselves science sprung up, and it was felt to be impossible to acquiesce in the old mythes entirely, an accommodation became inevitable, to preserve the sense of truthfulness in the religion professed.

"History," says our author, "philosophy, &c.[17] properly so called, and conforming to our ideas, (of which the subsequent Greeks were

[16] *Notes to Quentin Durward.*

[17] Is this &c., which occurs frequently, quite consistent with the dignity of history?

the first creators,) never belonged to more than a comparatively small number of thinking men, though their influence indirectly affected more or less the whole national mind. But when positive science and criticism, and the idea of an invariable sequence of events, came to supplant in the more vigorous intellect the old mythical creed of omnipresent personification, an inevitable scission was produced between the instructed few and the remaining community. The opposition between the scientific and the religious point of view was not slow in manifesting itself; in general language, indeed, both might seem to stand together, but in every particular case, the admission of one involved the rejection of the other. According to the theory which then became predominant, the course of nature was held to move invariably on, by powers and attributes of its own, unless the gods chose to interfere and reverse it; but they had the power of interfering as often and to as great an extent as they thought fit. . . . In a question thus perpetually arising, and full of practical consequences, instructed minds like Periclês, Thucydidês, and Euripidês, tended more and more to the scientific point of view, in cases where the general public were constantly gravitating towards the religious."—Vol. I. p. 483.

This, be it observed, regards what we have called the physical superiority of the gods,—their power over the laws of nature. An accommodation regarding their moral superiority also took place as inevitably; and this even in the case of the poets and logographers.

"With the poets and logographers, the mythical persons are real predecessors, and the mythical world an antecedent fact; but it is divine and heroic reality, not human: the present is only half-brother of the past, (to borrow an illustration from Pindar in his allusions to gods and men,) remotely and generically, but not closely and specifically, analogous to it. As a general habit, the old feelings and the old unconscious faith, apart from all proof or evidence, still remain in their minds; but recent feelings have grown up, which compel them to omit, to alter, sometimes even to reject and condemn, particular narratives."—Vol. I. p. 507.

From the double influence of a sounder philosophical and ethical feeling discountenancing the literal meaning of the old mythes, both physically and morally, and the impossibility of men's freeing themselves from the impressions made in childhood and the constant habits of thought in which they were trained, arose the various modes of accounting for them, on the allegorical and historical systems, and that of Euemerus.

"Literal acceptance and unconscious unenquiring faith such as they

had obtained from the original auditors to whom they were addressed, they now found only among the multitude,—alike retentive of traditional feeling, and fearful of criticising the proceedings of the gods. But with instructed men, they became rather subjects of respectful and anxious analysis,—all agreeing that the Word, as tendered to them, was inadmissible, but all equally convinced that it contained important meaning, though hidden, yet not undiscoverable."—Vol. I. p. 568.

It is in this last stage that we find the ancient mythology when we take it up in modern times. And here we may enquire into a cognate point which is of some importance. It is, we have seen, a natural conclusion, that if such things are believed, ignorance is inferible. And in nations that are ignorant and uncivilized, we can tolerate and realize the belief. We once heard from the lips of a Red-Indian chief a legend current among his tribe. A deluge had destroyed the earth; there was left alive but one of the old race, partaking half of the nature of the gods, and half of the nature of man, named Ninibooshoo. When all had been for some time submerged, he began to think of restoring the world. He sent down into the waters animal after animal, of the many which he had with him in his canoe, but none of them re-ascended, till he sent down the moose-deer; it arose with a portion of the primitive earth adhering to it. This Ninibooshoo eagerly seized, and spread it on the surface of the deep, with an invocation to the Great Spirit. Then sprung up hill and dale, forest and prairie, far as his eye could reach. He deemed there was full scope for his race, and he cried, "Enough," and the new earth was finished. Then were the golden days of the Indian's life. Perpetual summer reigned. But an evil Spirit broke in on the happy land. Ninibooshoo met him in conflict; but, at last, wearied with the struggle, he was for the time discomfited. He retired to the north to repose; but he revived in spring, and subdued his foe, who in his turn vanquished him, and malignantly covered the earth with the horrors of winter. And every year the two-fold strife takes place. But at the end of the summer's defeat, before Ninibooshoo closes his eyes in sleep, he soothes his sense of defeat with that redresser of woes, the fumes of the Indian's favourite weed. And as, in the far north, he reclines and sends forth volumes of smoke, they come rolling on to his favoured land, and the

Indian summer with its gladdening heat, tells that Ninibooshoo is preparing for rest, and that winter will soon succeed.

. Now, we have no difficulty in crediting the Indian's belief in this legend. And, having so done, we easily realize the feeling of delighted gratitude with which the Indian feels the god wafting to him his farewell benediction. How comes it—and we might have taken illustrations from all parts of the uncivilized world, which would be equally applicable—that we so seldom realize the belief of the early Greeks? Our author touches upon this point:—

"In the semi-historical theory [the same might be said about all the rationalistic theories,] respecting Grecian mythical narrative, the critic unconsciously transports into the Homeric age those habits of classification and distinction, and that standard of acceptance or rejection, which he finds current in his own."—Vol. I. p. 574.

This depends on another fallacy, which we shall endeavour briefly to point out; a fallacy which places us somewhat in the position of a rationalizing Greek.[18] We can understand how an enlightened Greek of the later times, trained in the belief of the gods and his own ancestral heroes, would have recourse to any expedient to maintain in himself and others a modified sense of their existence. We can understand also how, himself the lineal successor of those who believed, he fancied that they believed as he did, and in the same sense,—that mythes rose upon personifications, allegories, and history disguised. How come we, between whom and them a chasm has intervened, to fall into the same error? We think this arises from a two-fold cause. We have first the opinions of the philosophic expositors of the ancient faith, and we seem to have sure ground to stand upon when we build on their foundations. We make no allowance for the difference of position. They were forced to believe by early education and habit, and all that they could

[18] It sometimes places a man *altogether* in this position. We have one instance on record of a modern mind religiously Hellenized. Let us borrow the words of Niebuhr when writing to his betrothed, "June 4, 1799." The subject is Plato Taylor. "An unexampled philosophical mysticism has, through the Platonic writers, made of him a confirmed believer in polytheism, and an adherent to the mystical interpretation of the popular religion of Greece; a sort of half-madness, which appears with a strange sort of sublimity in his translations of the Greek philosophers, and in his own writings, especially the poems."—*Tait's Magazine*, vol. XII. p. 230.

do was to explain. They took for granted a reality, and endeavoured to strip off the false ornaments which concealed it. But we, who have no such prepossessions, are, notwithstanding, led by those who have. They understood their own faith best, we suppose; and as they said it was allegorical, allegorical it must be; and so we hunt for allegories till the world is full of them, all ingenious and most of them false. What is worse, they bury the ancient faith under the rubbish of its own demolished structure. Then, for another reason, we have seen, that to suppose the belief, presupposes a want of intelligence. And then instantly there springs up in the mind the remembrance of Homer the inspired, Hesiod with his plain mother-wit, Herodotus the inquisitive, Thucydides the profound, and the whole host of ancient worthies, full of philosophy and fire and vivacity and eloquence, and all the noblest attributes of humanity. These to us are the Greeks. We know no others but them alone. It is with them we have conversed, and from them we have learned of their race. Our notions of the Greeks are compounded of what we know and feel regarding *them*. But as we take our impressions of foreigners generally from what we have learned by our intercourse with those of them with whom we have come into contact, so we judge of the Greeks from their ambassadors to our own time, and these were "the foremost men of all this world." Our compounded ideas of the ancient Greeks are of profound admiration for them in all the works of intellect, in every department of mental exercise that they essayed. Hence to deny them intelligence—even that kind of intelligence which would prevent them from cherishing an ignorant belief—is a heresy which we most carefully shun.

But is it a heresy? Let us look it boldly in the face. The Greeks in Homer's time, universally, and at all times, among the mass, were, *in one respect*, semi-civilized, with reverence be it said. So far as the expansion of the imagination went, they seem, taking Homer as their representative, to have sprung at once into full growth. But that is what happens, partially at least, in many lands. We have songs of loftiest and unapproachable excellence, and a people who delight in them, before the other parts of the nature of man are even half cultivated. And, taking it for granted that Homer's poems correctly represent Homer's own time, we see a race with semi-barbarous usages, but these refined by a state of mind wherein the bright imagination flashes

[illegible] We hold ourselves indebted specially to our author in this respect, for what we deem one of the greatest and most characteristic merits of the work. He has not only himself attained to a clear perception of the Greek belief, and to sympathy with it, so that its history becomes intelligible, but he causes his readers to do the same. It is evident to every one who knows the Greek mind, of how much importance this is. Our author himself says admirably:—

"These mythes, or current stories, the spontaneous and earliest growth of the Grecian mind, constituted at the same time the entire intellectual stock of the age to which they belonged. They are the common root of all those different ramifications into which the mental activity of the Greeks subsequently diverged: they contain, as it were, the preface and germ of the positive history and philosophy, the dogmatic theology and the professed romance, which we shall hereafter trace each in its separate development. They furnished aliment to the curiosity, and solution to the vague doubts and aspirations of the age; they explained the origin of those customs and standing peculiarities with which men were familiar; they impressed moral lessons, or wakened patriotic sympathies, and exhibited in detail the shadowy,

but anxious presentiments of the vulgar as to the agency of the gods; moreover, they satisfied that craving for adventure and appetite for the marvellous, which has in modern times become the province of fiction proper."—Vol. I. p. 460.

Since religion forms so essential a part of the Greek mind, we cannot sufficiently admire the means which our author has taken to impress a knowledge of it, as believed and regarded by the Greeks at different stages of Greek history, on the minds of his readers. Hence the sagacity with which he has begun with the legends, the fulness with which they are treated, and the value of the chapters on the "Grecian mythes as understood, felt, and interpreted by the Greeks themselves," and "the Grecian Mythical Vein compared with that of modern Europe." There is much originality of thought in both of them, and there is a comprehensive view presented of the whole subject, which affords both instruction and delight. By their means the student in history is delivered from the danger of one-sidedness of view; and from the manifest earnestness with which he sees that the philosophizers maintained the national faith, he is enabled, nay forced, to recognize belief at the very foundation of the system. The process is clear, of less and less rationalism as we advance Homer-wards; and though we cannot trace the time when questioning began, there is a clear inductive proof—so far as such things are capable of proof—that there was a time when there was no questioning.

Our author is especially happy in the boldness with which he has grappled with the legendary heroes. He refers to the remarks of Lord Lyttleton on a kindred subject, (vol. I. p. 573,) as he has done to Vico, (vol. I. p. 473,) when treating of the Legends of the Gods. But his absolute exclusion of the heroes from historical Greece is all his own, and will doubtless startle many into opposition. That tendency of the human mind to which we have already adverted, produces a curious paradox;—men not only do not believe in the existence of the Grecian gods, but they will not admit that the Greeks believed in them; while they not only readily admit that the heroes were believed in, but maintain that they actually existed. There is every thing in the former to excite their disbelief, therefore other minds felt as theirs do; there is something in the latter that can be believed, therefore they existed. It is true that they act in the same way with both. They take the heathen mythology;

and, having purified and refined it, offer the result to you--something approaching a pure monotheism—as the real object of Grecian belief, because it is the object of their own; and they take the heroes, and pare them down to their own creed, and present them to you as the objects, not of Grecian belief only, but of their own. Of this, our author disposes most satisfactorily, where he shows, that in the positive absence of all historical evidence, we have no means of separating the true from the false.

"The semi-historical interpretation, while it frequently produces absurd transformations of the original tale, is never, even in its most successful applications, accompanied with any certainty that we have reached the positive truth."—Vol. I. p. 572.

He shows that, in applying the semi-historical theory to Grecian mythical narrative, "it has been often forgotten that a certain strength of testimony, or positive grounds of belief, must be tendered, before we can be called upon to discuss the antecedent probability or improbability of the events alleged." He maintains that mere popular faith is not sufficient, and urges the grand truth, that the matter of tradition is uncertified from the beginning. This last fact casts such a shadow of doubt on the whole family of heroes, that we must dismiss them as forming a portion of history. They are *possible*, but they are not so *proved* as to entitle us to withdraw them from the legends, their proper place. Already, on this branch of the subject, Mr. Grote's views have been assailed. Nor is it to be wondered at. The wonder were otherwise. That learned men should give up, without some opposition, the belief in the historical foundation of the legends which has been their faith all their lives, was not to be expected.

We are free to admit that there is much force in what one Reviewer urges, of the difficulty of supposing that a legend the object of a tribe's fondest pride, is altogether imaginary.[19] We admit, also, that Mr. Grote, (like many a judge who decides well, and reasons well, but not to the conviction of all parties—the reasons being the most dangerous of all, as every man thinks himself entitled to pronounce on each and all of them,) may have pushed too far the reasoning with which he justifies the

[19] *Quarterly Review*, No. 155, p. 121.

banishment of the heroes; but we think the sentence of banishment itself well deserved. Let us observe, that Mr. Grote does not say that the traditions are unfounded; but he does say, that there is no certified evidence for their truth. To sift the mythes, might be a dangerous temptation even to himself. Supposing that there was something of truth;—how, by what elaborate process, are we to get at it? The student's mind is occupied in vain, the historian is expending his strength to expiscate what *may* be a grain of truth, from a whole cart-load of fiction. Enough to know, for that is all that we can now know, that there *is* truth—subjective truth—in the mythes. We are studying the Greeks, and this part of the Greek mind we must not only know, but feel. To the Greek, there was a vague grandeur attending his heroic progenitors. Present them in all the distinctness of real personages, and we lose this sense of the sublime. To the instructed Greeks of later times, they were historical, and yet invested, from education, with emotional power. We cannot have the latter, except from realizing the supernatural; and, in us, the supernatural and historical sense cannot co-exist. There is, then, a positive benefit in coming to the study of the recorded history of Greece, full of the faith that the general nation possessed. It were well, certainly, for truth's sake, to get at the foundation if we could. But we cannot. A foundation is possible, but it is not proved. Thus, with regard to the Trojan war, our author says:—

"If we are asked, whether it be not a legend embodying portions of historical matter, and raised upon a basis of truth,—whether there may not really have occurred at the foot of Ilium, a war purely human and political, without gods, without heroes, without Helen, without Amazons, without Ethiopians, under the beautiful son of Eôs, without the wooden horse, without the characteristic and expressive features of the old epical war—like the mutilated trunk of Deiphobus in the under world—if we are asked, whether there was not really some such historical Trojan war as this; our answer must be, that as the possibility of it cannot be denied, so neither can the reality of it be affirmed."—Vol. I. p. 434.

We surely lose nothing by transferring the heroes from the regions of history, for which they are unsuited, to the realms of poesy, which they become so well—

Παρὰ μὲν τιμίοις
Θεῶν, οἵτινες ἔχαι-
ρον εὐορχίαις,
Ἀδάκρυν νέμονται
Αἰῶνα.

Mitford, (c. 1. § 2.) is quite indignant at the later poets, for having made Hercules "a vagabond unattended savage, whose only covering was a lion's skin, whose only weapon a club." But, really, we think the skin and the club become him mightily on occasions. And we deem it the most cruel of treatment to reduce him, and Theseus, and their co-mates, to the rank of mere ordinary mortals—the Penns and Washingtons of an earlier day. Take them from the poets, and we know not what to make of them. Leave them in their hands, and you have them exhibited in all their colossal proportions—the genuine children of the gods.

Mr. Grote has furnished some admirable illustrations of the mode in which all nations deal with its mythological personages. We shall add two of an humbler class; and, to be impartial, one from Scotland and one from England,—Tam o' Shanter, and Robin Hood.

That the former may have had a foundation in old traditions, devoutly believed, is possible enough. Gilbert Burns says, that his brother Robert requested of Captain Grose to make a drawing of Alloway Kirk, and stated, "by way of encouragement, that it was the scene of many a good story of witches and apparitions, of which he knew the captain was very fond." Then, subsequent historians know more of the poet's resources than Robert's own brother, to whom he was always most communicative. In Chambers's edition of Burns's poems, we are told, that a certain farmer, named Douglas Graham, who lived at Shanter, when riding home from market on one occasion, more than usually late, having been detained by his potations, lost in a storm of wind and rain his bonnet, containing the money which he had got at the market. To silence his wife, who was "much addicted to superstitious belief, he imposed upon her credulity with a story of witches, seen at Alloway Kirk, but did not the less return to the Carrick Hill to seek his money, which he had the satisfaction to find with his bonnet, in a plantation near the road." Burns heard the story, and hence the myth arose. Well, this, so far, satisfies the *historical* sense. But subsequent enquirers must allegorize. There are no witches

Burns did not believe in witches. What did he mean then? He conveyed, by an allegory, the useful lesson, that if a farmer will drink at market till

> "He thinks na' on the lang Scots miles,
> The mosses, waters, slaps, and stiles,
> That lie between him and his hame,
> Where sits his sulky sullen dame,
> Gathering her brows like gathering storm,
> Nursing her wrath to keep it warm,"

he must expect to find the visions of incipient *delirium tremens* scaring him in his way. For what says a recent writer?

> "Till then we shall charitably attribute the terrors which he avows, to the influence of previous excitement and heated fancy; and class his nightly ride from Waterton to Utica, with *the flight of Tam o' Shanter from the goblin creations of his own intoxication.*"

But the mare Maggie was not intoxicated,—and yet, of her it is said,

> "Ae spring brought off her master hale,
> But left behind her ain grey tail;
> The carlin claught her by the rump,
> And left poor Maggie scarce a stump."

We find the interpretation historical, and the interpretation allegorical, both employed in this case. And thus, stripped of its dress, and rationalized, what becomes of the creations of the ποιητὴς—the maker?

We have before us two goodly and delightful tomes, well printed, and edited with great care and antiquarian skill, by John Matthew Gutch, F. S. A., published this present year, and containing all that is known, or probably can be known, in history, or in biography, or in ballad, of Robin Hood. He is no unfit hero to introduce into the *Classical Museum*. For, Mr. Gutch informs us, that "the wise founder of New College permitted them (ballads) to be sung by the fellows and scholars of that College," (vol. I. p. 82.) The same thing was done—nay, they were *enjoined* to be sung—in Winchester College, and in Magdalen and Corpus Christi, Oxford, (p. 83.) So that the learned of these hallowed spots need not turn away from a modern hero, whom their forefathers were enjoined to celebrate:

> "I shall tell you of a good yeman,
> His name was Robin Hode."

The modern resuscitator of Robin Hood strives hard, on the authority of Ritson, Thierry, Spencer Hall, and the Westminster Review, to rescue the outlaw from the grasp of the mythologists. We fear it is in vain. The earliest authority for the existence of Robin Hood as a historical personage, is Fordun, a Scottish chronicler; but he lived too far from the times of his hero to convince us. Mr. Gutch fixes Robin's date as living between 1225 and 1294, and lower it cannot be brought. Fordun, who was by no means incredulous, did not write till the close of the fourteenth century,—too long an interval for a historian, greedy of wonders, not to be misled regarding a name famous in song all over the island long before his time. The next who mentions him is the equally credulous Bower, the continuator of Fordun, who did not commence his labours till after 1416. Of subsequent historical or antiquarian notices, as of Major, Boece, Leland, Camden, Coke, and Fuller, we need say nothing, as they only draw upon the ballads. Of these the most celebrated is, "A lytell Geste of Robin Hood," of which no M.S. is extant, and which was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde, not earlier than 1489. This is alleged to be contemporary with Chaucer, on the evidence of the style. But, though the ballads themselves have not come down to us, the name was celebrated in that species of composition long before. The title of a rhyming Latin poem, marked with the date "22d July 1304," and which is in the first volume of Peck's intended supplement to the *Monasticon*, now in the British Museum, is; *Prioris Alnwicensis de bello Scotico apud Dunbarr, tempore regis Edwardi I. dittamen sive rithmus Latinus, quo de Willielmo Wallace, Scotico illo Robin Whood, plura sed invidiose canit.* "This," says Ritson, "is the first known instance of our hero's name being mentioned by any writer whatever."—(Gutch, vol. I. p. 44.) Next in order of time, in the *Vision of Pierce Plowman*, conjecturally assigned to Robert Langland, and supposed to have been written about 1360, an ignorant debauched secular priest is made to say:—

> "I can not parfitli mi paternoster, as the priest it singeth,
> But I can *ryms* of *Roben Hode*, and Randolf erl of Chester."

Now, on such foundation as ballads, the notices of recent chroniclers, and the gossip of antiquarians, we cannot build history, especially in the absence of all contemporaneous notices

in royal proclamations or English chronicles, which must have existed regarding an outlaw so notorious.

For these and other reasons, on which this is not the place to dwell, we give in our adhesion to those learned and enlightened antiquarians and archæologists, by whom, as Mr. Gutch tells us, "the legend of *A lytell Geste of Robin Hood* is still considered more in the light of an heroic tale or a romance, than as an historical ballad," (vol. I. p. 93.) And in Robin Hood's case, we have all the conditions that attach to an old mythe. Mr. Gutch has done his duty so well, that not a point has escaped him; and from him we shall draw our information regarding the gallant archer.

Of course, the chronology is disputed. According to Thierry, he lived between 1139 and 1194; according to Ritson, between 1160 and—the 18*th November* 1247! The *Lytell Geste* mentions that—

> Robyn dwelled in grene wolde,
> Twenty year and two,
> For all drede of Edward our kinge,
> Agayne wolde he not goo.

King Edward must be Edward I.; therefore it was in his time he lived; therefore he became an outlaw, after the defeat of Simon de Montfort. He was perhaps at the battle of Lewes; perhaps at that of Evesham; perhaps one of the heroic band of Ely; and, as Fordun writes of his avoiding, on one occasion, the *iram regis*, (Henry III.) and the *fremitum principis*, (Edward I.), therefore he was most certainly concealing himself in the woodlands in the latter part of the period of two years following the battle of Evesham. This is the opinion of the Westminster Reviewer, and of Mr. Gutch himself, who assigns the era of his life, as before noticed, to 1225–1294. With this also agrees Mr. Spencer T. Hall, who knows all about him. A ballad entitled "*Robin Hood's Courtship with Jack Cade's Daughter*," (vol. II. p. 363,) places him somewhere about 1450; and an "ingenious antiquary" banishes him in the reign of Henry the Eighth, (vol. I. p. 12.) As a mythological hero, his name has been etymologically accounted for. The Bishop of Dromore believed him to be named *quasi Robbing Hood*, (vol. I. p. 22.) Mr. Gough conjectures Robin *Wood, Whode, o' th' wood*, q. d. Sherwood, (*ibid.*) Then as to rank, he was *ille famosissi-*

*sus sicarius*, according to Fordun, (vol. I. p. 113.) According to Dr. Stukeley, from a manuscript of all the genealogies of the English nobility, drawn up by the great Lord Burghley, he was Robert Fitzooth, Earl of Huntingdon, great-grandson of Ralph Fitzooth, by a daughter ("not mentioned in Dugdale") of the Earls of Kyme and Lindsey, and descended from a daughter of Waltheof, through Judith the conqueror's niece, (vol. I. p. 24). He married Matilda, daughter to the Lord Fitzwalter, (p. 37). He was, according to Mr. Gough, neither more or less than a deer-stealer, (p. 24). He was a chief of Anglo-Saxon banditti, according to Mr. Thierry, (vol. I. p. 109.) He was an outlawed follower of De Montfort, of the yeoman class, according to the Review and Mr. Gutch, (vol. I. p. 136.) Who does not recognize in all this the historical interpretations of the old mythes, wherein the hero is at one time the valiant benefactor of his species, at another—

Sanguine cretus
Sisyphio, furtisque et fraude simillimus illi?

Hercules became one of the supernaturals; so did Castor; so did Pollux; so did Robin Hood.

"Another question is, whether that mysterious personage, called the Devil's Huntsman, or Harry-na-cab, was not the Jovial Hunter? And who was this Harry-na-cab? Now there is a field called Robin Hood's Oak; . . . and it is possible, therefore, that Robin Hood, the hero of the forests, may, under the nick-name of Harry-na-cab, have been the Jovial Hunter."—(Gutch, vol. I. p. 15.)

He was also, according to the same authority, the hunter who—

Sometime a keeper here, in Windsor forest,
Doth all the winter time, at still midnight,
Walk round about an oak, with great ragged horns.

And thus Robin Hood attains true mythological dignity;

Hac arte Pollux, et vagus Hercules
Enisus, arces attigit igneos.

Then we have in Little John, (so called because he was *Big*,) a parallel to another mythological hero. Maister Hector Boece, six years before the publication of his book, saw his "hanche-bane, als mekill as the haill bane of ane man; for we schot our arme in the mouthe thairof." This was in "Murrey land, in the

kirke of Pette, quhare the banis of lytill Johne remaynis in gret admiration of the pepill. He hes bene fourtene feet of hycht with square membris effeiring thairto," (vol. I. p. 68.) He was even taller than Orestes, whose skeleton was by the blacksmith of Tegea dug up from beneath his workshop, and being measured, was found to be seven cubits long, (Herodot. I. 68.) Then as Hercules was Dorian, Achæan, and Cadmean, so was Robin Hood—(no disparagement to Hercules to compare to him a man, compared it is true with Rob Roy, but also with Sir William Wallace)—of Nottingham, and Stafford, and Warwick, and York. Then he was an eponymous hero; we have Robin Hood's Oak, and Robin's Pine, and Big Robins and Little Robins, (vol. I. p. 46,) and Robin Hood's Well, (Ἱππόκρηνη.) Nay, attempts are made to establish the existence and time of Robin Hood, by one source of mythologo-historical evidence, an Inscription. "Amongst the papers of the learned Dr. Gale, late Dean of York, was found this epitaph of Robin Hood," (vol. I. p. 48.)

Hear underneath dis laitl stean
laiz robert earl of Huntington,
near ayeir ver az hie sa geud,
an pipl kauld im robin heud.
sic utlawz az hi an iz men
dil england nivr si agen.
Obiit 24[20] kal dekembris, 1247.

From this Ritson doubtless drew his date, and would defend himself accordingly. Of another source of such evidence, old poems, we have already spoken. But mark here an illustration of the historical value of mythological records. Mr. Gutch is by no means a credulous editor. It must not be supposed that he advocates all the contradictory statements we have given. He only, as in duty bound, reports them. He has espoused his hero's cause with great judgment, and he is too experienced an antiquarian not to know that good imitations of the old ballads have often appeared. (P. XXXI. of Preface.) Yet he has actually admitted into his collection, as an old poem, one, the history of which we know, and without any breach of confidence might tell, only—suffice it to say,

[20] *Sic.* Mr. Gutch proposes 14.

that one of the most fascinating of the *old* ballads here regularly chronicled, was recently fabricated—admirably certainly—but still fabricated as a touch-stone for antiquarian skill; and antiquarians have only partially stood the test. What a lesson does this afford to us as to caution regarding the authority to be attributed to works not perfectly authenticated, when a judicious and learned editor does not hesitate to receive and publish as genuine, an imitation written in our own day? Are ingenuity and imitations confined to modern times?

If the mythes connected with the heroes are not to be historically interpreted, how are they to be dealt with? This is a question difficult to answer. A historian who shows that they are incapable of proof, runs the risk of weakening the belief that they made any impression on the minds of the Greeks themselves. We have no doubt that Mr. Grote had this in view. He must have felt, that while he was destroying the faith of his readers in the authenticity of the legends, as a ground for historical deductions, he was not only running counter to all ancient authorities, but exposing himself to the hazard of undermining the faith of his readers, in that which operated most powerfully on the sensitive Greeks. And we think that his mode of solving the difficulty presents one of the finest conceivable specimens of historical skill. Objectively, these legends are nothing to the historian,—subjectively, every thing. The timid child that believes in the hobgoblins, which the nurse has impressed as true on every fibre of its thrilling soul, cannot be brought, by any efforts of yours on its reason, to disbelieve; nor would you act wisely, in studying the mind, not to keep that ineradicable belief most steadily before you. How foolish was the Roman general, who, disregarding the truth as believed by his soldiers, ordered the non-pecking birds of omen to be cast into the sea—to drink! There was no wit here, either in the old or in the modern sense of the term. But to enforce a truth of this kind in history, it is not enough to enunciate it as a formal proposition, it must be kept steadily before the reader's eye. And in this, we beg to tender to the author our best thanks, for the great service he has rendered to the cause of philosophic history. Before he proceeds to the active doings of the Greeks, he makes us, in the legendary *prolegomena*, understand and feel with them;—he

Hellenizes us, by showing, constantly as the mythes evolve, that they actually influenced the Greeks in their doings, supported them in the hour of trial, and stirred them up to action. It is evident from the mode in which it is done, that in this our author acted systematically, with a distinct view of what was required of him as a historical guide. And in this, a most important object, we deem the work to be characteristically valuable, not only for the just views that the author has come to, and for the truths he enunciates, but for the manner in which he gradually trains his disciples to observe and feel as he would have them do, in an ennobling sympathy with a noble race—the emotions alive, but the reason ever sitting in judgment upon their source, as well as their object.

NOTE.—While this is going through the press, we rejoice to see announced the third and fourth volumes of this admirable work. We anticipate a full realization of all the hopes that the introductory volumes have led us to form.

W. M. G.

## IX.

## ON THE SCULPTURES FROM THE MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSUS.

THE sculptures in relief which form the subject of this memoir, have been recently brought to England from Budrum, the ancient Halicarnassus, and are believed to have formed part of the celebrated Mausoleum. They were found in the citadel at the entrance of the harbour; having been inserted in the walls, either when the knights of Rhodes constructed this fortress shortly after the year 1400, or at the beginning of the 16th century, when they repaired it. These marbles represent a combat between Amazons, several of whom are mounted, and Greek warriors. Thevenot,[1] one of the first European travellers who visited Budrum, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, notices them as *bas-reliefs fort bien taillés*; but from his time to the present day they have been little

[1] *Voyage du Levant*, 1. c. LXXI.

examined, partly because Budrum lies a little out of the ordinary route of Eastern travellers, and partly from the jealousy of the Turks, who would not permit an inspection of the interior of the fort. They were drawn by Dalton, and published in his "Views in Greece and Egypt, 1751–81." They are described by Choiseul Gouffier,[2] in his Voyage Pittoresque, and by Mr. Moritt, as quoted in Dr. Clarke's travels.[3] A sketch of the slabs inserted in the interior walls of the fortress is given in the second volume of the Ionian Antiquities, published by the Dilettanti Society;[4] and they are noticed by the more recent travellers, M. Prokesch von Osten,[5] and Mr. W. J. Hamilton;[6] neither of whom, however, succeeded in inspecting the interior of the fortress.

The scanty and occasional notices thus furnished by travellers, were not sufficient to satisfy the curiosity naturally felt in Europe with regard to these sculptures. From the belief that they had formed part of the Mausoleum, a building in the decoration of which the most celebrated artists of antiquity were employed, it was thought, not without reason, that in them would be found, as in the Parthenon, the characteristics of a great school of sculpture; and that they would furnish a marked epoch in the history of art; a standard of comparison, whereby many monuments now of uncertain date might be assigned to their true periods.

A wish was very generally expressed among the archæologists and lovers of art in this country, that these marbles might be rescued from their perilous and obscure situation at Budrum, and brought to England. In accordance with this general desire, Sir Stratford Canning, her Majesty's minister at Constantinople, most zealously and indefatigably exerted himself to obtain permission from the Porte to remove the bas-reliefs. His most praiseworthy efforts were crowned with success; and these sculptures, having been taken down with great care from the citadel by Commander Edghill, of H. M. Sloop Siren, in February 1846, and conveyed to England, have been since presented to the British Museum by Sir Stratford Canning.

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[2] I. p. 358.

[3] Part II., § I. pp. 214–17.

[4] Supplement, Pl. II. Sketches of these marbles, taken on the spot, are also given in "Views on the Shores of the Mediterranean, by the Hon. W. B. Devereux, Captain R. N., 1847."

[5] *Denkwürdigk. aus dem Orient.* III. pp. 434–6.

[6] *Travels in Asia Minor*, II. pp. 30–6.

It will be the principal object of this memoir, to give some account of the history, site, and structure of the Mausoleum, and to shew on what evidence it is asserted that these marbles formed a part of it.

Mausolus, the eldest of the three sons of Hecatomnus, and the most wealthy and powerful prince of the Carian dynasty, died B. C. 353, after a reign of 24 years.[7] His widow, and sister Artemisia, celebrated his memory by all the honours which the art and literature of the period could bestow. Contests for eloquence and poetry were instituted, in which Theodectes obtained the prize for his tragedy Mausolus; and Isocrates was forced to concede the palm to his pupil in oratory, Theopompus.[8]

The Mausoleum—"the star-y-pointed pyramid," under which the body of Mausolus was deposited, was probably commenced during his life, as may be inferred from the statements of Eudocia, and another late writer.[9] We learn from Pliny,[10] that this building was surrounded by 36 columns, and surmounted by a pyramid tapering to a point, like a *meta*, by 24 steps; on

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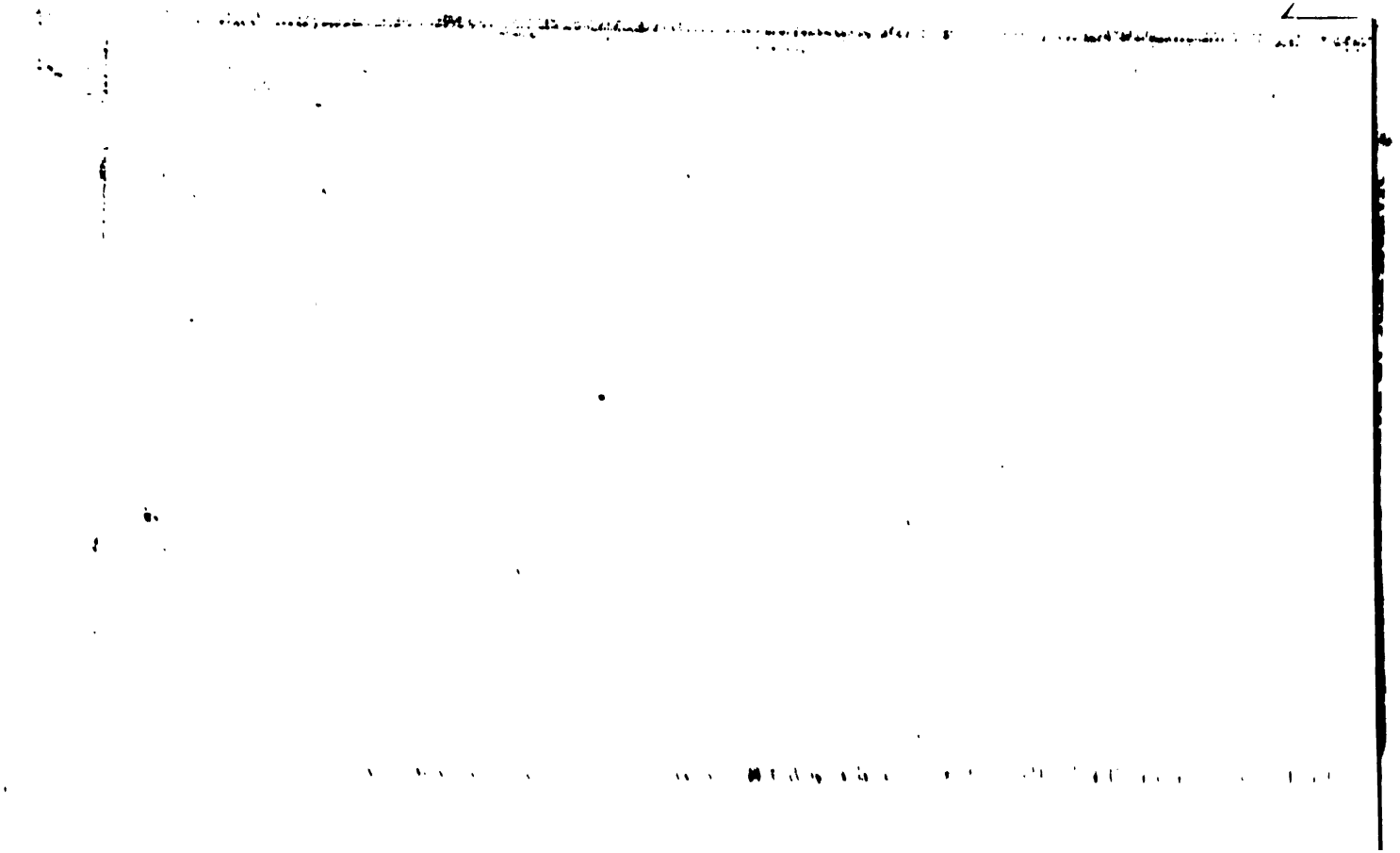
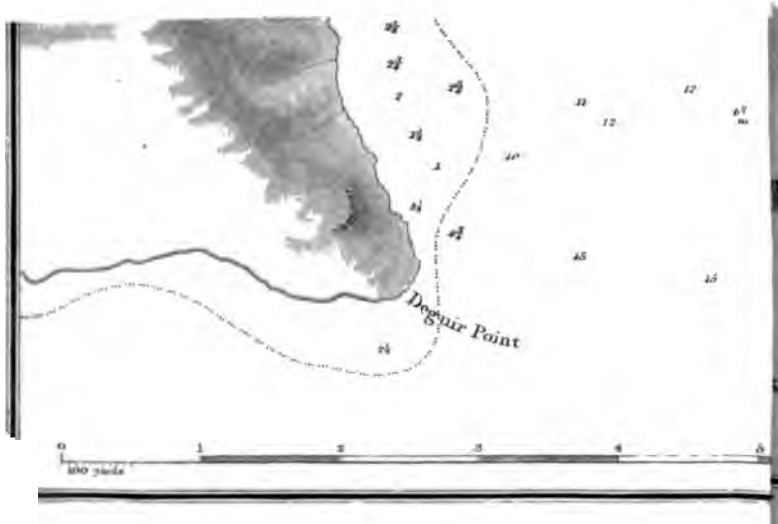
[7] See *Clinton, Fast. Hellen.*, II. p. 287, for this date. For evidence of the wealth and power of Mausolus, see *Lucian, Dialog. Mortuor.*, XXIV. 7, *ed. Lehmann*, II. p. 228, where he is introduced speaking thus,—ἦρξα δὲ καὶ Λυδῶν ἰνίων, καὶ νέους δέ τινας ὑπηγαγόμην, καὶ ἄχρι Μιλήτου ἐπέβην, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἰωνίας καταστρεψάμενος,—*Vitruv.* II. 8. infinitis enim vectigalibus erat farctus, quod imperabat Cariæ toti. *Diodor.* XV. 90. In the treatise on *Œconomics*, attributed to Aristotle, § XIV. XV., are some curious anecdotes, shewing the arts of extortion practised by Mausolus and his viceroy Condalus, in order to raise money from his subjects. From this passage we learn that Lycia paid tribute to him, (see Droysen, *Geschichte Alexanders*, pp. 127–8.) He persuaded the inhabitants of Mylasa, his native place, to put a large sum in his hands, undertaking to spend it in building a wall for the defence of that city. He evaded his promise by saying that the deity had forbidden him to proceed with his work, but retained the money, which was probably spent on the decoration of the more favoured city Halicarnassus. Droysen remarks that he probably selected the latter place as his royal residence, with a view to the establishment of a great naval power. Compare Polyæn. Strat., VII. 23; Suidas, Μαύσωλος; Ste. Croix; *Memoires de l'Institut. Litterat. Anc.*, II. p. 525–6.

[8] Gellius, X. c. 18; Theopompus *apud Euseb. Præp.*, X. 3, p. 464, c.; Suidas, Ἰσοκράτης Ἀμύνλα, and Θεοδέκτης Ἀριστάνδρου; Clinton, II. p. 287.

[9] Eudoc. Ἰωνιὰ *in Villoison, Anecd. Græc.*, I. 286; Nicetas, *Schol. on Greg. Nazianz. Opera, Paris.* 1611, II. p. 782; Phil. Byzant. *de Spect. ed. Orell. Lips.*, 1816, p. 144; as this passage has been restored by Ste. Croix, in his treatise *Sur la Chronologie des Princes de Carie*, in the *Memoires de l'Institut*, Litt. Anc., II. p. 540, note 3, to whose learned researches I am much indebted in this memoir.

[10] *N. H.* XXXVI. c. 5. s. 4.



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the summit was a marble chariot. The whole height was 140 feet, or, according to the reading in some MSS. 100 feet; the length on the north and south sides, 63 feet, the two fronts being something less.

To adorn its sides with sculpture, Artemisia employed four of the most celebrated artists of antiquity, Bryaxis, Timotheus, Leochares, Scopas, or, according to Vitruvius,[11] Praxiteles. Pliny tells us, that Scopas worked on the eastern side, Bryaxis on the north, Timotheus on the south, and Leochares on the west; and that it was principally the merit of their sculpture which made the Mausoleum one of the seven wonders of the world. Artemisia's short reign of two years did not enable her to see the whole of their great design carried into execution; but such was the emulation of the artists, that after her death, they completed the work for their own honour and the glory of art. A fifth sculptor, Pythis, executed the marble quadriga by which the whole Mausoleum was surmounted.

Before I offer any comments on the structure of this building, I shall endeavour to determine, as accurately as possible, its site; and for this purpose it is necessary to discuss at some length the topography of the ancient city of Halicarnassus. The chart with which, by the kindness of Admiral Beaufort, I have been enabled to illustrate this memoir, has been made by H. M. Hydrographers, Captain Graves, and Mr. Brock. It exhibits the modern town Budrum, and such remains of the ancient city as are now to be traced. It shews that the harbour is shaped like a horse-shoe; that the hills curve round; that the greater part of the modern town is built between their base and the harbour; and that the fortress from which the marbles were taken, stands on a rock projecting into the sea, and forming the eastern side of the mouth of the harbour.

Of the ancient city, Vitruvius[12] has left us a very graphic de-

[11] *Præfat.* VII.

[12] Cum enim—animadvertisset Halicarnasso locum naturaliter esse munitum, emporium idoneum, portum utilem, ibi sibi domum constituit. Is autem locus est theatri curvaturæ similis. Itaque in imo secundum portum forum est constitutum; per mediam autem altitudinis curvaturam, præcinctionemque platea ampla latitudine facta, in qua media Mausoleum ita egregiis operibus est factum, ut in septem spectaculis nominetur. In summa arce media Martis fanum habens statuam colossi, quam ἐπιβάτην nominant, nobili manu Leocharis factam: hanc autem statuam alii Leocharis, alii Timothei putant esse. In eorum autem summo dextro Veneris et Mercurii fanum ad ipsum Salmacidis fontem. Qu[illegible] in in dex-

scription. His words are as follows:—"Mausolus, perceiving that Halicarnassus was a place naturally fortified, favourable for trade, and with a convenient harbour, made it his royal residence. As the form of the site was curved like a theatre, on the lowest ground, near the port, was placed the forum. Along the curve, about half way up its height, was made a broad street; as it were, a *præcinctio*. In the centre of this street stood the Mausoleum, constructed with such marvellous works, that it is considered one of the seven wonders of the world. In the centre of the citadel above, was the Temple of Mars, containing a colossal statue, of the kind called ἀκρόλιθοι,[13] made by the illustrious hand of Leochares;[14] or, according to others, of Timotheus. On the summit of the right hand extremity of the curve was the Temple of Venus and Mercury, close to the fountain Salmacis. Now, in like manner as, on the right hand, was this Temple of Venus and Mercury, and the above-named fountain; so, on the left horn, or extremity of the curve, stood the royal palace, which king Mausolus placed so as to suit his own designs; for from it can be seen on the right hand, the forum, the harbour, and the whole circuit of the walls; on the left, a secret port, so concealed under the mountains, that no one could spy or ascertain what was going on there; that the king from his own palace might, without the knowledge of any one, direct all that was necessary for his fleet and army."

When we compare this description with the plan before us,

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tra parte fanum est Veneris et fons supra scriptus, ita in sinistro cornu regia domus, quam rex Mausolus ad suam rationem collocavit. Conspicitur enim ex ea ad dextram partem, forum et portus, mœniumque tota finitio; sub sinistra, secretus sub montibus latens portus, ita ut nemo possit, quid in eo geratur, aspicere nec scire, ut Rex ipse de sua domo, remigibus et militibus sine ullo sciente, quæ opus essent, imperaret. Ed. *Marin. Rom.*, 1836, II. 8. The *præcinctio*, or διάζωμα, was the space between the cunei. In the Greek theatre there were generally two. This would very well be represented by the *platea*, or *wide street*, in which the Mausoleum stood.

[13] Statues were so termed of which the extremities only were marble, the remainder of the figure being of wood, generally gilt.—Stackelberg, *Ueber den Apollo Tempel in Bassæ*, p. 98; Müller, *Handbuch der alten Kunst*, s. 84, 1. p. 63. s. 310, 5. p. 415; Stephani *Thesaurus*, ed. Hase, Ἀκρόλιθος; Q. de Quincy, *Le Jupiter Olymp.*, p. 333; Winckelmann, 1. c. 2.

[14] Not *Telochares*, as in the older editions; see Marini's note on this passage, and Sillig, Cat. Art. *Leochares*. This artist excelled in expression; see Pliny's description of his statue of Ganymede and the Eagle, XXXIV. c. 8. s. 19.

the first question which suggests itself is, whether, by the theatre-like form of the town, Vitruvius means the larger curve formed by the whole bay, from Deguir Point to Meshrik Point, or the smaller curve formed by the harbour, and contained within the circuit of the ancient walls as they are traced out in the Admiralty Survey. In the former case, the cornua, or extremities of the curve, must be sought for wherever the two most remarkable opposite projections occur on the shores south of the harbour; in the latter, the natural terminations of the crescent seem to be the rock on which the modern citadel stands, and the rising ground opposite to it.

Again, when Vitruvius speaks of the right and the left hand, must we suppose him standing with his face turned to the sea, or to the shore? Where do we place his secret port?

On the solution of these questions the adjustment of the topography in a great measure depends.

On looking at the plan of Budrum, my first impression was, that the curve was wholly contained within the circuit of the walls as they are traced in the plan; and that the rock on which the modern citadel stands, and the ground opposite to it, were the two *cornua* on which, balancing each other with a certain symmetry, stood on the one side the palace of Mausolus, on the other the Temple of Venus, close to the fountain Salmacis,—the former of which buildings I placed on the rock, supposing Vitruvius to have viewed the scene with his face to the sea, as most of the commentators interpret his description.[15] To this arrangement, however, there are certain objections. Vitruvius states that the palace was in so commanding a position as to overlook the whole circuit of the walls to the right, and also a little port to the left, concealed from the observation of the citizens by the hills.

If the rock was the left horn, the little port to the left would be immediately to the east of it; but no such port is to be found in this part of the shore, nor do any hills intervene such as would screen it from the town. Again; a palace placed on the rock, though the whole circuit of the walls might be visible from it, would certainly not be in a commanding situation, such as the

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[15] See the plan of Halicarnassus, by Barbié de Boccage; Ste. Croix, *Historiens d'Alexandre*, p. 248; *Sur la Chronol. des Princes de Carie*, p. 576, note 1. Compare on this passage Polen. *on Vitruv.*, II. 8, ed. Utin.

words of Vitruvius imply, for the rock is considerably lower than the greater part of the town. Lastly, there are grounds for supposing, as I shall shew, that this rock was an island in the time of Mausolus, and that it consequently could not have been one of the *cornua* of a continuous curve in the mainland.

If, adopting the other alternative, we suppose Vitruvius to have described this scene while facing the shore, we must then look for the site of the palace of Mausolus, and for the smaller port, on the western shore. Within the circuit of the walls no such site presents itself; but on the spot where the windmills are marked in the chart, is an eminence commanding the whole town; and on the west of it is a bay, where we might expect to find the little port *sub montibus latens*, being overlooked by the palace, and separated from the town by ground sufficiently high to screen it from general observation.[16] If we place the palace of Mausolus on this site, we must look for a corresponding height on the opposite shore for the *dextrum cornu*, on which was the Temple of Venus, and the fountain Salmacis. A fountain is marked in the plan on this part of the shore, but, though there seems to be no eminence or projection answering to the *dextrum cornu* of Vitruvius, and balancing the hill on which the windmills stand, it is possible that an examination of the spot might present to us some natural feature adequate to his expression, and placed rather farther inland than the area of the map would shew.

Leaving this question in abeyance for the moment, I will proceed to examine the statements of other ancient writers in re-

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[16] Artemisia might issue from such a port *in apertum pelagus*, sail round Deguir Point, and surprise the Rhodians, when they had incautiously entered the larger port, supposing it to be unguarded, and landed in the town, as Vitruvius relates, II. 8. It is difficult to see how such a stratagem could have been accomplished, if we place the little port in any place less concealed from observation. That the palace and smaller harbour were to be sought for where I have placed them, was the impression of Mr. T. L. Donaldson, who examined the topography of Budrum very carefully on his visit some years ago. Admiral Beaufort remarks, *Caramania*, p. 99, "We sought in vain [on the eastern side] for the small and occult harbour mentioned by Vitruvius, from which the fleet of Artemisia sallied, when the city was attacked by the Rhodians. Such a harbour is irreconcileable with the appearance of the present line of shore; but as Pliny asserts that the island Zephyra (perhaps the peninsula on which the castle now stands) had been joined to Halicarnassus, so, in the revolutions of time, this harbour may have been filled up. Our examination, however, of the eastern side of the town, was very cursory."

gard to the topography of Halicarnassus. Arrian, in his account of the siege of this place by Alexander the Great, mentions two, if not three ἄκραι—the ἄκρα in the island—the ἄκρα of Salmacis—the ἄκρα nearest to Mylasa.[17] Strabo, in speaking of the same siege, says that there were two citadels.[18] Pliny speaks[19] of the island of Zephyrium, joined to the mainland at Halicarnassus by the action of the sea. Where were these ἄκραι? Where was this peninsula? If we follow in the plan the circuit of the walls, we come to two heights, one above the ancient theatre, nearly due north of the Pasha's house, the other a little below the north-east angle of the walls, apparently of considerable natural strength; each, as I am informed by Mr. Hamilton and Mr. T. L. Donaldson, who visited the spot, having the remains of ancient fortifications, and one supplied with water from a cistern. Both these travellers thought that these rocks were the sites of ancient citadels; and, if their opinion be correct, that to the north-east may be the ἄκρα nearest to Mylasa of Arrian; the other, his citadel of Salmacis.[20] It remains that

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[17] *Exped. Alex.* 1, 23, ἡ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλμακίδα ἄκραν οὕτω καλουμένην. For ἄκραν τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Gronovius substitutes Ἀρκόννησον, in which he is followed by Ellendt; but this reading seems an arbitrary alteration, the less probable on account of the distance of Arconnesus, if this island was the modern Orak; see the edition of Ellendt, *Reg. Pruss.*, 1832, I. p. 112, note 3. A little before, Arrian speaks of τὴν ἄκραν τὴν πρὸς Μυλάσσα μαλίστα τετραμμένην. This was very inaccessible, τοῦ χωρίου τῇ χαλεπότητι, ibid. c. XXI. Diodorus, XVII. 23, describes Halicarnassus as being, in the time of Alexander the Great, πόλις μεγίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Καρίαν, βασίλεια μὲν ἰσχυνῖα τὰ Καρῶν, ἀκροπόλεσι δὲ καλαῖς κεκοσμημένην. In his account of the siege, ibid. 25–28, he only speaks of one citadel; see also XV. 90.

[18] Διττὴ δ' ἦν, XIV. p. 656.

[19] *N. H.* II. c. 89, s. 91. Strabo states that the ancient name of Halicarnassus was Zephyra, XIV. p. 657. Compare Stephanus Byzant., *in voce* Ζεφύριον, ἡ Ἁλικαρνασσός. Were it not for the exceedingly small area of this rock, we might suppose that the original town was built here, and spread afterwards to the mainland, as in the case of the Ortygia of Syracuse.

[20] It is true that this situation would not correspond with that of the fountain Salmacis, near which we may suppose the citadel of the same name to have stood. But in this we have to choose between the evidence of existing *vestigia*, and that of names, and the former seems preferable. The statements of Arrian, Strabo, and Diodorus, cited above, prove the existence of at least two citadels, one on the mainland, the other in the island; the observations of Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Donaldson lead us to believe that there were two in the higher part of the town; if both the modern and the ancient evidence is admitted, but the identification which I have proposed rejected, we are compelled to suppose at least four citadels besides the palace of Mausolus,—an improbable number. Admiral Beaufort

we should look for Arrian's third citadel, that in the island. This has generally been placed at Orak, the ancient Arconnesus, at the mouth of the bay. But Arrian speaks of this citadel in terms that imply its immediate proximity to the town, for he states that Alexander the Great, having entered Halicarnassus by storm at night, the next morning looked at the citadel in the island and that of Salmacis, and saw them still full of Persian soldiers. He could hardly have spoken thus of a citadel in Orak, two geographical miles distant.[21]

If this citadel in the island is sought for nearer the town, the only probable site which suggests itself is the rock on which the modern fortress stands. This is joined to the mainland by a sandy isthmus, which, as Admiral Beaufort and others who have visited the spot inform me, may very possibly have been formed by accumulation from the sea at a period subsequent to the time of Alexander. If this was an island in his time, it would be the site of Arrian's citadel, and may further be the island Zephyrium, which Pliny states to have been joined to the continent by the action of the sea. In the space between the rock and the shore the water would probably be so shallow, that the security of the harbour would not be diminished by an opening on this side.[22] If we adopt this arrangement, it follows, as

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is undecided as to the situation of the citadel Salmacis, *Caramania*, pp. 101 and 109, where he inclines to the belief that it was at Chifooh-Kalassy, a few miles to the westward of the bay of Budrum; but the distance from Halicarnassus would be too great. Mr Hamilton places the citadel Salmacis in the angle where I have placed the citadel nearest to Mylasa; the fountain Salmacis he finds along the line of the eastern wall below.

[21] Ἤδη τι ἡὼς ὑπέφαινε καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς ἄκρας ὅς οἵ τι Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι κατειλήφεσαν, Arrian, i. 23. See the Admiralty Chart of the Promontory of Budrum. In the very incorrect plan by Barbié de Boccage, cited above, Orak is placed much too near the shore.

[22] This theory may serve to explain the statement of Scylax of Caryanda, that there was at Halicarnassus a closed port, and another port around the island, λιμὴν κλειστὸς καὶ ἄλλος λιμὴν περὶ τὴν νῆσον καὶ ποταμοί, Gail, *Geogr. Minor.*, i. p. 297, (p. 38, Hudson); for we can hardly doubt that his closed port is the little secret port of Vitruvius, from which Artemisia suddenly issued into the open sea to attack the Rhodians, and the distance of Orak would make it impossible that Scylax would describe the larger harbour as encircling this island, while such an expression would be strictly applicable to the rock of the citadel. The expression "closed port," explains why Artemisia cut a trench in order to issue suddenly from this port, "repente fossa facta," Vitruv. *loc. cit.*; we must therefore suppose the mouth of this harbour to have resembled that of the smaller port at Cnidus, the entrance of which is very nearly closed at the present day; see the Admiralty Chart of this part of the coast. Scylax mentions several other closed ports in

we have already remarked, that the rock of the citadel, being in the time of Alexander isolated, and not, as it is now, part of the continuous curve of the shore, would hardly be described by Vitruvius as the *dextrum cornu* of his natural theatre as it existed a few years before—in the time of Mausolus;—and this consideration inclines me to adopt the arrangement by which the *lævum* and *dextrum cornu* are placed farther south—the *lævum* on the hill of the windmills, the *dextrum* on some elevated point opposite to it—such as would catch the eye in contemplating the whole scene from the entrance to the bay.

In the chart, the direction of the two southern extremities of the wall are marked with dotted lines. If their direction so laid down is conjectural, not clearly to be traced, it might be argued that, if the palace of Mausolus stood on the windmill hill, it is probable that the eastern wall was continued from its most eastern angle, in a south-eastern direction, to the bay where I place the little secret port, and not, as it is now laid down, in a north-western direction to the opposite shore. Otherwise the palace and shipping would be left wholly unguarded on the north side. It is possible, again, that on the western side of the bay, an accurate examination of all the ground between the ancient gate half-way up the hill, and Meshrik point, might enable us to trace the continuation of the western wall in this direction.

The three points in the centre of Vitruvius's theatre are, I conceive, less difficult to fix.

These are,—1. The forum *in imo secundum portum*, evidently the part of the shore from the Pasha's house to the most eastern of the two moskes. The other moske, as I am informed, is built on ancient foundations on the water's edge; but what building stood here, we have no means of conjecturing.

2. Half-way up the curve ran a broad street like the *præcinctio* of a theatre. Looking at the position of the two ancient gates, which are rather less than half-way between the north

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Caria and Ionia. The words *καὶ στενὰ*, in the passage quoted above must be an interpolation, for there is certainly no river at Budrum. The possible formation of this isthmus, at a comparative recent period, is suggested by Admiral Beaufort; see note 16. See his remarks, *Caramania*, p. 111, on the probable identity of the high peninsula forming the western side of Port Gumishlu, with the island of Aethusa, joined, according to Pliny, to Myndus.

wall and the shore, this street probably ran between them. In the centre of this stood the Mausoleum.

The third central point mentioned by Vitruvius is the temple of Mars, *in summa arce media*. If we translate this phrase, "in the centre of the citadel above," we must suppose that Vitruvius here speaks either of the citadel behind the theatre, though this would seem too small to contain a temple of Mars, or of some other citadel on the same line, of which no remains are noticed by travellers. The citadel east of this, already noticed, would be too far distant to be mentioned as in a line with the other two central points. But I am disposed to interpret the word *arx*[23] here in its less definite sense, and to translate the passage, "in the centre of the fortified heights above."

In this part of Halicarnassus are some architectural remains, of which Mr. Donaldson has favoured me with the following account, extracted from his Journal:—

"In the plain in the centre of the town, are remains of an extensive row of columns, of the Doric order, five or six of which still exist with the entablature entire; behind, on a raised terrace, are constructions; and still farther north, on another platform, surrounded by a regular built wall, may be found fragments of a large Ionic edifice, most probably the temple of Mars; of the tomb of Mausolus there are no remains, and it is difficult even to fix its site. Nearer to the palace of the Pasha are many fragments of shafts of columns, of volutes, and other ornaments of a superb Ionic edifice, rivalling in taste, finish, and material, the finest edifices of Athenian art.[24] This seems to have been surrounded also by an enclosure, as there are many fragments of the Doric order."—The first of the remains here described, the Doric colonnade, is delineated in

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[23] Compare Virgil, *Georg.* i. 240,

Mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhipæasque arduus *arces*
Consurgit.

Stat., *Theb.* i. 114,

—— abrupta qua plurimus *arce* Cithæron
Occurrit cœlo.

Petron., *Sat.* iv. c. 116, Impositum *arci* sublimi oppidum; see Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, iii., note 411, and compare other references, Forcellini, Lexicon, *Arx*.

[24] One of these fragments, the capital of an Ionic column, was found by Mr. Donaldson, imbedded in the wall of a dwelling, and has been engraved, Stuart's *Athens*, p. 5, pl. iv. of Mr. Donaldson's *Ancient Fragments*. He remarks there, that this capital resembles in general character the pilaster capitals of the temple of Minerva Polias at Athens, and of that of Apollo Didymæus near Miletus.

Choiseul Gouffier's Voyage Pittoresque;[25] he considered that it had no claims to be regarded as part of the Mausoleum, being certainly of not so early a period; and his opinion seems borne out by the views and sections given in his work, and by the late characters of the Greek inscriptions on some of the columns, though these may have been added subsequently to the erection of the building.[26] These columns are marked on the plan with the word *Temple*. The traces of a large Ionic edifice a little to the north—marked on the plan as *the base of a large building*—corresponds very well, as Mr. Donaldson remarks, to the situation of the temple of Mars, as given by Vitruvius. Mr. Hamilton, indeed, conjectures that this building may be the Mausoleum, because the measurement of one of its sides, 100 feet, seems to correspond with the scale of the area given by Pliny; but the situation is too far from the harbour. The fragments of a superb Ionic edifice which Mr. Donaldson saw nearer the Pasha's house, (see the Plan,) would not be far distant from that central part, half-way up the curve, where Vitruvius places the main street; and there are reasons for believing, as I shall presently shew, that these remains are those of the Mausoleum lying *in situ*.

Having thus marked out the chief points in the topography of the ancient Halicarnassus, I will proceed to trace the history of the tomb of Mausolus, till the period of its final destruction. In the poem *De Spectaculis* attributed to Martial[27] we find a passing allusion to the marvellous structure of the Mausoleum in the expression, "the Mausolea which hang in the vast air:" and Lucian,[28] in a dialogue in which he introduces Mausolus speaking, gives us the most valuable information that the sculptures representing men and horses were of the most admirable art, and of the finest marble. From the time of Strabo[29] till the twelfth century, we find ancient writers [illegible]

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[25] I. pls. 99, 100, 101.

[26] Hamilton's *Asia Minor*, II., Appendix, Nos. 275–8.

[27] I. l. 5, 6,

Aere nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea
Laudibus immodicis Cares in astra ferant.

In the Greek,

Μηδὲ τὸ Μαυσωλεῖο μετήορον ἠέρι σῆμα
Ὑψούντων αἶνῳ Κᾶρες ἀμετροεπεῖ.

[28] Ἐο Ἁλικαρνασσὸν μόνα τοιαῦτα ἔχω θαύματα, ὅσα οὐ δεῖ παρ' ἄλλοις ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰ ἀξιοθεατότατα εἶναι· μόνα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἵππους τε καὶ ἄνδρας, *Dialog. Mortuor.*, XXIV., *Ed. Lehmann, Lips.* 1822, II. p. 229.

[29] *Loc. cit.*

alluding to the Mausoleum as one of the seven wonders of the world, and as still existing; it is thus noticed in the second century by Pausanias,[30] in the latter end of the fourth by Gregory of Nazianzus,[31] by Constantine Porphyrogennetus[32] in the tenth, by Eudocia[33] in the eleventh, who must have been misinformed as to its site, for she describes it as built on a mound in a marshy lake; and again in the twelfth century by Eustathius,[34] who speaks of it as still existing, Θαῦμα καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστι,—"it was, and is, a wonder." At what time it fell into ruin cannot easily be ascertained, for it may still have been noted as one of the seven wonders of the world after it was in that state. In the year 1404 the knights of Rhodes took possession of Halicarnassus, and built the present citadel, to which they gave the name of the Castle of San Pietro, or Pedro, whence perhaps the Turkish Budrum. Fontanus, the historian of the siege of Rhodes, of which he was the contemporary, states that a German knight named Henry Schlegelholt, began to construct it out of the materials of the Mausoleum. His words are, *ex ruinis Halicarnassi piramidibusque Mausoli sepulchri.*[35] The structure, however, could have been only partially destroyed on this occasion, for in 1472, when Cepio visited Budrum

[30] *μέγεθος δὲ οὕτω δή τί ἐστι μέγας καὶ ἐς κατασκευὴν περίβλεπτος τὴν σῦσαν, ὥστε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μεγάλως δή τι αὐτὸν θαυμάζοντες τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπιφανῆ μνήματα Μαυσωλεῖα ὀνομάζουσιν*, VIII. 16.

[31] *Opera*, ed. Benedict. II., Paris, 1840, p. 1188. Epigram. 57.

[32] *De Them.*, I. c. 14. The expression Ἴδρυται, in this passage, shews, as Ste. Croix remarks, that the Mausoleum was standing when Constantine Porphyrogennetus wrote.

[33] Μαυσωλὸς, Καρίας γέγονε τύραννος. ὃς ἐπεστείλατο τάφον σεληναίλωτον ἐν χώματι καὶ ἐν λιμναζούσῃ λίμνῃ, ἴνδον πίσσης τοῦ τάφου, Eudociæ Ἰωνιά, Villoison, *Anecd. Græca*, p. 286. As little worthy of credit is the statement of Marulli, "Vite de' Gran Maestri," *Napoli*, 1636, p. 389, that in his time the ruins of the Mausoleum were under water, and could only be discerned on a clear day. Ste. Croix has been led by these two passages to suppose that the sea has gradually encroached on the shore of the harbour, and so covered the site of the Mausoleum, pp. 561 and 582; but the observations of modern geologists and hydrographers on this coast, give no countenance to such a theory.

[34] Ed. Rom., 1542, II. p. 1298, Il. ϕ.

[35] Petrea quam ex ruinis Halicarnassi, Piramidibusque Mausoli sepulchri inter septem orbis spectacula nominatissimi, struere cœpit Henricus Schlegelholt, eques Germanus, *De Bello Rhod.*, ed. Hagan, 1527, lib. II. k. 1. Ducas, in recording the same event, states that the Grand Master took out with him from Rhodes quantities of squared stones, bitumen, timber, and other materials, to build the fortress with. This account is quite reconcileable with that of Fontanus, for Schlegelholt may have only laid the foundations, as the words *struere cœpit* would imply.

in the expedition of Pietro Moncenigo, he noticed its remains amid the ruins of the town.[36] During the possession of Rhodes and Halicarnassus by the knights, the castle of St. Peter was twice repaired, once by the grand master D'Aubusson in 1480,[37] when the Turks made an unsuccessful attempt on Rhodes; and again in the year 1522, when Rhodes was taken by them. It is to the latter of these occasions that the following remarkable account refers, published by Guichard in 1581,[38] and which I reprint at length from his work, in order that the graphic earnestness of the original narrative may not in any degree be impaired by translation or abridgment:—

"L'an 1522 lors que Sultan Solyman se preparoit pour venir assailir les Rhodiens, le Grand-maistre scachãt l'importance de ceste place, et que le Turc ne faudroit point de l'empieter de premiere abordee, s'il pouuoit, y enuoya quelques cheualiers pour la remparer et mettre ordre à tout ce qui estoit necessaire pour soustenir l'ennemi, du nombre desquels fut le Commandeur de la Tourrette Lyonnois, lequel se treuua depuis à la prise de Rhodes, et vint en France, où il fit, de ce que ie vay dire maintenãt, le recit a monsieur d'Alechamps, personnage assez recognu par ses doctes escrits, et que ie nomme seulement, à fin qu'on sçache de qui ie tien vne histoire si remarcable. Ces cheualiers estans arriues à Mesy, se mirent incontinent en deuoir de faire fortifier le chasteau, et pour auoir de la chaux, ne treuuans pierre aux enuirons plus propre pour en cuire, ny qui leur vinst plus aisee, que certaines marches de marbre blanc, qui s'esleuoyent en forme de perron emmy d'un champ pres du port, là où iadis estoit la grande place d'Halycarnasse, ils les firẽt abbattre et prendre pour cest effect. La pierre s'estant rencõtree bonne, fut cause, que ce peu de maçonnerie, qui paroissoit sur terre, ayant esté demoli, ils firent fouiller plus bas en esperance d'en treuuer dauantage. Ce qui leur succeda fort heureusement: car ils recognurent en peu d'heure, que de tant plus qu'on creusoit profond, d'autant plus s'eslargissoit par le

[36] Cor. Cepio *de P. Moncenici Gestis.* —Venet. 1477, p. 20. Cujus nos inter urbis ruinas vestigia vidimus.—Compare Sabellicus, *Decad.* III. l. 9.; Opera, *Basil.* II. p. 1478. Visuntur adhuc, ut Coriolanus scribit, molis illius eximiæ inter cæteras urbis ruinas vestigia quædam.

[37] For this date, as well as that of the first building of the fortress, in regard to which Ducas and Bosio are not agreed, see Ste. Croix, p. 570.

[38] *Funerailles des Rommains, Grecs, &c.* Lyon. 1581. III. c. 5. p. 378–81. —The *Privilege* of this work is dated 1574.

bas la fabrique, qui leur fournit par apres de pierres, non seulement à faire de la chaux, mais aussi pour bastir. Au bout de quatre ou cinq iours, apres auoir faict vne grande descouuerte par vne apres disnee, ils virent une ouverture comme pour entrer dans une cave: ils prirent de la chandelle, et deualerent dedans, où ils treuuerent vne belle grande sale carree, embellie tout au tour de colonnes de marbre, auec leurs bases, chapiteaux, architraues, frises et cornices grauees et taillees en demy-bosse: l'entredeux des colonnes estoit reuestu de lastres, listeaux ou plattes bandes de marbres de diuerses couleurs ornees de moulures et sculptures conformes au reste de l'œuure, et rapportés propremēt sur le fonds blāc de la muraille, où ne se voyoit qu'histoires taillees, et toutes batailles à demy relief. Ce qu'ayans admiré de prime face, et apres auoir estimé en leur fantasie la singularité de l'ouurage, en fin ils defirent, briserent et rompirent, pour s'en seruir comme ils auoyent faict du demeurant. Outre ceste sale ils treuuerent apres vne porte fort basse, qui conduisoit à vne autre, comme antichambre, ou il y auoit vn sepulchre auec son vase et son tymbre de marbre blanc, fort beau et reluisant à merueilles, lequel, pour n'auoir pas eu assez de temps, ils ne descouurirent, la retraicte estant desia sonnee. Le lendemain apres qu'ils y furent retournés, ils treuuerēt la tombe descouuerte, et la terre semee tout autour de force petits morceaux de drap d'or, et paillettes de mesme metal: qui leur fit penser, que les corsaires, qui escumoyent alors le long de toute ceste coste, ayans eu quelque vent de ce qui auoit esté descouuert en ce lieu là, y vindrent de nuict, et osterent le couuercle du sepulchre: et tient on qu'ils y treuuerent des grandes richesses et thresors. Ainsi ce superbe sepulchre, compté pour l'un des sept miracles et ouurages merueilleux du monde, apres auoir eschappé la fureur des Barbares, et demeuré l'espace de 2247 ans debout, du moins enseueli dedans les ruïnes de la ville d'Halycarnasse, fut descouuert et aboli pour remparer le chasteau S. Pierre, par les cheualiers croisés de Rhodes, lesquels en furent incontinent apres chassés par le Turc, et de toute l'Asie quant et quant."

Though there is always just ground for caution in the reception of stories of this kind, neither the source from which it is derived, nor the internal evidence of its details, appear at all such as to lead us to doubt the general correctness of the narrative. Guichard received this account from Dalechamp, the well known editor of Pliny, to whom it had been communicated

by Latourette, the credibility of whose testimony was all the more likely to be known to Guichard, as he was a native of the same town, Lyons.

The details recorded in the narrative are not inconsistent with what we know from other sources. The level near the port, where the Knights found the steps of white marble, corresponds sufficiently with the situation where we have placed the Mausoleum, near which Mr. Donaldson noticed strewn about the fragments of a superb Ionic edifice. In the histories and battles sculptured in relief, we recognize the figures of men and horses described, as we have already noticed, by Lucian, and the bas-reliefs representing combats of mounted Amazons, now in the Museum; the *perron* may refer to some portion of the basement on which the pyramid had been sustained; the monument having been doubtless much demolished in previous excavations, and particularly when the fortress was built by Schlegelholt a century before.

That the bas-reliefs now in the Museum were inserted in the walls of the citadel by the Knights of Rhodes, is proved by the escutcheons, Latin sentences, and the date 1510, which Thevenot[39] observed in the same building, and by the inscription still to be seen engraved on the shield of one of the Amazons.[40] Whether the insertion of the slabs took place at the time of the original construction, or on the repair of the fortress in 1522, can hardly now be ascertained.

If we could infer from the statement of Guichard, that at Latourette's visit the surrounding rubbish had accumulated as high as the base of the pyramid, it might be argued that the sculptured portion of the edifice would be wholly concealed under ground on the first removal of materials by Schlegelholt, a century before, and so escape the notice of Cepio. It is obvious, however, that in a hearsay narrative such as this, particulars implying great accuracy of expression as well as of observation are not to be too strictly relied on, even if we were quite sure what was the height and form of the structure below the pyramid. It is interesting to observe, that this was

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[39] *Voyage de Levant*, l. c. 71.

[40] This inscription, which is in Roman letters, is so much mutilated, that very little of it can be deciphered. The letters which remain are, FCI..... ITOFLE.O..ATL... FIIVI I.... IIO. In Beaufort's *Caramania*, p. 99, two of the inscriptions on the walls of the citadel are given, one with the date 1513, the other 1505.

not the only occasion on which the knights shewed some respect for ancient art; for in the fortress built by them in the neighbouring island of Cos, the walls are ornamented externally with bas-reliefs, which may possibly have been taken from the Mausoleum.[41] Those at Budrum seem to have been arranged with some attention to architectural symmetry, as appears from the drawing of the interior of the fortress, given in the Second Volume of the *Ionian Antiquities*, which we have cited above.

The notices of the successive travellers who have visited the citadel of Budrum complete the long chain of evidence connecting the sculptures now in the Museum with the tomb of Mausolus, and establishing, beyond all doubt, that in these marbles we possess a fragment from one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. I will now proceed to consider the question of the structure of the Mausoleum, of which Pliny gives the following account:—"Scopas habuit æmulos eadem ætate Bryaxin et Timotheum et Leocharem, de quibus simul dicendum est, quoniam pariter cælavere *Mausoleum*. *Sepulchrum hoc est ab uxore Artemisia factum* Mausolo Cariæ regulo, qui obiit Olympiadis centesimæ sextæ anno secundo. Opus id ut esset inter septem miracula, ii maxime artifices fecere. Patet ab austro et septemtrione sexagenos ternos pedes, brevius a frontibus, toto circuitu pedes quadringentos undecim; attollitur in altitudinem viginti quinque cubitis; cingitur columnis triginta sex. Pteron[42] vocavere. Ab oriente cælavit Scopas, a septemtrione Bryaxis, a meridie Timotheus, ab occasu Leochares; priusque quam peragerent regina obiit. Non tamen recesserunt, nisi absoluto jam, id gloriæ ipsorum artisque monumentum judicantes; hodieque

[41] Dapper, *Isles de l'Archipel*. Amsterdam, 1703, p. 176. We learn from Fontanus, *de Expugn. Rhod.* Basil. 1537, p. 158, that Schlegelholt, who built the fortress at Budrum, had also the command at Cos. It would seem probable, from this circumstance, that he built both fortresses, sending over to Cos the materials which he found at Budrum. But the pieces of frieze at Cos, so far as I can judge of them by a Daguerrotype plate, appear to differ from those from Budrum in architectural details, and in their subject, which is not an Amazonomachia. On one of them are represented seated figures of Deities, on the other satyrs, pouring wine into a large *diota*.

[42] On the meaning of the word Pteron, see the *Lexicon Vitruv.* of Urbinas, *Peripteros*,—in De Laet's *Vitruvius*, Amstel. 1649; and Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, Πτερόν. Pliny seems to use the term here as vaguely as when, in speaking of Egyptian architecture, XXXVI. c. 12, § 19, he observes, Pteron appellant. He probably meant no more than that the Mausoleum had rows of columns.

certant manus. Accessit et quintus artifex. Namque supra pteron pyramis altitudine inferiorem æquavit viginti quatuor gradibus in metæ cacumen se contrahens. In summo est quadriga marmorea, quam fecit Pythis.[43] Hæc adjecta centum quadraginta pedum altitudine totum opus æquavit."[44]

This passage presents several difficulties. Pliny states that the Mausoleum consisted of the tomb itself, in height 25 cubits or 37½ feet, and surrounded by columns. On this was placed a pyramid, diminishing by 24 steps, and tapering like a meta. This was equal in height to the lower part, *altitudinem*[45] *inferiorem æquavit*, and was consequently also 37½ feet high. On the pyramid was placed a quadriga,[46] making, according to Pliny, the whole elevation 140 feet; a sum total not agreeing with the numbers previously stated, which would be 75 feet only. We have thus 65 feet of height to account for. This is our first difficulty.

Again, the length of the Mausoleum is stated to be, on the north and south sides, 63 feet, the two fronts being something less; the whole circumference 411 feet,[47] so that accepting the 63 feet for the longer sides, and 45 feet or thereabouts for the *brevius*, and supposing the *circuitus* 411 feet to be the sum total of these numbers, we have the deficiency of 195 feet. This is our second difficulty.

The statement of Pliny leaves us, moreover, in doubt, whether the dimension, 63 feet, is that of the peristyle, or of the building which it enclosed.

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[43] Not the same person as the architect of the Mausoleum, whose name, according to Marini, *Vitruv.* VII. Præfat. note 31, should be written Phiteus.

[44] *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI. c. s. 4. Except in reading *altitudinem* for *altitudine*, I have followed Sillig's edition, Lips. 1836, who has collated the text with the Codex Bambergensis. The words printed above in Italics, have been restored by him, having been omitted, without reason, by former editors.

[45] For so we must read the passage; the common reading *altitudine* leaves no substantive in the sentence with which the word *inferiorem* can agree.

[46] This doubtless contained a figure, probably that of a god. The height of the whole group has been calculated generally in the restorations at about 12 or 13 feet.

[47] The *Codex Bambergensis* reads 440 feet. The authority of this MS. of the eleventh century, though unsupported, must be regarded as of great weight; and the conjecture of Sillig seems a probable one, that the difference of reading may be accounted for by supposing, in the other copies, a clerical error, the scribe having omitted the lower limb of the L in XL, and thus making it XI.—Ed. Pliny, v. p. 443.

These, then, being the questions which suggest themselves on a perusal of this passage, we are naturally led to enquire in what manner they have been dealt with by those ingenious scholars, who, from Pliny's description, have endeavoured to restore the Mausoleum. Passing over the amusing and incongruous essays of this kind, which the commentators on Pliny and Vitruvius have produced, ever since the fifteenth century, one of which we see embodied in the steeple of St. George, Bloomsbury;[48] we will proceed at once to the higher authorities of Caylus,[49] Choiseul Gouffier,[50] M. Quatremère de Quincy,[51] and Colonel Leake.[52] As the limits of this publication will not admit of a separate representation of their several hypotheses, we shall avoid the discussion of such details as are unintelligible without engraved illustration, and content ourselves with briefly commenting on the chief features in these four restorations. All of them are based on the inartificial scheme, that Pliny's 36 columns surround a solid structure in a single row. In two of the designs, those of Caylus and Leake, the dimension of 63 feet is limited to the solid alone, and if we assume this as the measure of the longer side of the sepulchrum, the dimension of the brevius side will be about 45 feet.

Such an hypothesis either implies a cella, like that of a temple, and at least 35 feet wide, or an Egyptian solid with a sufficient vacuity for a sarcophagus. In the former case, we have the difficulty of supporting a pyramid on a void of probably 35 feet by 50, except indeed by supplying columns in the interior for that purpose;[53] and we are compelled, moreover, to adopt the anomalous theory, that the Greeks applied the cella in the same proportions in the sepulchre of a mortal as in the temples of their deities.

In the latter alternative, the primitive inartificial mass of

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[48] The height of this, 136 English feet, corresponds sufficiently with Pliny's 140 feet, and shews that the design was intended as an adaptation of that of the Mausoleum.

[49] *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* XVI. pp. 321–334; Pl. I.–IV.

[50] *Voyage Pittoresque*, I. pp. 158–161; Pl. 98.

[51] *Recueil de Dissertations Archéologiques.* Paris, 1836; pp. 109–141.

[52] In his Memoir on the inscribed Stele at Xanthus, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2d Series, in 8vo. vol. II. p. 27.

[53] It is true, that in the monument at Mylasa, to which we shall presently refer, we have a vacuity of 14 feet, over which a pyramid is supported; but the greater difficulty of supporting a pyramid over a void of 35 feet by about 50 feet length of cella, is obvious.

masonry would not have been worthy of a structure entitled a wonder of the world.

Choiseul Gouffier and M. de Quincy make the dimension 63 feet, inclusive of the peristyle: the architectural consequence of which arrangement is, that the order of columns, their distance from the solid, and their intercolumniations, are mainly small and mean, and the ingenuity of the commentators is put to the stretch to make up the height 140 feet.

Colonel Leake alone supposes the peristyle to have comprehended the circuitus 411 feet, making the intercolumniations and the distance of the columns from the cella enormous.[54] The columnar order would indeed gain in dignity by such an arrangement, but the scale and expense of such a building would be so great, that even the buried treasures[55] of Mausolus would hardly suffice for the outlay. It is more probable that Caylus is right in interpreting the words ἐν περιτῷ the outer wall or precinct of the whole tomb, a sense in which *circuitus* is used in several Latin inscriptions.[56] In all the restorations, except that of Choiseul Gouffier, the columns are an idle ornament, contributing nothing to the support of the pyramid, a mere appendage which might be removed without affecting the stability or specific purpose of the edifice. In regard to the vertical dimensions, the authors we quote are all constrained, more or less, to multiply fractions.

Caylus, accepting Pliny's entire height as inclusive, but in great difficulty to eke it out according to the arrangement which supposes a terrace, a podium, an order 20 feet high, with a subordinate pyramid of 24 steps, 25 feet high, and a loftier pyramid of about 60 feet above that. In thus dividing the pyramid into two stages, in joining mausoleum to mausoleum, meaning, whose 24 steps must belong to the whole pyramid, not to a subordinate stage of it. Choiseul Gouffier cuts the

[54] According to this calculation, the pteroma would have a breadth of 12 feet 6 inches.

[55] "Infinitis enim vectigalibus erat farctus, quod imperabat Caria vasta."—*Vitruv. de Architect.* II. 8.

[56] "Sedilia circumitum *relucerunt* impensa sua."—*Murat. Novus Thesaur. Inscript.* 314, 2. "Iuli Victoris domus ex vim circuitum in qua pervia in circuitu cubant." *Mus. Pisan. Inscr.* p. 201. "Sanctum hoc, quod circuitu undique vetere, una ambitus circumdatur, in cujus [illegible] pervium monumento, ambitum patebat, circumitum non hoc ornatur." *Vien. Inscr.* p. 201. "Ut Deus [illegible] *Inscr.* p. 2. "Ne [illegible] Fabricius, *Inscr. Pisan.* XXV, circuitus."

knot by adopting the reading of 100 instead of 140 feet;[87] but thus, as may be seen on referring to his plate, falls into the error of making his order much too small. In M. de Quincy's restoration, the whole elevation is divided into two equal parts by the base line of his pyramid, the height of which, 75 feet, thus equals that of the sepulchrum and base, not, as Pliny states, the sepulchrum alone. But in citing this learned writer's authority, we must remark that there is a discrepancy between his engraved illustration and his text, which invalidates his whole restoration. Thus, in his text,[88] he makes the length of the peristyle 63 Greek, or 58 French feet, placing 8 columns in the front, and allowing 2 feet for the diameter of each column, and 3 feet for each intercolumniation; but when we turn to his illustrative engraving, and use the scale by which the artist has developed the restoration, we find this dimension expanded to 91 feet. In page 128, his text establishes 19 feet as the height of the order according to the columns and their diameters previously determined, but when we turn to the engraving, this height of 19 feet becomes 33 feet. Again, while the order is 19 feet, the figures with which the basement is decorated are of the proportions of 23 feet, and the figures under these *collonette*, upon the podium, are 13 feet, in about the same proportion as the figure in the quadriga on the summit. It is plain that M. de Quincy must renounce either his text or his engraved illustration, for they are totally at variance; and it is to be regretted that so learned an interpreter of classical art should have published his commentary on the Mausoleum with so little care.

From this review of the several restorations of the Mausoleum, it would appear that the commentators on Pliny's statement differ very considerably in their interpretation of his words, while none of them have proposed a complete solution of the difficulties we have noticed. It is not indeed probable that the study of the text of Pliny alone will ever lead to a satisfactory elucidation of the author's meaning, or produce a restoration in harmony with the general laws of Greek architectural composition; for his description of this monument is marked by

[87] The reading 100 feet is found only in the minority of MSS., and has not been adopted in the best printed texts. It is found in two MSS. in the British Museum, both Italian, of the fifteenth century. Harleian MSS. 2676 and 2677.

[88] P. 126.

that haste and inaccuracy which pervades his whole work, and characterizes the compiler rather than the original observer.

We are therefore led to enquire, what illustration this question may receive from the evidence of analogous structures existing in Asia Minor, when combined with the new data afforded by the sculptured slabs from the fortress of Budrum. At Mylasa, in the immediate vicinity of Halicarnassus, is a monument consisting of a pyramid sustained in the air by twelve columns, the whole resting on a lofty basement.[59] (See the elevation and plan of this building, Pl. II. figg. B. F., on the same scale with the proposed restoration.)

The architectural details of this tomb shew a style subsequent to the date of the Mausoleum, and most probably of the Roman period.

At Xanthus, in the neighbouring province of Lycia, is a building, which, as it has been restored from existing remains, we find to have been composed of a lofty basement, or *podium*, a *narrow* cella surrounded by columns, and a roof terminating in aeti, and thus approaching more nearly to the temple form.[60] This was also a sepulchre, and from the style of the sculptural decorations, as well as from other reasons, probably of a period subsequent to the time of Artemisia.

When we compare these two monuments with the Mausoleum as described by Pliny, the resemblances of structure are such as to suggest the idea, that the renowned work we are treating of is the prototype of a particular kind of sepulchre, of which the two inferior buildings are varieties. Such an opinion is borne out by the general history of art, in which may be ever traced a proneness to reproduce in the architecture of neighbouring districts some received type of a metropolis,—a practice which we see most strikingly exemplified in the provincialisms of our own mediæval architecture.

The sculptures from the citadel may be thus described in reference to their architectural application. The reliefs are sunk in the solid block, on the bottom of which is reserved the superior moulding of the architrave or epistylium, and on the

[59] The measurements of this building are given in the *Ionian Antiquities*, published by the Dilettanti Society, II. Pl. 25–30, p. 25–6, &c. and by Choiseul Gouffier, I. Pl. 85; see also Pococke, II. Pt. 2. Pl. 56; Fellows' *Discoveries in Lycia*, p. 78.

[60] See Pl. II. figg. C. D., also on the same scale.

top the bed mould, or fillet and Greek bead of the cornice. See pl. II. fig. c. This is a structure of the frieze altogether new; it was designed to give support to the highly relieved and undercut figures, and also to protect the joint or bed of the epistylium itself.

The fragment No. 6. differs remarkably from the others in respect to its mouldings, for the fillet and bead which formed the bed mould of the cornice in the others is altogether omitted in this, while the superior moulding of the epistylium has a different form from that of the rest; yet it is remarkable that the entire height of this fragment coincides perfectly with that of the other pieces of the frieze, shewing beyond all question that it belonged to one of the sides of the building, and ranged with the rest of the sculpture.

The cause of these differences would form a curious subject of enquiry, and is probably connected with the fact, that this slab differs in design and treatment from all the rest.

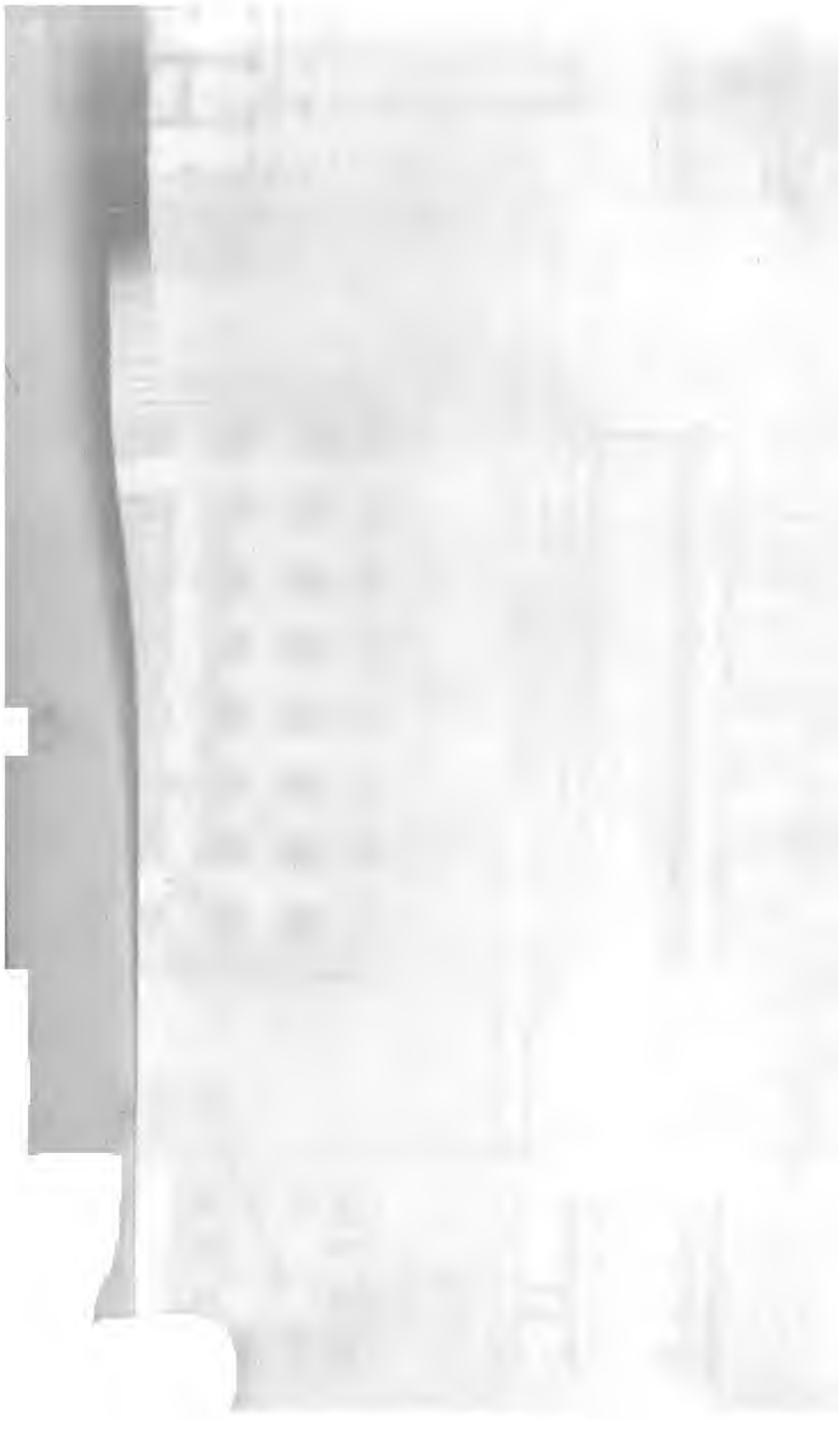
The dimensions of the slabs are as follows:—

Depth 3 feet.

| | | Feet. | Inches. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Length of the several slabs, | 3 | 0 |
| 2 | ... | 6 | 6 |
| 3 | ... | 5 | 3 |
| 4 | ... | 5 | 2 |
| 5 | ... | 5 | 11 |
| 6 | ... | 5 | 9 |
| 7 | ... | 5 | 4 |
| 8 | ... | 6 | 11 |
| 9 | ... | 2 | 8 |
| 10 | ... | 3 | 9 |
| 11 | ... | 6 | 0 |
| 12 | ... | 4 | 4 |
| 13 | ... | 4 | 4 |

Making a total of 64 feet 11 inches, which, however, cannot be considered as that of any one side of the building, as the sculpture is certainly the work of more than one hand, and the groups on the several slabs cannot be arranged so as to form a continuous subject. On the application of these friezes, and on the whole subject of the Mausoleum, I have been fa-

MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSUS.



A

voured with the following remarks, by my friend Mr. C. R. Cockerell, to whom I am greatly indebted in this memoir:—

My Dear Sir,

The best answer I can give to the questions you do me the pleasure to address me on the subject of the Mausoleum, will be in the artistic language of the enclosed sketch. I will not enter into a critical discussion on this passage, and on the numerous commentaries that have been written in explanation of it; my business, as an architect, is to adhere as nearly as possible to the received text as the programme of my restoration.

The enclosed drawing[61] exhibits an elevation and plan agreeing with the height, width, and entire circuit given by Pliny. Beside it, on the same scale, are, the tomb at Mylasa, and that at Xanthus, which, according to the analogy of all architectural history, must have resembled the Mausoleum, more or less, in its principal features.

One great advantage which we possess over all former commentators on this subject, is the recent acquisition to our museum of the marbles from the Fortress, of the identity of which with the celebrated sculptures described by Pliny, I can entertain no doubt. This frieze establishes a very essential fact, viz. the dimension of the order to which it belongs. The relative proportions of the Greek orders being fixed, we ascertain their entire size by a part, as we should that of a statue by a single member, *ex pede Herculem*. The frieze being 2 feet 5½ inches in depth, we obtain an order of 37½ feet;[62] and applying this order to the dimensions given of the whole by Pliny, 63 feet in the flanks, on the fronts *brevius*, we find first, a correspondence with one of Pliny's dimensions, 25 cubits, which is remarkable, and may possibly explain that part of his text; and, secondly, from the adjustment of the diameters and intercolumniations of such an order to the dimensions of the sides and fronts and the number of columns given, viz. 36, we have a structure of great

[61] Pl. II. figg. A. E.

[62] The diameter of the columns was probably about 3 feet 4 inches, a respectable dimension, and exceeding by one half that in the French restorations. I have given the frieze that larger proportion which the Ionic examples of Athens afford, rather than the Asiatic. It may well be presumed that a frieze destined to receive workmanship of so superior a quality, might have the utmost extension which the order admitted.

beauty and wonder. By such an arrangement the pyramid is supported in the air, literally as Martial has expressed it,[63] and reposes on a grove of columns, pervious to the eye, yet offering a full and sufficient means of sustaining the superincumbent weight by supports distributed at intervals of 6 feet, or thereabouts, over the whole surface of the plan, longitudinally and transversely. That so bold and unusual a mode of sustaining the superstructure may have existed, we have evidence in the tomb at Mylasa, which was still more astonishing in this respect, though smaller in dimensions, since the pyramid was sustained on a periphery of 12 columns, the interior space having no support whatever, and offering a void of 14 feet, while in the proposed restoration that void does not exceed 6 feet.[64] The conditions of taste appear to me to be sufficiently fulfilled by the arrangement I have proposed; we obtain a disposition most approved in Greek architecture, having 8 columns in either flank, and 6 in either front, and 6 in either flank in the second row,[65] making a total of 36.

The next point to notice is the narrow and elongated cella resulting from this plan, a remarkable authority for which has been discovered in the remains of a monument from Xanthus, lately acquired for our Museum by the labours of Sir C. Fellows, the restoration of which shews that a tomb was not disposed, as a temple, with a cella ample enough to receive the statue of a god, but simply as a receptacle of the remains of the body, perhaps of a statue, in honour of the deceased.[66] A consideration which has escaped most of the commentators, except Caylus, is the remarkable phrase of Pliny, *in metæ cacumen se contrahens*, most of them having adopted the depressed pyramid after the Egyptian proportion. Now we have the *meta* constantly expressed in bas relief and ancient

[63] In the line from the *De Spectaculis* already cited—

Aere nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea.

[64] It is by no means necessary to suppose the superstructure of the pyramid to have been a solid. The pillars may have been elongated as piers above the entablature, so as to carry a pyramid of ashlar construction similar to that of Mylasa.

[65] In the language of Greek architects, peripteral, dipteral, pycnostyle in the flanks, and systyle in the fronts.

[66] See the model in the Lycian room at the British Museum. That such an arrangement of the cella as it exhibits may be obtained from the fragments themselves, and the observations made by Mr. Rhode Hawkins, I was enabled to demonstrate to that gentleman, when, by his ingenious father's introduction, I had the honour, as a veteran in antiquities of this kind, to be consulted by him.

painting, and always in an elongated conical form, a form perfectly adapted to this kind of structure, which was to strike rather by its altitude than its spread; and which, indeed, reposing upon an elevated cubical base of perpendicular sides, would thus present a much more harmonious inclination than that of the Egyptian pyramid. The inequalities of the sides of this parallelogram are also remarkably adapted to the area which the quadriga at the top would occupy.

It would encroach too much on your memoir to explain the details, such as the podium, the order, and the Attic,[67] with which I have thought myself warranted, by direct authority or analogy with other monuments, to combine with the parts of this building already known to us; the requirement always being that we should produce, from all the evidence at our command, a probable restoration, at once beautiful and marvellous, and according with the universal voice of antiquity. You will see that I side with you in believing that this monument did not cover the whole space circumscribed in 411 feet, which is nearly 2-3ds of that occupied by the Parthenon itself; for though the work of affection of a powerful queen, and at the same time a product of personal ambition in the illustrious artists employed, it is not likely that it rivalled the great national and religious monuments of the Greeks in bulk and expense, still less in earnestness of purpose and loftiness of motive. Indeed, a comparison of the elevation of the Mausoleum, with those of the monuments at Mylasa, and at Xanthus, as they are represented in plate II, will shew that it is disproportionately extensive and magnificent, for the class to which it belongs. A professional estimate of the cost rather occasions my surprise at so sumptuous an effort in a country so politically insignificant, and I would here venture the suggestion that Caria, like the smaller kingdoms of Naples, Bavaria, Sardinia, and others, furnishing the revenues and sustaining the office of a king without the national responsibilities which encumber more extensive monarchies, may have indulged, as we have abundantly witnessed in modern examples, a greater magnificence of ornamental works than countries with greater territory and revenue, such as England, France, or Spain.

May it not also be supposed that Artemisia, while she indulged that disposition to Suttee-ism, which has always been ap-

[67] The choice of Ionic need hardly be adverted to, since its employment was almost universal in Asia Minor, or, we should say, in Ionia, the country of its invention.

plauded among the Asiatic nations, adopted at the same time a very wise policy in employing her hoarded wealth on a work which would occupy, during many years at least, that large body of artificers whom Mausolus must have assembled at Halicarnassus for the execution of his great works?

The hypothesis of a solid pyramid and cube surrounded by 36 columns, and those of a petty proportion, in a single row, is, as you remark, an inartificial and clumsy restoration of what we are told was a wonder of art; and such a structure would never have been made the subject of that dissertation by the renowned artists who reared it, Satyrus and Phiteus,[68] the loss of which we must ever regret. Moreover, the solid mass would probably long have existed as a tower of defence, like Hadrian's Mausoleum, or that of Augustus, and would have left some traces at the present day; for it would not have been built of squared stones, such as might have applied to the building of the subsequent fortress, but would have been of the order of masonry called "emplecton," or rubble, with layers only, and a facing of solid square stone, or possibly bricks; and much of the materials would consequently not be worth carrying away.[69] Pray make such use of this essay as you may please—meanwhile I am rejoiced to offer in your society my tribute of admiration to the perseverance and skill, and true liberality, which have been so successfully exercised in our favour by Sir Stratford Canning at the Sublime Porte. By the acquisition of these marbles, he has added an essential link to that chain of monumental evidence in our Museum, out of which may be developed the history of ancient art; while in these, the acknowledged works of some of the most renowned artists of antiquity, we behold one more example of that Greek genius, which will probably be followed with unequal steps by the present and future generations.

I remain,

&c., &c., &c.

Whatever may be thought of the probability of such a restoration as is proposed above, we must admit that the problem, so far as it has been defined by Pliny in his 36 columns, his

[68] De Mausoleo Satyrus et Phiteus, quibus vere felicitas maximum summumque contulit munus: quorum enim artes ævo perpetuo nobilissimas laudes et sempiterno florentes habere judicantur, eorum cogitatis egregias operas præsteterunt.—Lib. VII. Prefat. ed. Marin. Romæ, 1836, who supplies *eorum* in the text.

[69] We learn from Vitruvius, II. 8. that the palace of Mausolus was built of brick, the decorations being of marble,

height 140 feet, the dimension 37½ feet, and the circuitus 411 feet, is conceived by Mr. Cockerell in a plausible, novel, and ingenious manner. It is true, that while he makes the substructure equal to the pyramid, he employs the 37½ feet as the height of the order only, whereas the words of Pliny make it the height of the whole *sepulchrum*; but it is obvious that the discrepancy between the numbers in this part of the text must be dealt with by some modification of the literal meaning, such as only an architect of taste and experience can suggest. We must give up either the sum total 140 feet, or one of the subordinate dimensions; and the judgment of Mr. Cockerell, matured by a long study of Greek architecture, has decided on the latter alternative. The result is an edifice which, while it is in harmony with Greek order and proportion, exhibits a structure at once simple and wondrous, consisting of few parts, and those essential, not mere ornaments, as in the designs of his predecessors. The merit of art must always be in proportion to its conformity to nature, in which beauty and fitness are ever coincident, the one inseparable from and arising out of the other. Take away any one of the 36 columns which constitute the chief beauty of Mr. Cockerell's design, and his building falls to the ground, just as would a quadruped on the amputation of one of its members. Whereas the same columns, as they are applied in former restorations, are, as we have before remarked, mere appendages, removeable like an ornament of dress,—not the evidence, but the masque of structure.

While we regard this restoration as the most probable that has yet been proposed, it must at the same time be remembered that it is a speculation, however happy and ingenious, and that we can never hope to unriddle a passage so full of inconsistencies as that of Pliny, until we determine on wholly independent evidence the subordinate proportions of the Mausoleum. Such data can only be obtained by the comparison of architectural fragments; and there is reason to believe that these still exist at Budrum. We have already pointed out, that the fragments of the superb Ionic edifice, noticed by Mr. Donaldson, were found by him in a spot which, if not the actual site of the Mausoleum, could not be very far distant from it. In the citadel, the ends of many ancient columns are seen built into the faces of the walls in which they have been used as materials as well as the friezes, having been probably taken from the same quarry,

the ruins of the Mausoleum.[70] It is thus very possible, that in the walls of this fortress may lie buried many of the architectural members wanting for our restoration, as the Turkish bastion at Athens contained those materials out of which the beautiful temple of Victory has been re-built; and it is hoped that the researches now instituted at Budrum, under the auspices of Sir Stratford Canning, and also by the direction of the Admiralty, may lead to the discovery of remains no less important than those which have rewarded the recent excavations on the Athenian Acropolis.[71]

The subject of the reliefs on these slabs is, as I have before stated, an Amazonomachia. The limits of this memoir will not permit me to give a detailed description of the manner in which this composition has been treated; I will therefore content myself with a few remarks on the character of the art, and the motive which has influenced the choice of the subject.

The idea which these reliefs suggest, is that of works executed rather in the decline of Greek sculpture, than in its finest

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[70] I was informed of this fact by the Honourable Captain Devereux, one of the very few travellers who succeeded in penetrating into the interior of the citadel.

[71] Applying Mr. Cockerell's restoration to the narrative of Guichard, we might suppose that the portion of the Mausoleum excavated by Latourette was the basement; the columns, cella, and pyramid, having been previously thrown down and partially removed, and the remainder accumulated round the basement, as high as the stylobate, which would thus be the perron of Guichard. In this case, the sepulchral chambers broken into by the Knights would be in the basement itself, and the body of Mausolus must have been deposited there, and not in the cella. Some authority for such an arrangement may be found in the structure of the Mylasa monument, the basement of which contains a chamber; and there are grounds for supposing, that in the tomb at Xanthus, the receptacle for the dead was not in the cella, but in the less accessible basement below, protected all round by solid masonry. The sculptural decorations of this chamber described by Guichard, the "histoires taillies et toutes batailles à demy relief," would thus be the ornament of the interior of the Mausoleum, and seem identical in subject with the marbles found in the citadel; and, consequently, were we disposed to adhere literally to the particulars of the story of Latourette, we might question the most essential point in Mr. Cockerell's restoration, the application of these marbles as an external frieze. But, as we have before observed, while we admit the general truth of Guichard's narrative, the architectural details which he has transmitted by verbal description, cannot be safely used as evidence in an argument of this kind, even if the language of Pliny, and that of Vitruvius, VII. Prefat. did not make us feel sure, that the sculptures of the four celebrated artists adorned the four external sides, —an inference which is fully confirmed by the structural peculiarities of the slabs themselves, and the character of the relief.

period; made rather for subordinate architectural decoration, than as the *chefs-d'œuvre* of great artists.

The general composition is not deficient in that union of symmetry of arrangement with variety of grouping, for which Greek art is so distinguished; but the action has something of a theatrical character; the attitudes of the figures are strained; the forms meagre and unnaturally slender. Admitting that their original beauty has been much impaired by time, weather, and mutilation, it is not without a feeling of disappointment that we regard these marbles as examples of the art of Scopas or Praxiteles, or of those thought worthy to be their rivals, Bryaxis, Leochares, and Timotheus.

But on comparing them with another bas-relief of the same period, that of the Choragic monument of Lysicrates, executed, as appears from the author's name inscribed on it, B. C. 334,[72] we perceive considerable resemblance of style. In both, the extreme elongation of the forms, and the spareness, if not meagreness, of the muscular development, are characteristics which at once strike the eye. Something of the same lengthiness of type may be traced in the design of some of the silver coins of Tarentum, which, we have reason to believe, are of this period. These peculiarities may be further compared with Pliny's expression, when speaking of the changes in style introduced by Lysippus and Euphranor; of the former of whom he says, that he made the bodies of his statues *graciliora siccioraque*.[73] These artists flourished at the period of Artemisia, and we must therefore conclude that the new style introduced by them predominated in the designs for the Mausoleum. It is possible that all the reliefs preserved to us may be the work of the less renowned artists, Bryaxis and Leochares and Timotheus, and that, while they may have been disciples of the new school, Scopas or Praxiteles may have executed concurrently designs which we should consider of a far finer character, though in the judgment of Pliny's contemporaries, the four friezes were thought to be of equal merit.[74]

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[72] *Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, IX. p. 109; Pl. 22, 6.

[73] XXXIV. c. 8. § 19, "capita minora faciendo, quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque, per quæ proceritas signorum major videretur." Of Euphranor, he says, XXXV. c. 11, § 40, "fuit in universitate corporum exilior, capitibus articulisque grandior."

[74] "Hodieque certant manus," XXXVI. *loc. cit.*

The story told in these bas-reliefs is a combat of Amazons and Greek warriors; and it is a very natural matter for speculation, how far the subject here represented may have reference to some portion of the mythical history of Caria, or of the house of Mausolus. The combat of Amazons was one of the most favourite themes of the Greek artist. The subject had a peculiar charm for the Greek mind, as a figurative or typical mode of expressing the deliverance of the Hellenic people from the Persian yoke. The Amazons, a nation of female warriors, living in the north of Asia, about the river Thermodon, are said to have made several expeditions against the Greeks. On one occasion they invaded Attica, and were defeated by Theseus, who slew their queen, Hippolyta. It was thus with peculiar propriety that in the same building, the Stoa Poicile, the Athenians represented in one picture the battle of Theseus with the Amazons, the close of the siege of Troy, and the battle of Marathon; thus commemorating, in one great design, their mythical and historical victories.[75] We find this subject, so congenial to the Greek mind, repeated in a variety of forms. Pictures of combats of Amazons adorned the temple of Theseus;[76] and the same myth was represented on the shield of the statue of Minerva, and the base of the throne of Jupiter Olympius, the works of Phidias;[77] on the frieze of the temple of Apollo Epicurius, at Phygalia; and on a number of Greek fictile vases, which have been preserved to us.[78] Turning from Greece to Asia Minor, we find the battle with the Amazons represented on a variety of monuments, which probably commemorate the victories of the Greeks gained in Asia Minor, at the siege of Troy, and on the various invasions of the Amazons. They are peculiarly connected with Ionia. The city of Smyrna, in the first century of the Christian era, claimed them as its founders.[79] At Ephesus they are said to have dedicated the statue of Diana in her temple.[80] On the coins of these two cities, struck in imperial times, we find figures of Amazons, and their

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[75] Pausan. i. 15, 24. 41, 7. For the myth of the Amazons, see Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, i. pt. 1. c. 11; Stackelberg, *Der Apollon Tempel zu Bassæ*, pp. 54–65, for the representations of this myth in art; Müller, *Handbuch der Alten Kunst*, p. 663.

[76] Pausan. i. 17.

[77] Plin. *N.H.* xxxvi. c. 5, s. 4; Pausan. v. 11.

[78] *Anc. Marbles in Brit. Mus.* iv. p. 15.

[79] Tacit. *Annal.* iv. 56.

[80] Pausan. iv. 31, 6.

combats on the frieze of a temple at Magnesia, now in the Louvre.[81] We trace this myth south of Ionia in Lycia;[82] on the coins of several cities in Caria,—Plarasa, Nysa, Mylasa, Tripolis, we find the Amazonian battle-axe, or the figure of an Amazon, used as a type; and the myth of Jupiter Labrandæus, who is represented on the coins of Mausolus, and other kings of Caria, seems in some measure connected with that of the Amazons. He is represented with a bipennis, or battle-axe, [*Labra*, signifying, in the Lydian language, the handle,] which is said to have been taken by Hercules from the Amazon queen, Hippolyta, and given by him to Omphale. From her possession it passed into the hands of the Lydian kings, and, finally, was taken from the Lydians, in battle, by the Carians.[83] This worship of Jupiter Labrandæus, viewed in connection with the frequent recurrence of Amazonian symbols on the coins of Caria, indicates a certain familiarity with the whole myth in the mind of the nation, expressed, as all such familiar beliefs were among the Greeks, in the types of their coins; and if the myth was thus a national one, it would naturally be chosen as a fit subject for the Mausoleum of the great Carian monarch. I may further add, that the story of the Amazons may have had a real basis of truth. It is possible that this, the general tradition of Asia Minor, may have had its origin in the inroads of some Scythian people from the north; among whom, in singular contrast to the habits of the eastern nations, women like Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ, may have had the right of reigning. This custom of female sovereignty we find in the provinces of Cilicia, Lycia, and Caria; and we may suppose it a real remnant of Scythian occupation, as the myth of the Amazons may be a figurative record of the same event.

CHARLES NEWTON.

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[81] Clarac, *Musée de Soulpture*, Pl. 117, E.—J.

[82] Homer, *Il.* VI. l. 186.

[83] Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* III. p. 585; Plutarch, *Quæst. Græc.* XLV. This battle-axe Sir C. Fellows observed sculptured on the keystone of a gateway still standing, and on four other ancient keystones built into walls at Mylasa.—*Discoveries in Lycia*, p. 75.

## X.

## ESSAY ON THE PAPYRUS OF THE ANCIENTS.

By W. H. De Vriese.[1]

The literary history of the papyrus, as of all the other plants of the ancients, has been divided into three periods. To the first belongs the series of writers anterior to the time of Alexander, who, by mentioning the name of this plant, have contributed to its history; but the work of Theophrastus is the most important in this period, the most ancient, and at the same time the best Greek botany that has reached our days. He treats briefly and circumstantially of the plant in question, (*Hist.* B. IV.)

Dioscorides mentions it cursorily, and lauds especially its healing powers; and other writers have followed his example even to the pharmacologians of the seventeenth century.

Besides Dioscorides, many other ancient writers have given no unimportant information on its history; for example, Herodotus, (*Euterp.* ch. 96), Diodorus Siculus, (II. c. 17), Strabo, (Lib. XVII.), Lucan, (IV. 136), and Plutarch, (*de Isid. et Osir.*)

Pliny, however, is generally considered to have given the best account of it in the 13th Book of his *Natural History*, which portion of his work is known among the learned by the title of *Sedes Doctrinæ de Papyro*, which was bestowed on it by J. M. Gessner, in his admirable *Chrestomathia Pliniana*, (Jenæ, 1723, p. 519.)

It is also mentioned in the Sacred Writings, in the books of Job, (VIII. 11), Isaiah, (XVIII. 2), and Exodus, (II. 3).

The second period of literary botanical history, so far as concerns the plants of the ancients, begins with the revival of letters. This is perhaps, taking into consideration the few advantages which then existed, to be called the brightest period of science, even our own not excepted. He who is acquainted with what was effected in the sciences at that time, must, at all

[1] Translated from the Dutch, and communicated by Wm. Bell Macdonald, B.A. of Rammerscales.

events, readily allow it, especially if he be intimate with the works of Alpinus and Aldrovandi, the schools of Pisa and Florence, with Rembert Dodoens, (whose real name was Jankema Friso Van Staveren,) Charles de L'Ecluse, Matthias de L'Obel, Cæsalpinus, and the brothers Bauhin, so learnedly immortalized by Linnæus, correctly called the great botanists of that day. Whoever reflects on the almost unsurmountable difficulties against which they had at that time to strive, may conceive the zeal with which they laboured, and be astonished at the *Pinax* of the youngest of these brothers, that colossal work which comprehends a complete account of all that had been effected in the science up to that period, the progress of 2000 years. The writings of the ancients, particularly those of Dioscorides, were the text-books, and all the botanists of every country employed their endeavours and powers in their illustration; endeavours which, at that time, were the more useful to be acquainted with, when authors first ventured to regard the opinion of the ancients no longer as infallible, and to doubt their authority.

Thus originated, along with many others of the same kind, the learned work of Matthiolus, (*Commentarii in Libros Dioscoridis de Mat. Med.* vol. II. Fol.), a work which has been constructed in a manner quite inconceivable, and with incredible zeal; it has been reprinted thirty times, and is very important for the enquiry regarding the papyrus of the ancients.

Pliny's remarks on this plant have been especially explained, contradicted, and again defended, by the writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; by some his credibility has been doubted, by others—and particularly by the grammarians—it has been highly extolled; among the former is the famous Melchior Guilandinus, (properly Wieland,) who travelled in the Levant in 1559–60, and who, some years later, when professor at Padua, published as the result of his researches, a *Commentarius in tria capita Caii Plinii Majoris de Papyro*, which, according to the testimony of Mabillon, became rare in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Scaliger, in his *Opuscula Varia*, defends Pliny against Guilandinus, and he again is defended by Mabillon; Salmasius has also taken up the sword against him. But without noticing other commentators, we shall proceed first to speak of the names of this plant.

The papyrus, like almost all other products of nature, the

names of which alter by the increase of the knowledge of species, has received various appellations, and the word itself is applied to more than one object.

Before the time of Theophrastus, we find the term papyrus used especially by the poets for the plant itself, and all things made from it. It remained in use many centuries after the commencement of our reckoning, and after paper had ceased to be made of it, which has occasioned great confusion in many writers; Salmasius has already protested against the use of the word papyrus for "charta." It is nothing strange to give the same name to a substance and the productions made from it; but it certainly is so, to apply the name of papyrus to articles that have nothing at all to do with it, either in their origin or manufactory;—it seems erroneous to call our writing paper "papyrus" or "papier," which is made of rags, as if it came from the plant which served for its composition in Egypt.[2] Does not the retention of this word in many diplomatic transactions even to recent centuries, indicate that this sort of paper has been much longer in use than is generally supposed? So late as 1304, the term papyrus occurs in a decree of Philip le Bel, where the notary is enjoined to write upon good papyrus. Many authors of more recent date, attest its long-continued use for various purposes. (See Du Cange, *Glossarium*.)

The words "Charta papyracea," in use among Latin writers, naturally mean nothing but paper made from this plant.

There are many opinions as to the etymology of this word; some derive it from the Greek, others from the Coptic. Scholz is of opinion that it is a Coptic word, composed of *Bir*, to weave, and *pa*, the name of the plant; this certainly presumes very great antiquity, and a very ancient use of it. Scaliger, in his *Animadversiones in Theophrastum*, has derived it from the Greek; "Aegyptia papyrus (he says) nomen accepit ἀπὸ τοῦ πάειν τὸν πυρὸν, quod triticum in se contineat, id est, in re cibaria usum præstet, non secus ac triticum." Another conjecture of Scaliger is this:—"παρὰ πάειν τὸ πῦρ, quod foco ignique ac-

[2] The name papyrus was, in the first place, given to the plant itself, (Pliny, XIII. ch. 2.); next to the outside layer of the stalk, (ch. 12.); to the uppermost part of the stalk; also to the outward covering of the stalk which was used in making paper, called likewise "philura," and to the paper when ready for use; the root also had the same name, as well as cordage, sails of ships, wicks of lamps, and clothes made from it.

commodam habeat radicem, sed (he adds,) prius magis placet." This latter explanation is in some respects more probable, as the dried root was used in making a fire. Du Cange has also given this derivation, remarking that the stalk served for lamp-wicks. Bernard de Monfaucon, again, is of opinion that the word is derived from the Egyptian, which would in some measure prove that the plant is of Egyptian origin.

The word Papyrio, signifies with many writers, and especially with commentators on the Scriptures, the place where this plant grew; it is not, however, in common use. The name πάπυρος δέλτος, found in many authors of later date, naturally stands in connection with its place of growth. Prosper Alpinus calls it in Egyptian "*Berd*," and he has been followed by succeeding authors. I doubt if Alpinus be worthy of credit in this portion of his work; he is, with regard to this plant, very short, incomplete, and inaccurate, and copies the errors of Pliny.

The Hebrew name "*Gomè*," has been explained by the learned Olaus Celsius in his *Hierobotanicon*, a work called by Sprengel "omnis fere eruditionis inexhaustus fons," it means in the Hebrew, "paper-rush," or "paper-plant." Earlier commentators on the Old Testament, understood by this word every sort of rush or cane in general; but this interpretation was overthrown by Celsius, who, by a comparison of all the passages in which it is mentioned, has proved that the papyrus is meant and no other plant; so far as I am aware, he was the first who promulgated this opinion, and it has never since been contradicted.

The name of βίβλος, given by the Greeks to this plant, is perhaps not less ancient than that of πάπυρος, and certainly as often used, especially by the poets.

Theophrastus says, "Καὶ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τε ἱστία πλέκουσι," and all older and later writers used the words as synonymous with πάπυρος, to denote both the plant itself, and all the articles manufactured from it, as is sufficiently evident from the work of Salmasius. In process of time, it came to be applied to every sort of material used for writing upon, as the history of the progress of that art teaches us. Whether Theophrastus really meant by βίβλος[3] the interior of the stalk, (cortex interior

[3] In the structure of a *Rush*, *βίβλος* would be the pith, *πάπυρος* the i probability.—T.

vel liber,) in opposition to πάπυρος, the exterior, (cortex exterior vel cortex,) as has commonly been supposed, I hold to be uncertain, because the papyrus has no bark either external or internal, which distinction of bark and bark-fibres, or layers, was made even by the ancients themselves, (so far as applies to ligneous plants,) according to commentators; whether it applied to herbs, I have not observed. For these reasons I cannot confirm the explanation of the words ἐκ τῆς βίβλου κ. τ. λ. given by some grammarians. The Latins also gave this name to the plant, as may be seen from the poet Lucan, as well as others, B. III. l. 222.

> "Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
> Noverat: et saxis tantum volucresque feræque
> Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas."

The word does not seem to occur in the best prose writers; I have not found it in Cicero.

Figures of this plant have already been given by the oldest commentators on Pliny and his predecessors, but they have evidently just copied each other; for example, Alpinus, L'Obel, Morisson, Matthiolus, Scaliger, Chabræus, Micheli, Boccone, Scheuchzer, and many others; they are generally bad, with few exceptions,—indeed, so much so, that the authors do not seem to have the smallest knowledge of the plant.

According to Pliny, Egypt was the country where the papyrus grew, "Nascitur in palustribus Ægypti, aut quiescentibus Nili aquis, ubi evagatæ stagnant." This fact is quite indisputable, and can be confirmed by the best testimony; and I do not doubt but that an enquiry instituted in our days would shew that there was yet a great deal of truth in the statements of Pliny eighteen centuries ago; most probably it would decide that Egypt was the original country of this plant; but we shall seek the solution of this question from what its own history teaches us.

We shall view it then first in Egypt: it grew there in the stagnant pools formed by the Nile from its annual inundations, and also in marshes. From this account of Pliny, which is certainly very indefinite, we are perhaps right in conjecturing that the plant was there very common, (as the Nile ran through the whole of Egypt, emptying itself by seven mouths into the sea,) which opinion there are many other reasons for believing, as the epithets generally applied by the poets

to the Nile, "amnis papyrifer, Nili alba tabula, papyriferi septemflua flumina Nili," &c.

It thus grew in shallow places. In this Pliny follows his predecessor Theophrastus, (B. IV. ch. 9.) "Φύεται δὲ ὁ πάπυρος οὐκ ἐν βάθει τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐν δύο πήχεσιν, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐλάττονι."

"But the papyrus does not grow in the depth of the water, but in about two cubits, and sometimes even less."

Theophrastus must have meant quite a different plant, when he describes under the name of σάριον, a species of Cyperus, but of this we shall have another opportunity of speaking; I have many reasons for holding this σάριον to be a Cyperus, and probably his μνάσιον is also one—perhaps Cyperus esculentus, and the former C. rotundus. Pliny quotes from Varro, that the papyrus plant was first seen in Egypt after Alexandria was founded, the probability of which he himself is rather inclined to doubt; and mentions in another passage, that Varro is contradicted in this point by many other authors. Indeed, it is difficult to suppose that a people, who, before the time of Alexander, must have been so highly civilized, and had made such remarkable progress in the arts and sciences, could have been ignorant of one of the most useful plants which Egypt produces. I should doubt it; if we consult the history of much earlier centuries, we shall probably obtain more circumstantial knowledge on this point than the not always accurate Pliny can afford us.

I have already remarked, that the "Sedes doctrinæ de papyro," has been said to contain many inaccuracies on this very important point of ancient history. Can we explain this after eighteen centuries, and solve queries which at that time were perhaps difficult of accurate solution?

Two difficulties especially present themselves here; when was this plant first known in Egypt? and at what period was writing paper first made from it?

I believe this last point to be still incapable of solution, and perhaps the most difficult in the whole history of the papyrus. Owing to the incompleteness of resources, it is no easy matt[er] to decide at what epoch any important discovery has tak[en] place among an ancient people.[4] With regard to the fi[rst]

[4] Many hold the Greeks to have been the inventors of this pa[per]

question, we can come to a more accurate conclusion than Pliny, who, in this portion of his work, is found fault with by no one more than his commentator, Melchior Wieland, or Guilandinus. He proves from a number of authors before this time, that the papyrus must have been known many centuries earlier, as Æschylus, Anacreon, Alcæus, Herodotus, Homer, Plato, and others, have all mentioned this plant at an earlier period.

It is also remarkable that Pliny says, that Homer, through whom we learn that tablets or pocket-books were used even before the Trojan War, could not have known the paper plant, nay, even, that the whole of Egypt then could not have understood its use; and, although we give to the words of Pliny the meaning which Scaliger applies to them,[5] we might still find a proof against what that celebrated writer has communicated to us concerning the era of the discovery. Though Homer did not know Egypt as it existed in the time of Alexander, the whole of Egypt was not unknown to him, as we see from many passages in his poems. The Nile also runs in the older part of this country, in *Ægyptus superior*, or *Thebais* of the ancients, which was mentioned by Pliny as the habitat of this plant; besides, Homer has noticed the plant, or rather the productions made of it, (*Odyss.* XXI. 391.)

To define more closely what he at first had mentioned generally, Pliny proceeds to remark that this paper-rush only grew in the Sebennitic district, (so called from the city Sebennus,) which is in the Delta, which originated from inundation, and thus formed a part of Egypt. The word Sebenniticus in the text of Pliny has, without sufficient reason, been altered by Guilandinus to "Saiticus," but again restored by Scaliger, who thinks the only reading is, "cum in Sebennitico saltem ejus nomo non nisi charta (μετωνυμικῶς, pro papyro) nascatur,"—literally translated—"since at least in the district of Sebennys nothing but the paper plant grows." The remark of Pliny amounts to this: There was no Ægyptus Inferior in the time of Homer, much

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year B. C. 971, came into Egypt, under the government of Psammetichus, and there made the discovery.

[5] Scaligeri, *Op.* p. 20, he reads, "Pugillarium enim usum fuisse etiam ante Trojana tempora invenimus apud Homerum: illo vero prodente, (*id est, secundum Scaligerum*, illo Homero hoc de pugillaribus scripto mandante,) ne terra quidem ipsa, quæ nunc Ægyptus, intelligitur." The tablets of Homer were very likely made of wax, and written on with a style.—T.

less still was the plant there which grew there afterwards. There is more than one reason to believe that Homer knew of the Delta. If we hold it recorded in the *Odyssey*, that Menelaus, after the fall of Troy, was driven by a storm, on his passage back with his queen to his own kingdom, on the Egyptian coast near Canopus, where one of the seven mouths of the Nile was, then the Delta, where this city stood, could not have been unknown to him. If the papyrus was principally found on ground originating from inundation, then there is still greater probability that Homer was acquainted with it, because we in that case derive the origin of the papyrus from Ægyptus Superior, or even perhaps from more southern parts of Africa.

Besides the works of the classical age, we find also in the Old Testament a higher antiquity for the papyrus than Pliny would ascribe to it. In the 18th Chapter of Isaiah, ver. 2, already quoted above, not only according to Celsius, but also according to Hitzig, the latest commentator on that prophet, mention has been made of vessels of the paper plant. This prophet is said to have appeared in the year that King Uzziah died, about 759 B. C. He mentions also the seven mouths of the Nile, Chap. XII. v. 15, and thus knew the Delta.

In the writings of Moses, we have perhaps no less strong proof of the antiquity of this plant belonging to a period long before Isaiah. The Pentateuch, in which this plant is mentioned, carries us back to a much earlier epoch. In a basket or boat of paper-rushes, as the historical relation purports, this famous child was saved from threatened peril, who was to be the greatest lawgiver of the people of Israel. Brought up in Egypt, acquainted with Egypt, knowing their arts and institutions, Moses could not have been ignorant of the use of this plant; might he not even have written his Pentateuch upon the Egyptian papyrus?[6] In confirmation of this, it may also be adduced that Horapollo has mentioned that this plant was there used as the symbol of antiquity. We are aware that the Athenians represented the antiquity of their race by the symbol of a cicada; nor is this sort of symbolical representation strange in history. Who does not recollect the fable of Tithonus, the immortal gray-haired consort of Aurora?

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[6] Winckelmann supposes that the Books of Jeremiah were also written on the papyrus.

I refrain from any more ample investigation of this subject in the history of this plant; but intend meanwhile to prove, against the remarks of Pliny, from what has been said, That—

1*st*, This plant, although a native of Egypt, has not yet been observed in that part of the country which has been known under the name of Ægyptus Inferior.

2*d*, That Homer has known and mentioned this plant, as well as many others beside him, before the time of Alexander, and that therefore the use of it belongs to a much earlier period.

If we trace the multifarious uses of the papyrus in Egypt, we may thus prove that it must have been found in very great abundance: Dioscorides says of it, γνώριμός ἐστι πᾶσιν πάπυρος, "the papyrus is universally known."

It was previously quoted from Theophrastus and Pliny, that the paper plant grew on spots where the water was not deeper than two cubits, which agrees with the remarks of later observers. It chooses a moist marshy soil; in our climate it grows very luxuriantly in pools or cisterns, in moderately warm summer weather. The root, (properly a stalk,) which elongates itself in a slanting or horizontal direction, and developes new parts, is as thick as the wrist, which is literally what Theophrastus states, B. I. πάχος μὲν οὖν τῆς ῥίζης καρποῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐρώστου. The stalks, as mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny, are triangular, which agrees exactly with our knowledge of this plant. A bundle of papyrus stalks in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, where I had an opportunity of examining it, by the kindness of Professor Reuvens, confirms still more the statements of the ancients, in addition to other abundant proofs.

Pliny mentions that the papyrus never grows higher than ten cubits, in which he has incorrectly translated Theophrastus, μῆκος δὲ (τῆς ῥίζης ὑπὲρ δέκα πήχεις.) If, as he says, the root becomes longer than ten cubits, (as may be readily believed, this being a peculiarity of the root of many rush-like plants,) and that the triangular stalks attain a height of four feet, then Pliny reverses this, and says that the stalks never reach a greater length than ten cubits, a length which, so far as I am aware, no one has yet seen in them. Guilandinus, who travelled in Egypt, never saw them longer than seven cubits. Alpinus speaks of a height of six or seven cubits above the water. If we suppose two cubits under the water, then we are not very

far from what Pliny has incorrectly translated from Theophrastus. Veslingius, the commentator of Alpinus, confirms this observation.

Pliny mentions that this stalk encloses the summit like an oval cluster, "Thyrsi modo cacumen includens;" but almost all commentators attack him on this point; and his meaning is not very plain. He is accused of having erroneously translated from Theophrastus; and, as far as we can gather from our knowledge of this plant at the present day, has asserted what was not intended. Theophrastus says, κόμην ἔχοντας ἀχρείαν ἀσθενῆ, "having a useless weak down;" and Pliny takes this as a characteristic of the yet undeveloped leaf, or the summit; and if we take his words in this sense, we see no reason for assuming the emendations of Scaliger in this passage, or approving of the invectives of Guilandinus. In my opinion, the expression of Pliny could not be improved. When we look at the smaller stalks of the plant, we see on their summit the oval clusters or thyrsi, formed by the tufts of hair-like or fibrous leaves, still enclosed, and lying against each other, while they include the undeveloped flowers. This (κόμη,) *down* or *sheath*, was certainly not wholly useless, (ἀχρεία) or at least unused, as we learn from Pliny and other sources, and the inspection of Egyptian mummies, but being esteemed as very beautiful, was used to ornament the statues of the gods, and the heads of the deceased; the fragrant lotus, however, has been more generally found in mummies than the umbellæ papyri. One specimen is to be found in the Museum at Turin; it is also to be seen at Leiden, Paris, and Berlin.

The third period of the literary botanical history of the ancients extends to our own time. Never, perhaps, did so many means exist of correctly investigating the plants mentioned by the ancient authors as at present. The great circuit of botanical science has brought this portion of knowledge to a degree of accuracy which could not previously have been calculated upon; the increasing knowledge of the geographical distribution of plants has advanced to such a wonderful degree, and the writings of the ancients have become so much better than ever interpreted and understood. If natural history and literature would but join hand in hand, one of the fairest periods of the history of science, which has long been enveloped in the deep

darkness, would come to light in all its dignity and simplicity. We should no longer see partiality and ignorance displayed by the one as well as the other, in commenting on and illustrating the works of antiquity. Whoever thinks differently may enjoy his own opinion; he knows not, perhaps, what a Sprengel has already discovered, nor what has resulted from the enquiries of a Dureau de la Malle into the ancient Egyptian Cerealia. Lyngbye, Bonastre, Trattinnick, Sternberg, Feè, Tenore, and Desfontaines, have shown us how to set to work with most chance of success in researches of this nature. May their labours serve as an example to many others!

The papyrus has been more written about in our time, than minutely investigated; no one at least appears to have given his attention to this plant especially; a strange phenomenon surely, when Egypt in our time, more than any other country, we might almost say, has been exhausted by researches of every kind, and all sorts of learned enquirers; all, however, are silent about the papyrus, as if such a plant had never existed, or very cursory notice is taken of it, as of a thing of no particular importance; or sometimes it is mentioned in a way which would almost cause a doubt of its ever having existed. Some notice of it might have been expected from the French savans who examined Egypt during the campaign of Napoleon; but in their great work on that country, the name of this plant is only slightly touched upon; and nothing at all of its history. Since then, archæologists have too much busied themselves to make out the written state of the papyrus, considering the enquiry into the matter itself, as it appears, of less consequence.

Is the papyrus still in Egypt? To this question we may answer, that those who should make mention of it pass it in silence. Has the assault of time here on this spot destroyed this remarkable product of nature; and is it no longer produced in this whileom so fruitful, so civilized Egypt?

According to Salt and Drovetti, it must still exist in the Delta. Minutoli found it on the marshy banks of the Phatnic Uylarus, and other canals in connection with it, flowering in August and September; agreeing perfectly with the description given of it by Linnæus, Willdenow, and the Count Henkel von Donnersmark. Minutoli says, "The papyrus plant, or the so-called cyperus grass, is found very rarely in Egypt, and peculiarly

in small quantities in the district of Damiata. Zannotina[7] saw the papyrus in Egypt, as is mentioned by Bartata. Bruce has seen it in Upper Egypt and Abyssinia, in marshes formed by the overflowing of the Nile, where there was no reflux and the water remained. Reynier mentions that the naturalists of the French expedition only found it on the banks of the lake Menzaleh. Ehrenberg does not appear to have discovered it. Minutoli asserts, though incorrectly, that Delile also did not find the papyrus, on the ground, perhaps, that he has not described it circumstantially in his "*Illustratio Floræ Ægyptiacæ*;" that author mentions Damiata as its habitat.

I am in possession of a dried specimen, although without the flowers, which I received from a Paris Herbarium, titled thus, "Cyperus papyrus, ex herb. Ægypt. d. Delile," which I hold to be the papyrus antiquorum; and this opinion is confirmed from some other specimens of French botanists. Forskäl, in his *Flora Ægyptiaco-Arabica*, passes it over in silence; but perhaps he never reached the spot where the papyrus grows; it was Lower Egypt which he principally examined. Bové, who of late years has had, perhaps, the most ample opportunity of examining this country, found many cyperaceæ; but has not hitherto, among his Egyptian plants, taken the slightest notice of the papyrus antiquorum.

Rüppell has not detected it on the banks of the Nile; and although Bruce found it there, he rather supposes that it is now a very rare plant in Egypt, although it must be regarded as a native of that country, and that Abyssinia equally deserves that distinction.

If we trace the cause of the decrease of this plant in Egypt, we need not be surprised at its disappearance.[8] Pliny has already, in some measure, made us understand this, and Strabo (XVII.)

[7] Xavier Landolina, who, in the year 1780, discovered anew the art of making paper from this plant, according to the mode mentioned by Pliny; and in 1802 obtained a patent from the king of Naples for the discovery. Patterns of this paper are still preserved in the library at Göttingen.

[8] In the 19th of Isaiah, v. 6. and 7. on the confusion of Egypt, we read in our version that "the reeds and flags shall wither; the paper reeds, by the brooks, shall be no more." Now it should be noticed that none of the words here used for these plants, in the original, is *gomè*, which was mentioned above to be the Hebrew name for the papyrus, on the authority of Olaus Celsius. The words employed are *Kanch*, *Suph*, and *gnaroth*, the last literally means "bare places," the two former imply plants of the rush or flag species.—T.

relates that the Egyptian government, the better to preserve the trade in papyrus, caused to root out all the plants to a certain point in the Delta. The export of this article was so great that it formed the principal part of Egyptian commerce, and was one of its greatest sources of revenue. Flavius Vopiscus mentions that the rich merchant Firmus could maintain a whole army on his returns from this trade. It is probable also that the Egyptians made this plant an object of culture, otherwise in a few years it would have disappeared from the whole land.

If, in addition to the reasons already given for the disappearance of the papyrus in Egypt, we consider the alterations which the course of rivers and the condition of a country must undergo in the lapse of centuries, the changes which must occur in the distribution of plants, (particularly the aqueous), we may thus more correctly account for the remarkable variation of the present from former times.

The paper plant of the ancients, however, is not so rare as some have said; for when Guilandinus was in Egypt, about two centuries since, the pith was then used as food; in two hundred years a plant so easily cultivated along a considerable river would not readily die out, especially by a lessened use of it.

The family of the cyperaceæ have this property in common with the gramineæ, that the plants belonging to them are found in all climates, and nearly in all parts of the known world; of the peculiar genus papyrus belonging to that family, there are species in all parts of the globe. The p. antiquorum, we are aware, is found in Egypt, (Theophr., Plin., Diosc., Herod., Strabo, Alp., Guil., Bauh., Clus., Micheli, Lippi., Vahl., Willd., Delile, Bruce, Oken.) It is not to be met with in the interior of Italy, or else it must have been seen during the many researches into that country, particularly by Tenore. It is found, however, in Syria, (Plin., Bauh., Vahl.) Ethiopia, Abyssinia, (Oken, Bruce,) on the Euphrates, at its junction with the Tigris, and on the Jordan, (Willd.,) also in the Isle of France, (Commerson,) in Madagascar, (Du Petit Thouars, Poivre, Caylus, Willemet, Bory de St. Vincent, Vahl,) and in Sicily, (Bauh., Guil., Vahl. Presl., Gassone, de St. Non.) I have specimens only from the banks of the Nile, Sicily, and the Isle of France, and thus nothing satisfactory for comparison. De St. Non has given a full account of the Sicilian papyrus, with good figures.

[illegible] obtained the name and were the same which sprung up in the garden of Eunus. It must never exceed in height which Pliny mentions as [illegible] was not observed by an eye-witness; and must have in some part a diameter as thick as a man's thigh. Hasselquist asserts that it is the same as papyrus growing wild in the marshes of Lower Egypt, that observers, as we have mentioned above, mistake the [illegible] did not see it in Greece.

It is now to be met with in several old botanical gardens and appears to have been brought from Egypt to Italy and thence to other parts of Europe. When this plant became an object of historico-botanical enquiry, it was become rather known. I find it mentioned among the plants in the garden of Pisa in 1677, as brought from Egypt, and in the garden of Florence in 1729, brought from Sicily, and previous to 1748 it is mentioned as being in flower at London.

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NOTE.—In the zoological portion of these Essays from the *London Journal*, under the head "Ἔλαφος," the meaning of the author was accidentally misinterpreted: instead of asserting, that "in the time of Homer and Hesiod there was no distinction between the [illegible] and ὄφις," it is stated that "there sometimes was a distinction between them," which of course renders the translator's note on the passage unnecessary.

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## XI.

## ON THE [illegible] OF ROME.

### PART I.

### THE ENVIRONS OF THE FORUM.

BEFORE we proceed to investigate the [illegible] which once round the Roman Forum, and the ancient appellations by which they were distinguished, it will be well to cast a glance upon the natural configuration of the ground without which is impossible to comprehend clearly the true meaning of these denominations. The peculiar characters of

Rome has been already adverted to. Though of inconsiderable height, they present none of the swelling forms and gentle declivities so commonly found in hills of moderate elevation; even now, after the degradation of ages, and the endless accumulation of rubbish on their flanks and in the hollows between them, they exhibit in many places precipitous escarpments towards the intervening vallies; and that this was in earlier times their universal character, will be sufficiently apparent to any one who compares their present state with the more deserted parts of the surrounding campagna. The summit of each hill forms a level space—a kind of table land of more or less extent—which, in the case of four out of the seven hills, is completely detached from the other parts of the city, while the three others, the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline, are connected with one broader and more extensive plateau to the east, and thus form, as it were, three projecting tongues of land, rather than three distinct islands.

The low grounds or vallies which separated these heights were naturally more or less marshy, and those in particular which opened towards the Tiber were subject to frequent inundations of the river, and were probably seldom free from accumulations of stagnant water. The lower part of the Forum itself, that nearest to the Capitol, was, according to a tradition universally received, originally a mere marsh, of which it was pretended that the Lacus Curtius was one of the last remnants.[1] Such was still more the case with the valley extending from thence, between the Capitol and the Palatine, down to the river, while the arm of low ground which separated the latter hill from the Aventine was in a similar condition. The broader level formed by the junction of the two, appears to have been the space originally designated as the VELABRUM, a name of which the meaning was generally supposed to have reference to its early condition.[2] But it would seem that this appellation

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[1] "Hoc, ubi nunc fora sunt, udæ tenuere paludes:
Amne redundatis fossa madebat aquis.
Curtius ille lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras
Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit.
Qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas,
Nil præter salices cassaque canna fuit.—Ovid. *Fast.* VI. 395.

[2] Varro, *de L. L.* V. §§ 43, 44; Plut. *Rom.* 5; See also Tibull. II. 5. 33; Propert. IV. 9. 5.

was at first extended also to a considerable distance up the low valley between the Aventine and Palatine.

It was with a view of draining these marshes, and carrying off the stagnant waters of the vallies, far more than as a receptacle for the impurities of the city, that we must suppose the gigantic Cloacæ of Tarquin to have been originally designed: the Velabrum and adjoining low grounds were at the same time protected from ordinary inundations by the embankment or facing of massive stone-work, the remains of which are still visible along the bank of the Tiber, on each side of the Cloaca Maxima, and have every appearance of being contemporary with it.

After the marshes had been thus converted into dry ground, and the valley between the Palatine and Aventine was occupied by the Circus Maximus, the name of Velabrum seems to have been gradually restricted to the street or *place* immediately adjoining the Forum Boarium, through which the processions passed on their way from the Roman Forum to the Circus Maximus. In this sense it survived until the middle ages, and is still perpetuated in the ancient church near the so-called Janus Quadrifrons, which bears the title of S. Giorgio *in Velabro*. Besides this, we find mention of a *Velabrum minus*,[3] which appears to have been a part of the marsh or swamp, extending, as already mentioned, along the foot of the Capitoline hill towards the lower end of the Forum. But the passage of Varro which forms our only authority on this point, is by no means conclusive as to its situation.

Closely adjoining to the Velabrum was the Forum Boarium. The contiguity of the two may be fairly inferred from the passage of Livy already cited on a previous occasion,[4] where, in describing the course of the procession from the Forum to the Aventine, he says:—"*Inde* (a Foro) *vico Tusco Velabroque per Boarium forum* in clivum Publicium," &c., and this is confirmed by a small triumphal arch still standing close to the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, which bears an inscription recording its erection in honour of the emperor Severus and his two sons, by

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[3] Varro, *de L. L.* v. § 156. Lautolæ a lavando . . . . Ab his palus fuit *in minore Velabro*, a quo quod ibi vehebantur lintribus Velabrum; ut illud majus de quo supra dictum est.—The Lautolæ were closely connected with the Argiletum, the position of which will be hereafter considered. See p. 240.

[4] Vol. III. p. 860.

the "Argentarii et Negotiantes Boarii hujus loci."[5] But the extent of this forum, and its exact relations with the Velabrum, it is impossible to determine. The passage in Ovid,[6] which describes it as closely connected with the Circus on the one hand and the bridges on the other, only serves to confirm what we might naturally have inferred from our general knowledge of its situation. On the other side, the Velabrum was connected with the Roman Forum by the Vicus Tuscus, one of the most ancient streets of Rome, and which continued down to a late period to be the great line of communication from the Forum to the Circus Maximus, as well as to the Forum Boarium, and from thence to the Aventine and the Emporium near the Tiber. It was inhabited for the most part by low shopkeepers, and other persons of a degraded class: but on occasion of the Circensian games, it became the scene of one of the most magnificent processions celebrated at Rome, the Pompa Circensis, which passed from the Forum to the Circus through the Vicus Tuscus and the Velabrum.[7]

On the opposite side of the Forum we find one main valley opening out between the point of the Quirinal hill and that part of the Esquiline, which is crowned by the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli; but a little higher up, this branches off into three separate arms, the principal of which forms the separation between the Quirinal and the Viminal, while the second extends between the latter hill and the Esquiline, and the third—less considerable than the other two—runs up in a direction nearly due east, towards the arch of Gallienus, so as to cut off from the principal mass of the Esquiline the more northerly portion of that hill. Though less strongly marked than the other two, this valley must always have formed one of the principal lines of communication in the ancient city, as it does at the present day; and the name of the church of Sta Lucia *in Selci*, or *in Silice*, serves to confirm the fact that an ancient street occupied, in the same manner as the modern Via di Sta Lucia, the line of this hollow way.

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[5] The inscription is correctly given by Nibby, *Roma Antica*, tom. i. p. 487, as well as by Gruter, p. 265, no. 2. and Orelli, No. 913.

[6] "Pontibus et magno juncta est celeberrima Circo
Area, quæ posito de bove nomen habet."—*Fasti*, vi. 477.

[7] See the passages on this subject collected by Becker, p. 491, note.

It is in the quarter just described that we must look for one of the most celebrated localities of Rome—the Cheapside of the ancient city—the busy, bustling, noisy, crowded SUBURRA, a name which appears to have become almost proverbial as the centre and focus of the throng and turmoil of the capital of the world. Few of the names unconnected with still existing remains are so clearly determined as this; the confusion in which the later Italian topographers[8] had found themselves involved, arose solely from the deference paid by them to the authority of the spurious catalogues of Victor and Rufus, both of which had, for some reason or other, removed the name of the Suburra from the fourth region in which it is found in the Notitia, the one placing it in the second, the other in the third. What may have given rise to these erroneous transpositions, it is certainly not worth while to enquire: in the Notitia, the only safe guide, we find the Suburra placed immediately after the Forum Transitorium,[9] and are thus naturally led to look for it at the back of the range of the Imperial Fora; indeed, it was in all probability the necessity of having a free communication from this busy and populous quarter to the Roman Forum, that compelled Domitian to leave a public thoroughfare through the one of which he commenced the construction. The position thus assigned to the Suburra in the hollow formed by the junction of the three vallies above described, coincides admirably well with a passage in Juvenal, which represents the cloaca under the Suburra as directly accessible from the Tiber;[10] and if we follow up this line, we find at the foot of the Via di Sta Lucia, (leading up the narrow valley already described,) a small open space or *piazza*, which still bears the name of Suburra. Another indication of its existence in the same neighbourhood, is

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[8] The earlier writers in this, as in so many other instances, had taken a more correct view of the subject. Marliano describes the Suburra with considerable exactness,—"Suburra, quæ inter Exquilias et Viminalem jacet, principium habuit a Foro Romano, sive a Foro Nervæ Imp., finem vero ad Clivum Suburranum.—Lib. IV. c. 20.

[9] The name which follows it in order—the Balneum Daphnidis—is unfortunately wholly unknown to us.

[10] "Aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse
Vernula riparum pinguis torrente cloaca,
Et solitus mediæ cryptam penetrare Suburræ."—*Sat.* v. v. 106.

The remains of the great cloaca, which led from the low grounds in this direction towards the Tiber, were brought to light by excavations in the year 1743, (Ficoroni, *Vestigia di Roma*

found in the appellation of the ancient church of Sta Agatha, which stands on the brow of the Quirinal fronting the Viminal, and which bears in ancient documents the title of Sta Agatha *in Suburra*, or *super Suburram*. It would be difficult, indeed, to reconcile these data with one another, were it necessary to suppose the Suburra, as has been frequently done by Italian topographers, to have been merely a single street; but in fact, all our authorities are opposed to such an assumption. It is clear that in early times it formed a quarter of the city, which is said to have been originally a distinct village—the Pagus Succusanus[11]—and the inhabitants of which continued for a long time to form, in some degree, a separate body, and participate as such in various traditional rites and customs.[12] Of the four tribes of Servius, one was named after the Suburra, and all the appellations of these local tribes seem to have been derived from the chief quarters or districts which they contained. Whether in imperial times the name ever came to be restricted, as was the case with many others, to one principal street, we have no sufficient evidence; but it is certain, that as early as the sixth century, it had reassumed a more extensive signification: and we thus find Gregory the Great speaking[13] of the church of Sta Agatha already mentioned, as situated "*in regione Urbis illa, quæ Subura dicitur.*" This, at all events, explains the apparent discrepancy of the name having lingered down to modern times, as connected with two separate, though not distant spots. It must be added, that we meet in early Christian times with indications of a Suburra Major,[14] probably the principal street or thoroughfare through the quarter. Martial also alludes more than once to a *Clivus Suburanus*,[15] the relation of which

[11] See Varro, *de L. L.* v. 48; Festus, v. Suburam, p. 309, ed. Müller. The connection of the name of the Suburra with that of the Pagus Succusanus, strange as it at first appears, seems to be clearly established by the circumstance, that the abridged form used in inscriptions for the Tribus Suburana always continued to be TRIB. SVC. See Festus, *l. c.*; Quintilian. *de Inst. Or.* i. 7, § 29; and the inscriptions collected by Mommsen, *Die Römische Tribus*, p. 79–88.

[12] Not only in the festival of the Septimontium, but in the curious custom of the annual contest between the Suburani and Sacravienses, for the head of the horse sacrificed to Mars in the Campus Martius, (Festus, v. *October Equus*, p. 178.)

[13] S. Gregor. Dial. III. c. 30, cited by Nardini, *Roma Antica*, tom. I. p. 189.

[14] Orelli, Inscr. no. 8; Becker, *Handbuch*, p. 258.

[15] "Alta *Suburani* vincenda est semita *cliri*,
Et nunquam sicco sordida saxa gradu."—v. 22. 5.

to the proper Suburra, whether it was a continuation of the main street of the latter where it rose from the valley to the table-land of the Esquiline, or a steep lateral ascent to one of the hills that surrounded the hollow, it is hardly possible to determine.

Of the three vallies that branch off, as above described, from the broader opening at their junction, it is remarkable that we find no ancient appellation which can be assigned with even a show of probability, to that which separates the Quirinal from the Viminal; but the one between the latter hill and the Esquiline was occupied by the Vicus Patricius, where, according to the tradition preserved to us by Festus, the patricians were compelled by Servius Tullius to reside, in order that they might be commanded by the higher grounds above, in case of any attempt at insurrection.[16] Worthless as this tradition may probably be in a historical point of view, it is conclusive as to the fact that the street in question was situated in a valley: and we are fortunately enabled to identify its position with certainty, by the fact mentioned by Anastasius,[17] that the ancient church of Sta Pudenziana, which still exists, was built *in vico Patricii*. Hence it is clear that this ancient street, which we thus find preserving its name down to the middle ages,[18] occupied the line of the modern Via Urbana and Via di Sta Pudenziana.

The determination of the Vicus Patricius derives additional importance from its enabling us to fix with certainty the ancient appellations of the two portions of the Esquiline—the Cispius and Oppius. Both these names occur in the list of the original seven hills of Rome, the memory of which was pre-

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And again in x. 19,—

"—— brevis est labor peractæ
Altum vincere tramitem Suburæ.
Illic Orphea protinus videbis," &c.

It certainly seems probable that the Orpheus here mentioned is the same with the Lacus Orphei, which occurs in the Notitia in the fourth region, and that the strange epithet is *Orfeo*, which is sometimes applied in the middle ages to the church of Sta Lucia in Selci, was derived from its proximity to this spot. According to M. Preller, (*Die Regionen d. St. Rom.*) the same church was sometimes called Sta Lucia *in capite Suburæ*.

[16] Paulus v. *Patricius vicus*, p. 221. The inference drawn by M. Urlichs from this passage, that Servius himself must have fixed his residence immediately above the valley, does not seem to me to be warranted by the words of the epitomizer. Those of Festus himself are unfortunately lost.

[17] *Vita Pii*, I.

[18] Even as late as the eighth century, the Anonymous of Einsiedlen, mentions the churches of Sta Pudenziana a Eufemia (now destroyed) as situ *vico Patricii*.

served in the festival of the Septimontium;[19] as well as in the ancient catalogue of the Argean chapels, cited by Varro: but they appear to have subsequently become obsolete, and are mentioned only in connexion with ancient sacred rites or historical traditions. The most important passage concerning them is one of Varro, preserved to us by Festus, (v. *Septimontio,*) "Oppius autem appellatus est, ut ait Varro, rerum humanarum L. VIII. ab Opitre Oppio Tusculano, qui cum præsidio Tusculanorum missus ad Romam tuendam, dum Tullus Hostilius Veios oppugnaret, consederat in Carinis et ibi castra habuerat. Similiter Cispium a Lævo Cispio Anagnino, qui ejusdem rei causa *eam partem Esquiliarum, quæ jacet ad vicum Patricium versus,* in qua regione est ædes Mefitis, tuitus est." The last sentence proves clearly that the Cispius was the northern and smaller portion of the Esquiline hill, which is separated from the more extensive plateau on the south by the narrow valley above described, extending from the Suburra to Sta Lucia in Selci. It is this broader plateau which was distinguished in the earliest times as Mons Oppius; while the westernmost point, or tongue of the same hill, extending between the valley of the Suburra on the one hand, and the low ground in which the Colosseum stands on the other, bore the name of the CARINÆ. The exact relation between the two denominations it is difficult to determine, though the passage of Varro above cited would seem to imply that he looked upon the Carinæ as a part of the Oppius. But while the latter name, as already mentioned, fell gradually into disuse, the Carinæ, on the contrary—originally it would seem a small fortified village on the height above the Suburra[20]

[19] Concerning this ancient festival,—curious as commemorating a state of things wholly distinct from any recorded in the received histories of Rome,—see Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.* vol. I. p. 406, and Becker, *Handbuch,* p. 122. I am disposed to concur with the latter author, in referring the origin of this ceremony to a period antecedent altogether to the foundation of the city properly so called, rather than to a particular stage of its progress.

[20] Varro, *de L. L.* v. 48. Eidem regioni attributa Subura, quod *sub muro terreo Carinarum.* M. Becker regards this "murus terreus" as an *agger,* and remarks justly, that such a mode of fortification along the brow of a steep hill would be without a precedent among the ancient cities of Italy; but I am hardly disposed to agree with him, that therefore the defence in question must have been situated in the low grounds, and the Carinæ, in consequence, extended, so as to comprise part of these, as well as the hill. The succeeding words of Varro, "quod *subest ei loco qui Terreus murus vocatur,*" seem to me to imply clearly that the latter was on a hill; and that it was not an ordinary

—came to be in the later ages of the republic, one of the most aristocratic and fashionable quarters of the city, and vied with the Palatine itself as a favourite place of residence for the wealthiest and most distinguished Romans.

The position of the Carinæ on the hill in question—now marked by the well-known church of S. Pietro in Vincoli—may be considered as clearly established as almost any point in Roman topography. It is fixed not only by the close connection with the Oppius, implied in the passage already quoted from Varro—by the indications of its situation immediately *above* the Suburra, and by the circumstance that it was comprised togegether with the latter and the Cælian hill in the Suburran tribe, or region of Servius ;[21] but the name of *le Carra* continued to be applied to this quarter throughout the middle ages, and even as late as the sixteenth century. Its position *on a height* is equally attested by Dionysius, who speaks of a street leading *down* from it to the Vicus Cyprius ;[22] and the later Italian topographers who have placed it in the low grounds, seem to have been misled partly by a misconception of a passage in Varro, certainly very obscure and corrupt, and partly by the statement of Servius, that the name was derived from the general aspect of the buildings, presenting the appearance of a keel.[23] Such resemblances are generally so purely fanciful that no dependence can be placed upon them, even if there were not reason to suppose that in this, as in many other cases, the resemblance was simply invented to account for the name. There are, however, better reasons for supposing that the appellation was sometimes extended so as to comprise a part at least of the low grounds towards the Forum and Suburra, in addition to the hill most properly designated as the Carinæ.

Of the edifices situated in this quarter of the city, none is more frequently mentioned than the temple of Tellus, which,

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*agger*, may probably be inferred from its having obtained a peculiar distinctive appellation.

[21] This much at least results clearly from the passage in Varro, (*de L. L.* v. 46–48,) corrupt and mutilated as it unfortunately is, in which he enumerates in succession the component parts of the Regio Suburana, the Cælius, Ceroliensis, Carinæ, and Subura.

[22] Dionys. *Ant. Rom.* III. 22, where he is speaking of the Tigillum Sororium: —*Ἔστι δ' ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ τῷ φέροντι ἀπὸ Καρίνης κάτω τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Κύπριον ἐχομένοις στενωπόν.*

[23] Carinæ sunt ædificia facta in carinarum modum quæ sunt circa templum Telluris.—Serv. *ad Æneid.* VIII. 361.

with the adjacent house of Pompey, is generally spoken of as *in the Carinæ*;[24] but Dionysius mentions the consecrated area, on a part of which the temple itself was built, as being *on the way leading to the Carinæ*:[25] a phrase which would naturally lead us to the inference that it stood on the slope of the hill. In opposition to this, it is alleged that two small churches in the low grounds under the hill, between S. Maria de' Monti and the Tor de' Conti, S. Salvatore and S. Pantaleone, the latter of which still exists, bore in the middle ages the epithet *in Tellure*; and in addition to this, two passages are brought forward from writers of the middle ages, which are supposed to prove that the temple of Tellus was in the immediate neighbourhood of that of Pallas, in the Forum of Nerva.[26] All that these passages, however, do distinctly prove, is, that the local appellation, *in Tellure*, was applied to this neighbourhood; and, as we find it comprising, also, the two churches just mentioned, it is evident that it must have been used in a somewhat extensive signification, and cannot therefore be depended on for any precise determination of the site of the temple. At the same time there is little doubt that we may receive it as evidence of the temple in question having stood on this side of the Carinæ; but whether on the slope of the hill, towards Sta Maria de' Monti, or at the foot of it, in the direction of the Tor de' Conti, it is impossible to pronounce with certainty. That the name of the Carinæ extended, at some time or other, a considerable way in the latter direction, may, however, be inferred from the name of the small church of Sta Maria *in Carinis*, which stands in the Via del Colosseo, on the way towards the Tor de' Conti; but this may, perhaps, be derived only from the usage of a late period.

The greater part, if not the whole, of the quarter known by

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[24] See the passage from Suetonius, *de Ill. Gram.* 15, cited by M. Becker: "docuit *in Carinis* ad Telluris ædem, in qua regione Pompeiorum domus fuerat." Those relating to the house of Pompey, which became in succession the abode of M. Antony and of Tiberius, are collected by M. Becker, p. 524, note 1028.

[25] κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Καρίνας φέρουσαν ὁδὸν— Dionys. VIII. 79. The sacred area was considered as marking the site of the house of Sp. Cassius, which had been demolished by order of the Senate. The temple itself was not built till after the year U. C. 484.

[26] They will be found in Nardini, *Roma Antica*, and Becker, *Handbuch*, p. 528, note 1107.

the name of the Carinæ, was included in the fourth region of Augustus, as it had been in the Regio Suburana of the more ancient division. Of the names enumerated in the Notitia which probably belong to this district, some are otherwise wholly unknown, and few possess any historical interest; but among them there is one which is inseparably associated with one of the earliest and most beautiful legends of the ancient city—the Tigillum Sororium. This was nothing more than a beam of wood stretching across a narrow street, or alley, that led down from the Carinæ towards the Vicus Cyprius; immediately adjoining to it stood two altars, one on each side of the way, dedicated respectively to Juno Sororia and Janus Curiatius: and as both these names appeared to have reference to the celebrated combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, the cross beam itself was considered to be no other than the figurative yoke under which the victorious Horatius was made to pass, as an expiation to his sister's manes. Both Livy and Dionysius clearly imply that these monuments were still visible in their day;[27] and there is therefore nothing improbable in their having continued to exist till the fourth century.

It is impossible to fix with any degree of certainty the exact position of the little narrow street, (στενωπός), hallowed by this interesting memorial. It led, according to the statement already quoted, from the Carinæ to the Vicus Cyprius; but the position of the latter is by no means clearly ascertained. The only passages which afford us any clue to this point, at the same time that they impart a historical interest to the question, are those which relate to the death of Servius Tullius, and the impious deed of his daughter, which gave to a part of the street in question the epithet of "the accursed." According to the narrative of Livy, which is singularly precise and accurate in its language, the old king, when driven from the senate-house by Tarquin, retired towards his own house, but was overtaken by his murderers, and slain before he reached it. Now we are expressly told that Servius had established his residence on the Esquiline hill, at the top of the Clivus Urbius, which had been constructed by himself, in order to facilitate the ascent to this new quarter of

[27] Liv. i. 26. Id hodie quoque publice semper refectum manet. Sororium tigillum vocant. Dionys. iii. 22. Festus v. Sororium Tigillum. Aurelius Victor also speaks of it as something still existing: quod *nunc quoque* viæ superpositum Sororium appellatur. (*De Viris Illustr.* 4. § 9.)

the city.[28] Tullia, when commanded by her husband to quit the Forum, followed the track of the old man; and it was when she had reached the top of the Vicus Cyprius, and *was just turning to the right*, into the Clivus Urbius,[29] in order to ascend the Esquiline hill, that the charioteer stopped on beholding the dead body of the king. This narrative would appear to lead so clearly to the inference that the Vicus Cyprius ran along the valley, from the Suburra towards the Esquiline gate, in the line of the modern Via di Sta Lucia, and that the palace of Servius stood on the hill to the south of it, perhaps somewhere in the neighbourhood of St. Martino, that it is rather surprising to find this conclusion rejected by both the most recent enquirers. But M. Urlichs, who has assigned to the Vicus Cyprius the very position above mentioned, has been led to infer from a passage of Festus already cited, that the palace of Servius was situated immediately above the Vicus Patricius, and consequently on the northern portion of the Esquiline: in which case it is clear that Tullia must have turned *to the left*, instead of to the right; and therefore the whole force of Livy's exact description is at once destroyed. On the other hand, M. Becker, while he expressly calls the passage of Livy the most important authority on the question, has adopted a view wholly at variance with that narrative; and transfers the Vicus Cyprius to the other side of the Carinæ, nearly in the direction of the modern Via del Colosseo.[30]

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[28] (Habitavit) Servius Tullius Esquiliis supra clivum Urbium. Solin. i. § 25; Festus v. Orbius Clivus.

[29] A quo facessere jussa ex tanto tumultu, quum se domum reciperet, *perveniretque ad summum Cyprium vicum* ubi Dianium nuper fuit, *flectenti carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum, ut in collem Esquiliarum eveheretur*, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is qui jumenta agebat, jacentemque dominæ Servium trucidatum ostendit.—Liv. i. 48. A question has been raised—somewhat unnecessarily as it appears to me—how Tullia should follow the same road as her father, when she also was going *home*? that it is not likely she and Tarquin lived in the same palace with Servius, and so forth. I confess that it does not strike me as likely that Livy had paid attention to these minutiæ, when he used the natural phrase, "*domum* facessere jussa," but it is remarkable that Ovid says expressly:

"Filia carpento *patrios initura penates*."
*Fast.* vi. 597.

and Festus seems to have stated the same thing in two passages, so far as we can judge from their mutilated remains, (v. Orbius clivus and Sceleratus vicus.) All these statements point to the conclusion that the *locality* assigned to the legend was distinctly known, and the narrators wished to explain why Tullia turned up the particular street which led to the palace of Servius on the hill above.

[30] This is expressly stated by him in his answer to M. Urlichs, p. 78; but I

To this expedient he is led by his desire to reconcile the statement of Dionysius, concerning the Tigillum Sororium, with the place where the latter is found in the Notitia, between the temple of Tellus and the Colossus. Now, if we are entitled to assume that these three names are found in strictly topographical order, it becomes certainly very difficult to bring this order into accordance with the narrative of Livy; but the latter appears to me one of those passages which bears on the face of it so definite and distinct a character, as to prove that it was written with a clear conception of the localities concerned, and was expressly adapted to them. On the other hand, the topographical sequence of the names in the Notitia—even if it were more clearly established as a general fact than I can bring myself to think it[31]—is considerably perplexed in this case by our ignorance of the exact site either of the temple of Tellus or of the Apollo Sandaliarius, the name of which precedes it in the catalogue.

The chief objection which presents itself to my mind against the view naturally suggested by Livy is, that if we place the Vicus Cyprius in the valley of Sta Lucia, we cannot well separate it from the Suburra, especially if the latter name be extended, as there is some reason to suppose it was, as far as the church of Sta Lucia itself.[32] How far this may be explained by the more or less extensive application of the latter term, it is difficult to pronounce, especially as we know not how long the Vicus Cyprius retained its ancient appellation. Both Livy and Dionysius clearly speak of it as a name still in use; but I am not aware that it is mentioned at any subsequent period.

On the southern side the hill of the Carinæ was separated from the Cælian by a deep valley or basin; of the low situation of which Nero availed himself to construct extensive fish ponds, as part of the appurtenances of his enormous palace, which comprised at once the whole of the Palatine and great part of the Esquiline. Their site was subsequently occupied by the most stupendous of all monuments of imperial greatness—the

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must confess myself unable to form a clear idea of the course he means to assign it, or the mode in which he represents to himself the relations of the localities in question.

[31] I hope to take a future opportunity of offering some remarks on this subject.

[32] See above, note 15.

Colosseum.[33] In earlier times we have no account of any buildings of note in this part of the city; but the valley itself is one so strongly marked, that it seems impossible to suppose it had not some distinctive appellation; and we may therefore readily admit that it is the district designated by the term CEROLIENSIS; though the passage in Varro,[34] which constitutes our sole authority for the name, is in its present state so vague and confused, that it is hazardous to build any conclusions upon it. The name appears to have fallen into disuse before the time of Varro, and to have been known to him only from the sacred books of the Argei. The same was also the case with the TABERNOLA, which would seem to have been situated between the Oppian and Cælian mounts,[35] and has therefore been generally placed in the valley which extends from the Colosseum towards S. Giovanni Laterano.

The basin of the Ceroliensis is separated from that of the Forum, by a narrow but rather steep ridge of hill, extending across from the Palatine towards the Carinæ, though considerably inferior in height to them both. It is this secondary ridge—which must at one time have been much more conspicuous than it is now, and which was in the later ages of Rome occupied almost wholly by the temple of Venus and Rome, and the Basilica of Constantine, with the extensive platforms that support them—which the latest enquirers into Roman topography have concurred in regarding as the VELIA, a name of considerable historical importance, but concerning which our topographical data are extremely scanty. This subject will, however, be more conveniently considered in immediate connection with the Palatine.

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[33] "Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.
Martial, *de Spect.* II. v. 6.

[34] *De L. L.* v. § 47. Huic [Cælio monti sc.] junctæ Carinæ et inter eas quem locum Ceroliensem appellatum apparet, quod primæ regionis quartum sacrarium scriptum sic est: "Ceroliensis quarticeps circa Minervium qua e Cælio monte iter in Tabernola est." Ceroliensis a Carinarum junctu dictus Carinæ, postea Cerolia, quod hinc oritur caput Sacræ Viæ ab Streniæ sacello, &c. It is important to observe that the words "huic junctæ" at the commencement of the passage, are supplied conjecturally by Müller; but the whole context seems to show that the Ceroliensis lay between the Carinæ and the Cælian hill.

[35] This may be inferred from a comparison of the passage cited from the Argean books by Varro, in the preceding note, with another in the description of the Esquiline region: "Oppius mons terticeps cis lucum Esquilinum, dexterior via in Tabernola est."

After the Capitol and the Roman Forum, there is certainly no locality in the ancient city that claims so much of our interest from historical associations, as the Palatine hill—at once the birth-place of the infant city, and the abode of her rulers during the days of her greatest splendour,—where the reed-thatched cottage of Romulus was still preserved in the midst of the gorgeous structures of Caligula and Nero. To the visitor of Rome also, the Palatine derives an additional interest, from the extensive and picturesque ruins which occupy almost the whole of the hill, and are naturally among the first to attract his attention. But tempting as is the prospect which these remains at first hold out that we shall be able by their means to effect the restoration of the imperial palace, and picture it to ourselves as it existed in the days of its splendour, it must be confessed that the labours of antiquarians and architects in this department have as yet led to little satisfactory result; and the historical inquirer must be content to leave the farther prosecution of the problem to the student of ancient architecture. One point at least seems certain, that all attempts to go back from any existing remains to a period antecedent to the great fire under Nero, must be utterly futile. We know that the Palatine was one of the quarters which suffered most severely from that great conflagration; and if the edifices which then adorned it were not utterly destroyed—as the expressions of Tacitus would certainly lead us to believe—they were at least so much damaged as to afford free scope for the emperor's frantic passion for building; and we have no reason to suppose that, in the construction of his new palace, any regard was paid to the arrangements previously existing. We find, indeed, that the names of Domus Augustiana and Tiberiana continued to be applied even in much later times to particular portions of the palace;[36] but this by no means proves that they retained their original character or condition; and it is only in the in-

[36] They both occur in the Notitia, and the Domus Tiberiana is mentioned by several other authors, long subsequent to the reign of Nero. See Preller, *Die Regionen Roms*, p. 183. It appears to have been situated on the western side of the hill, towards the Velabrum, whence it is used as equivalent to the "postica pars Palatii,"—Comp. Tac. *Hist.* I. 27; Suet. *Otho.* 6; Plut. *Galb.* 24. The palace of Augustus, on the contrary, with the celebrated temple of Apollo, and the library connected with it, seem to have stood on the eastern part of the hill, fronting the Forum and the Sacred Way.

terpolated catalogue ascribed to P. Victor, that we find the houses of Cicero and Catulus mentioned as if they were still standing on the imperial hill.[37] The palace of Nero itself underwent many subsequent alterations. Domitian, Severus, Elagabalus, and his cousin Alexander, are all recorded as having made important additions to its splendour; but it is difficult to assign any part of the building in particular to its proper founder, except the Septizonium of Septimius Severus, which formed the south-eastern angle of the palace towards the Porta Capena, where great part of it was still standing till near the end of the sixteenth century.[38]

Far more interest for the general scholar attaches itself to some names and questions connected with the early topography of the Palatine. Among these, a prominent place is claimed by the Germalus, or Cermalus, a spot of peculiar interest in connection with the earliest legends of Rome. For it was here that, according to the tradition universally received, the twin children Romulus and Remus were deposited by the retiring waters of the Tiber:[39] it was here that stood originally[40] the sacred fig-tree that marked the precise spot where they were discovered, as well as the Lupercal, the grotto sacred to Pan, under which they were nursed by the she-wolf. This last circumstance affords us a satisfactory clue to the position of the Germalus itself, for the site of the Lupercal is clearly indicated by Dionysius, in whose time it was still preserved as an object of religious veneration, though greatly altered from its primitive aspect. It was a cave in the rock which formed the precipitous side of the Palatine hill, *on the way leading to the Cir-*

[37] There is hardly any instance in which the interpolation of this catalogue, and the origin of the various names with which it is stuffed out, can be more clearly detected than in this tenth region; and it would be an exercise not without interest, to strip the jackdaw of its borrowed plumes, and show whence they were severally derived.

[38] The massive ranges of brick arches supporting a lofty terrace, which now form one of the most imposing and picturesque portions of the ruins, towards the same angle of the hill, may probably be assigned to the same period.

[39] Germalum a germanis Romulo et Remo, quod ad ficum Ruminalem ibi inventi quo aqua hiberna Tiberis eos detulerat in alveolo expositos. Varro, *de L. L.* v. § 54. See also Plut., *Rom.* 3; Festus, *v.* Cermalus. It seems probable that *Cermalus* was the original form of the word, and Germalus was adopted only for the sake of the etymology.

[40] Concerning its alleged miraculous transplantation to the Forum, see vol. IV. p. 14.

*cus*.[41] There can be no doubt that by these words he means the way *from the Forum;* and we are thus led to place the Germalus on the western or north-western declivity of the Palatine, just where, in accordance with the legend, the waters of the Tiber, which inundated the Velabrum, would naturally be checked at the foot of the hill, and might thus be supposed to have deposited their precious burthen. Whether the precise site of the Lupercal is to be sought before or after passing the angle formed by the Palatine hill near Sta Anastasia, it is difficult to say. Servius indeed places it *in Circo*;[42] but it is clear from the passage already cited from Dionysius, that this expression is inaccurate.

Except in connection with the above legend, the name of the Germalus occurs only in the ancient sacred books of the Argean priests, and among the seven "montes" of the Septimontium. The latter circumstance might appear at first inconsistent with the supposition that it was merely a local appellation of a part of the Palatine hill; but it is clear that the seven hills, of which the memory was preserved in that ancient tradition, were not like the "septem domini montes" of the imperial city, marked out by distinct and obvious natural boundaries: one of them indeed, the Suburra, was not a hill at all;[43] and the Fagutal must have been as little distinct from the Oppian, as the Germalus from the Palatine. On the other hand, we learn that in the Argean books both the Germalus and Velia were associated with the Palatine in a manner that would seem to indicate a close connexion between the two.[44] We may thus conclude, on the whole, with sufficient certainty, that the Germalus was the part of the Palatine hill adjoining the Velabrum, though the precise extent in which the term was applied, it is

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[41] Dionys. I. 79, τὸ δὲ ἄντρον . . . . διήνυται κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἰσοπέδομον φέρουσαν ὁδόν. For the description of the Lupercal, as it existed in his time, see I. 32.

[42] *Ad Æn.* VIII. 90. Ficus Ruminalis, ad quam ejecti sunt Remus et Romulus, quæ fuit *ubi nunc est Lupercal, in Circo.*

[43] On this account Niebuhr, (*Röm. Gesch.* I. p. 407, note 933), proposes to strike it out as an interpolation: and it is certain that we have one name too many, for the list in Festus (p. 348, ed. Müller) contains *eight* names instead of *seven*; but Müller and Becker have given satisfactory reasons to prove that it is the Cœlius which is interpolated. Huschke, on the other hand, (*Die Verfassung des Servius*, p. 99, note 51), would reject the Fagutal.

[44] Quartæ regionis Palatium. . . . . Huic Germalum et Velias conjunxerunt. Varro, *de L. L.* v. § 54.

now impossible to determine, as was very probably already the case in the days of Varro.

In the fragment of the Argean books quoted by the latter author, we find mention of an "Ædes Romuli," in connexion with the Germalus,[45] which would afford a strong additional argument for the position of the latter, were there any ground for the view adopted by some modern Italian antiquaries, who have bestowed upon the ancient round church of S. Teodoro, the name of "Templum Romuli."[46] But not only is there no foundation whatever for this identification, but it is at least very doubtful whether the church in question represents any temple at all.[47] On the other hand, it is probable that the Ædes Romuli was closely connected with the Casa Romuli, a mere wooden hut thatched with reeds, which was still preserved as a memorial of the simple habitation of the shepherd king,—and this we learn from Plutarch and Dionysius[48] to have been situated on the side of the hill towards the Circus. It appears that the brow of the hill on this side was adorned in imperial times by an artificial facing or substruction of a costly character, from which it derived the name of Καλὴ ἀκτή,—an appellation which has usually been rendered into Latin by the words "Pulchrum Littus," and has thus given rise to much confusion.[49] A flight of steps led down from thence towards the Circus, while the Clivus Victoriæ (already alluded to in treating of the gates of the Romulean city) descended from the western angle of the hill towards the Velabrum,[50] and formed the ordinary commu-

[45] Germalense quinticeps apud ædem Romuli,—Varro, *l. c.*

[46] Nibby, note to Nardini, *Roma Antica*, tom. II. p. 162; *Foro Romano*, p. 86. M. Urlichs has adopted the same view,—*Beschr. Roms.* p. 28.

[47] According to M. Platner, the existing walls of the church are certainly not of ancient construction; and though it is very possible that it may occupy the site of some ancient temple, there is no proof whatever of the fact. In the earlier part of the middle ages, the name of Templum Romuli seems to have been applied to the round temple which forms a part of the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano.

[48] Plut. *Rom.* 20; Dionys. I. 79. Probably the "Tugurium Faustuli," mentioned by Solinus, c. I. § 18, was only another name for the same relic.

[49] See Preller, *Die Regionen Roms.* p. 181. The same view had been already put forward by Nibby, *Roma Antica*, tom. I. p. 43.

[50] This is clearly shown by Becker, *Handbuch*, p. 114, 115; *De Romæ vet. muris atque portis*, p. 47. Ambrosch, on the contrary, (*Studien u. Andeutungen*,) by connecting the Clivus Victoriæ with the Ædes Victoriæ mentioned by Asconius, (*ad Cic. in Pis.*, p. 22), which is clearly the same as the Ædes Vicæ Potæ of Livy, has thrown the whole topography of the Palatine into confusion.

nication from the Palatine with the low grounds near the Tiber.

The name of the Velia occurs in precisely the same relations with the Palatine as that of the Germalus, both in the fragments of the Argean books, and the list of names which participated in the ancient festival of the Septimontium. Hence it may readily be supposed to have been in like manner a mere local designation of a part of the Palatine hill. Coupling this inference with the terms in which it is spoken of in reference to the house of Valerius Poplicola—as a lofty and commanding situation, overhanging the Forum[51]—the later Italian antiquaries have, with one accord, assigned the name to the northern or north-western brow of the Palatine, which certainly is the part of the hill that most immediately commands the Forum; and the same view has been lately revived and supported at great length by M. Ambrosch.[52] MM. Bunsen and Becker, on the other hand, have followed the views put forward by Niebuhr, who considers the Velia as the ridge already described, which stretches from the Palatine towards the Carinæ, and separates the valley of the Forum from that of the Ceroliensis. It must be admitted that the descriptions in Livy and Dionysius, of the situation of the house of Poplicola, with all allowance for rhetorical exaggeration, appear more consistent with the views of the Italian topographers than with that of Niebuhr; and had we no other guide to the position of the Velia, we should never have been led to look for it in the comparatively trifling height alluded to. But while none of the passages which speak of the house of Poplicola as "in Velia," or "in summa Velia," afford any more definite notion

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[51] Ædificabat in summa Velia, ubi *alto atque munito loco* arcem inexpugnabilem fieri,—Liv. II. 7. Οἰκίαν ἐν ἐπιφόρῳ τόπῳ κατεσκεύασε, λίφου ὑπερκειμένου τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑψηλὸν ἐπικαιρῶς καὶ περίστομον, ὃν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Ἑλίαν, ἐκλιξάμενος,—Dionys. v. 19. So also Plutarch, *Popl.* 10, ἔστι τραχυπάτιρον ὑπὸ (†) τὴν καλουμένην Οὐελίαν οἰκίαν ἐπικρεμαμένην τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ καθορῶσαν ἐξ ὕψους ἅπαντα. Cicero's expressions, (*de Repub.* II. 31), "posteaquam, quod *in excelsiore loco Veliæ* cœpisset ædificare, *eo ipso quo rex Tullus habitaverat*, suspicionem movisset," are much more moderate; and indicate, also, another cause of objection to the site chosen, which had perhaps as much effect as its commanding situation.

[52] *Studien u. Andeutungen*, p. 119–136. The additional arguments he has brought forward have been fully examined, and in my opinion satisfactorily refuted by M. Becker, *De Romæ muris*, p. 41–48; *Handbuch*, p. 246–252.

of its situation, we obtain more accurate information concerning another monument, which is placed with equal unanimity in the district in question.[53] This is the Ædes Penatium, a little gloomy temple, probably a mere chapel in appearance,[54] but which derived a peculiar sanctity from its containing the household gods of Rome. Dionysius, who describes it accurately from personal inspection, says that it stood *not far from the Forum, upon the short way which led to the Carinæ*;[55] and adds,—"the place is called, in the language of the country, Ὑπελαιας." So the name stands in our editions and MSS.; but that it is necessarily corrupt, has been observed by all the editors; and whether we are to read with Casaubon, Οὐελίαι, or, as suggested by some later writers, Ὑπελίαις or Ὑπελίᾳ, (*Sub Veliis*,) there can be no doubt that Dionysius is speaking of the celebrated temple of the Penates *on the Velia;* and we thus learn that this was situated on the direct way from the Forum to the Carinæ. The suggestion of M. Bunsen, that the round temple, which is now incorporated into the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano is no other than the temple of the Penates, thus becomes plausible enough; but whether we are to place it here, or somewhat higher up the ascent, it still results from the passage in question, that the Velian hill can be no other than the low ridge extending from the Palatine towards the Carinæ.

The spot where this ridge joins on to the Palatine hill, and where the highest point of the ascent is marked by the triumphal arch of Titus, is one of the most interesting in the ancient city; for it is here that we may place, with the utmost confidence, the *Summa Sacra Via*, and the steep clivus which led down from thence to the Forum, of which the ancient pavement is still partly visible, is no other than the SACRED WAY itself.[56] The situation and course of this memorable street,

[53] See the passages concerning it collected by M. Becker, *Handbuch*, p. 247, note 388.

[54] It was rebuilt by Augustus, (*Mon Ancyr.*, p. 33, ed. Zumpt), probably after it was thus described by Dionysius; but whether it was then much altered in appearance we know not.

[55] τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ πρόσω κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ καρινὰς φέρουσαν ἐπίτομον ὁδὸν,—Dionys. I. 68.

[56] It is scarcely necessary to allude to the controversy which has been carried on with very unnecessary acrimony between MM. Becker and Urlichs, as to whether Sacra Via, or Via Sacra, is the proper collocation. But it seems to result clearly from the passages adduced, together with the inscriptions cited by M. Preller, (*Die Regionen*, p. 129), that *Sacra Via* was the *exclusive* usage during the republican times, and continued to be, at least, the most common mode of expression during the early ages of

after being the subject of endless discussions, and necessarily involved in confusion by the erroneous views entertained by Nardini and his followers concerning the position of the Forum, may at length be considered as established on satisfactory grounds, and all its leading outlines clearly determined.[57]

The most important authorities on this subject are two passages, the one of Varro, the other of Festus, (but very probably originally derived from the same source,) which mutually illustrate one another. Varro, after speaking of the district called Ceroliensis, adds: "*Hinc oritur caput Sacræ Viæ ab Streniæ sacello, quæ pertinet in Arcem*, qua sacra quotquot mensibus feruntur in Arcem, et per quam Augures ex Arce profecti solent inaugurare. *Hujus Sacræ Viæ pars hæc sola vulgo nota, quæ est a foro eunti primore clivo.*[58] Festus also tells us: "Itaque *ne eatenus quidem, ut vulgus opinatur, sacra appellanda est a regia ad domum Regis sacrificuli*, sed etiam a Regis domo ad sacellum Streniæ et rursus a regia usque in arcem." It is evident that both passages contain the same general meaning, and we may thence infer that the part of the Sacred Way which led from the Regia to the house of the Rex sacrificulus, was a clivus, or steep ascent, beginning immediately from the Forum, at the south-western angle of which stood the Regia, forming a kind of vestibule to the temple of Vesta, and thus abutting immediately upon the street in question.[59] It was this ascent which is sometimes designated (though only by poets) as the *Sacer Clivus*. That this was identical with, or regarded as forming a part of, the Sacra Via, may be clearly inferred from two passages of Horace, in which he is treating of subjects precisely similar, in both instances alluding to anticipated triumphs. In the one he says—

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the Empire; while *Via Sacra* came gradually into use, and in the later imperial times was generally employed, as it continued to be during the middle ages.

[57] M. Bunsen, notwithstanding his clear views on the subject of the Roman Forum, was prevented from arriving at any satisfactory results in regard to the Via Sacra, by his singular misconception of the Clivus Sacer, (see below, note 60.) To M. Ambrosch belongs the merit of having first cleared up this subject; and his views, which are followed in all the most essential points by M. Becker, form the basis of what I have here given.

[58] *De L. L.* v. § 47. The words "primore clivo," are considered by M. Bunsen and M. Ambrosch, (though it is not very easy to see why), to be corrupt. It appears that most MSS. have *primoro*, others *proximoro*: but whether we read *primore, primo*, or *proximo*, the sense is much the same.

[59] See the article on the Roman Forum, vol. IV. p. 13.

Concines majore poëta plectro
Cæsarem, quandoque trahet feroces
*Per sacrum clivum* merita decorus
Fronde Sicambros.—*Carm.* IV. 2. 33.

In the other—

Intactus aut Britannus ut *descenderet*
*Sacra catenatus via.—Epod.* VII. 7.

The latter expression clearly applies to the descent of the triumphal procession by the Clivus from the Summa Sacra Via to the Forum, which must have formed one of the most striking parts of that solemnity;[60] and we thus learn that the part of the Sacred Way distinguished as the Sacer Clivus, was comprised in the route taken by the triumphal processions on their way to the Capitol. There can therefore be no doubt that it was the line of street passing under the arch of Titus, which was undoubtedly erected, as well as those of Constantine and Severus, upon the line of this triumphal road. The exact position of the Domus Regis Sacrificuli cannot indeed be determined; but it is evident from the passage in Festus, that it was at some considerable distance from the Regia, and therefore probably near the top of the ascent. M. Ambrosch[61] has suggested the great probability, that the ancient dwelling-place of

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[60] The only other passage in which the Sacer Clivus occurs, is one of Martial, (I. 70,) in which he is pointing out to his book the way to the Palatine: and from which it clearly appears that it was necessary to ascend the Clivus so called, in order to reach the palace from the temple of Vesta and the Forum,—

Quæris iter? dicam. Vicinum Castora cane
Transibis Vestæ, virgineamque domum
Inde *sacro* veneranda petes Palatia *clivo*,
Plurima qua summi fulget imago ducis.

This statement is perfectly consistent with the view above put forth, if we bear in mind that the principal entrance to the Palatine was clearly on the height, apparently just where the road that leads to Sta Bonaventura now turns off at the arch of Titus. The following lines,

Nec te detineat miri radiata Colossi
Quæ Rhodium moles vincere gaudet opus,

show that the Colossus was near the summit of the Clivus; and we know that it then stood on a part of the site subsequently occupied by the temple of Venus and Rome, from whence it was removed by Hadrian to the spot where its pedestal is still seen, (Spart., *Hadr.* 19.) M. Bunsen, by supposing the Clivus Sacer to have been a street *turning off from* the Via Sacra, and leading directly up to the Palatine, after passing the Regia, has involved the whole subject in confusion. His views have been fully refuted by M. Ambrosch.

[61] *Studien*, p. 52.

one of the kings, several of whom are stated to have lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Summa Sacra Via, was appropriated as the official residence of their priestly representative.

We may, therefore, regard the Sacra Via as consisting of three portions: the one commencing at the chapel of Strenia—the position of which in the Ceroliensis, and apparently near the foot of the Carinæ, may be inferred from Varro—and extending from thence along the low grounds till it joined the triumphal way near the Meta Sudans, and ascended the steep Clivus, (which still retains its ancient pavement,) up to the arch of Titus. Here commenced the second portion—the Sacred Way in its more limited and popular signification, which appears to have descended directly from the summit of the hill to the angle of the Forum adjoining the Regia, as above shown. There is some difficulty in determining the exact manner in which it entered the Forum; but it seems probable that it must have done so at the south-western angle of the piazza, and that it was there we may place the Fornix Fabianus, close to the Regia.[62] But in this case it must have passed from thence to the opposite side, as there seems no doubt that the pavement which forms the northern boundary of the Forum, and extends from the temple of Antoninus and Faustina in a direct line towards the arch of Severus, is that of the Sacra Via, as it must necessarily have been the route taken by the sacred processions on their way to the Clivus Capitolinus, and from thence to the Arx. It is this which formed the third portion of the Sacred Way as described to us by Varro and Festus.

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[62] That this arch was situated on the Sacred Way, at the foot of the Clivus, where the latter emerged into the Forum, seems to result clearly from a passage of Cicero, (*pro Planc.* 7), "Equidem si quando, ut fit, jactor in turba, non illum accuso, *qui est in Summa Sacra Via, cum ego ad Fabium fornicem impellor*, sed eum qui in me ipsum incurrit atque incidit;" compared with another, (*de Or.* II. 66), in which he cites Crassus as saying, "Ita sibi ipsum magnum videri Memmium, ut *in forum descendens, caput ad Fabianum arcum demitteret.*" But both these passages are consistent with the theory of M. Ambrosch, who places it at the *south-eastern* angle adjoining the temple of Faustina, as well as with that of M. Becker followed in the text. The passage from Trebellius Pollio, (*Salonin.* I.), also seems to me equally capable of being reconciled with either theory. But the authority of the scholiasts on Cicero cited by Becker, (though perhaps not very great) is, so far as it goes, decidedly in favour of his theory: and I cannot think the separation of the Regia from the temple of Vesta, which results of necessity from M. Ambrosch's arrangement, either probable or consistent with the authorities on the subject,

Some light may perhaps be hereafter thrown upon the mode in which the Sacred Way emerged into the Forum, by the removal of the earth which now conceals them both from sight, an operation for which the absence of all modern buildings in this part of the Campo Vaccino affords peculiar facilities. But it must not be too confidently expected that this will clear up all difficulties; for it by no means follows that the pavements and foundations which would be thus brought to light, retain the same relative positions as they did in the days of Cicero or Varro. It is highly probable that considerable changes were made, at the same time that the gigantic substructions of the temple of Venus and Roma, and the Basilica of Constantine, altered the aspect of the adjoining localities. The pavement at present laid bare beneath the arch of Titus, appears to spread out into a kind of open piazza in front of the former temple, and continues unbroken along the basement of the Basilica, from whence it must have descended in a direct line to the temple of Faustina. It is remarkable, that in the later ages of the empire it seems to have been to this portion of the street, and not to one leading down directly to the Forum, that the name of Via Sacra was applied. Thus we find in the Notitia, the Via Sacra mentioned immediately between the temple of Jupiter Stator, (which stood close to the arch of Titus,) and the Basilica of Constantine; and we elsewhere find the latter described as situated "prope Sacram Viam." During the early part of the middle ages also, it was this same line to which the name appears to have remained attached, as we find the churches of Sta Maria Antiqua (now Sta Francesca Romana,) and SS. Cosma e Damiano, both designated as "in Via Sacra."[63] Whether the course of the street itself was altered, or, as appears more probable, it was merely widened and enlarged, and the name in consequence extended so as to comprise the whole adjoining space, we cannot now determine. But the great number of small shopkeepers whom we find carrying on their respective trades "in Via Sacra," seem to show that the term can hardly have been restricted to a single narrow street, like the Clivus which ascends to the arch of Titus on the opposite side.[64] It has been very generally supposed that the fourth re-

[63] See the passages cited by M. Bunsen, (*Beschreibung*, III. p. 80.)

[64] Goldsmiths and jewellers seem to have been the most numerous, but we

gion of the city, which, in our existing catalogues, derives its name from the temple of Peace, was originally called after the Sacred Way, a circumstance that would at once explain the use of the term "in Sacra Via" in a more extended sense: but it appears that there is really no authority for this assertion, though it has passed current for centuries, and M. Preller has shown[65] that in all probability the Regions of Augustus were not distinguished by any names at all.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the Summa Sacra Via, we find several other names of interest in the early history of Rome. Here stood the Sacellum Larum, mentioned by Tacitus in describing the Pomœrium of Romulus, and close to which we are told that Ancus Marcius had his dwelling.[66] The street or road which now turns off from the arch of Titus towards the church of Sta Bonaventura, must coincide almost exactly with that which led in ancient times to the Porta Mugonia, or Porta Vetus Palatii, and seems to have continued in later times to be the principal entrance to the Imperial Palace, as it still is the only access for carriages to the Palatine hill.[67] Adjoining this road, and close to the gate, stood the ancient temple of Jupiter Stator; a name so long erroneously applied to the three columns near Sta Maria Liberatrice. Adjacent to this temple was the abode of Tarquinius Priscus, which stood also, as we are told, at the summit of the NOVA VIA.[68] The latter was—as is so frequently the case—one of the most ancient streets of Rome; *new* only in reference to the city of Romulus on the Palatine, of which it was without the walls, and may probably have formed the earliest suburb. The points already established, will enable us without much difficulty to trace its course.

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meet also with Tibiarii, Librarii, &c. See the inscriptions referred to by M. Becker, (*Handbuch*, p. 226, not 354); and M. Preller, (*Die Regionen d. St. Rom*, p. 129). Many of these are probably of late times; but so early as the days of Ovid and Propertius, it would seem that the Sacred Way was a favourite resort, not only of fruit-sellers, but of the venders of more precious wares, (Becker, *l. c.*)

[65] *Die Regionen der Stadt Rom*, p. 68–72.

[66] Solinus, c. 1. § 23.

[67] Inde petens dextram: Porta est, ait, ista Palati:
Hic Stator: hoc primum condita Roma loco est.
Ovid, *Trist.* III. 1. 31.

The turn *to the right* is evidently that on reaching the Summa Sacra Via: and we must not construe the words of the poet so strictly as to infer from *inde*, that he turned off *immediately* after passing the Regia.

[68] For the position of these two edifices, comp. Liv. I. 12; Dionys. II. 50; Ovid. *l. c.* and Liv. I. 47; Solin. I. § 24.

The Nova Via appears to have turned off almost immediately after issuing from the ancient gate, probably between the latter and the Summa Sacra Via, though the two streets must here have been in very close contact. From this point, which is designated as the Summa Nova Via, it descended in a direction nearly parallel with the Sacra Via, but close under the flank of the Palatine, passed at the back of the temple of Vesta, between the sanctuary itself and the grove sacred to the goddess,[69] then rounded the angle of the Palatine, and closely followed the slope of that hill, so as to keep between the steep declivity and the Vicus Tuscus, until it descended to the Velabrum, into which it appears to have emerged, close to the foot of the Clivus Victoriæ, and to the site of the ancient Porta Romanula.[70]

Of the localities which surround the Forum, there remain only to be noticed two names of ancient origin; but which continued in use during the flourishing ages of the city. One of these, the ARGILETUM, was in all probability a local appellation derived from the natural qualities of the soil, though the perverse etymological ingenuity of the Romans had invented a well-known fable to account for its origin.[71] It was still used under the earlier emperors to designate a certain quarter of the city; but the determination of its position had, until lately, attracted but little attention among Roman topographers, and to M. Becker unquestionably belongs the merit of having been the first to clear up this important question. He has shown in a satisfactory manner, from a comparison of three passages of Martial,[72] who uses the word in a manner that shows it to have

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[69] This point, which at first seems rather singular, results clearly from the passage of Cicero, (*de Div.* i. 45), in which, speaking of the prophetic voice of Aius Locutius, he says, "audita est vox *a luco Vestæ, qui a Palatii radice in Novam viam devexus est.*"

It was here, at the foot of the descent (*infima Nova via*), that the street in question approached most closely to the Forum; and a direct communication between the two—probably by a short side street—appears to have been opened in the time of Augustus. See Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 389.

[70] For the course of the Nova Via, and the passages which prove it, see Becker, *Handbuch*, p. 114, 243–5.

[71] I must confess my astonishment that both M. Urlichs, and M. Becker, seem to consider this etymology as the true one.

[72] i. 2, v. 5; i. 117, v. 8, and ii. 17. The last of these passages,

> Tonstrix Suburræ faucibus sedet primis,
> Cruenta pendent qua flagella tortorum
> Argique letum multus obsidet sutor,

is in itself decisive as to the proximity, or rather contiguity, of the Argiletum and the Suburra.

been one still familiar to his readers, that the quarter so designated in his days, could be no other than one immediately adjoining to the Suburra and the Imperial Fora. It is not improbable that a considerable part of the space occupied by these magnificent constructions was, in fact, taken from the quarter previously called Argiletum, which was itself a busy and populous district inhabited chiefly by artisans. But as the name is extended by Martial himself as far as the Forum of Cæsar,[73] there is certainly no difficulty in supposing that it originally stretched a little farther; and we thus readily understand how Livy could describe the celebrated temple of Janus, which was placed, as we have already seen, (vol. IV. p. 29.) near the north-

[73] This is indeed denied by M. Becker, who thinks that Martial in this passage, (I. 17, v. 10), does not use the words "Cæsaris Forum" in their ordinary signification as the Forum Julium, but refers to that of Domitian, the Cæsar of his own day. To this I can by no means assent. It seems to me certain that the Forum of Cæsar was an appellation too well understood and established in this poet's day to admit of a doubt as to its meaning. The difficulty is, that the latter appears to describe the same locality in another epigram as situated "Limina post Pacis Palladiumque forum," an expression irreconcileable with the position assigned by M. Becker, (and which I have elsewhere stated my reasons for adopting), to the Forum of Cæsar. The solution of this appears to me to lie in the very natural hypothesis that the two epigrams relate to different shops; there is surely nothing very impossible in supposing that Martial's poems were to be bought at more than one bookseller's; and when we find the master of the shop called Atrectus in one case, and Secundus in the other, the *presumption* is, that different persons are meant, though his name *may* have been, as suggested by M. Becker, "Atrectus Secundus."

It is still somewhat difficult to see how the shop in question could have been situated "contra Cæsaris forum" after that of Domitian had been built: and that this was already the case, appears to result clearly from the mention of the Forum Palladium in the second epigram of the same book. But it is in itself highly improbable that this work, which we know to have been left unfinished by Domitian at his death, should have been already sufficiently advanced to have obtained a distinctive appellation, as early as the time when we must suppose the first book of Martial's epigrams to have been published; (see Clinton's *Fasti Romani*, p. 77.) In the subsequent books, also, we find him repeatedly alluding to *three* fora, (III. 38. VII. 65. VIII. 44), with no mention of a fourth, the first allusion to which occurs in the tenth book, which was not published till after A.D. 96. It appears to me highly probable, on this account as well as from its own internal evidence, that the second epigram of the first book was not added until a later edition, as must have undoubtedly been the case with the one preceding it, in which the poet speaks of himself as

Toto notus in orbe Martialis
Argutis epigrammaton libellis.

In this case we may well suppose that the space afterwards occupied by the Forum Transitorium was, at the time when the first book was originally written, still a part of the Argiletum, and contained, among other shops, that of the bookseller Secundus.

eastern angle of the Forum, as situated *ad infimum Argiletum*. Unfortunately, Servius,[74] who uses precisely the same words concerning its position, adds, "*juxta theatrum Marcelli*," and his authority has been followed by all Roman topographers from Biondo down to Nibby, who, in consequence, not only transferred the Argiletum to the western foot of the Capitol—overlooking or disregarding the explicit testimony of Martial—but removed the temple of Janus together with it, in spite of the evidences that the latter was situated in the Forum. M. Bunsen, on the contrary, while he came to just conclusions on the latter point, was still so wedded to the authority of Servius or to the long established theory, that he supposes[75] the two temples of Janus to be distinct, and that the one in the Forum, the "Janus Quirini," was built by Romulus, the one in the Argiletum, by Numa. M. Urlichs, still following the same view,[76] finds himself compelled to maintain not only that there existed two temples of Janus, *both* of almost equal antiquity, and of the same distinguished sanctity, and *both* remarkable for the same peculiar religious observance; but he is forced to admit that Ovid himself has confounded the two. Improbable as such a supposition is in itself, it becomes doubly so, when we find Ovid expressly distinguishing the temple of the god in the Forum from all the other Jani, by the circumstance that it was the only one that contained his statue.

> Cum tot sint Jani, *cur stas sacratus in uno*
> Hic ubi juncta foris templa duobus habes.
>
> *Fast.* I. 257.

It appears far simpler to suppose that it is Servius, and not Ovid that is in error; that the former writer has taken a Janus which did in fact stand in his time near the theatre of Marcellus,[77] for the famous Janus of Numa, and that the name of the Argiletum having, in his days, become entirely obsolete, he had applied the words of Livy, "ad infimum Argiletum," to the one site instead of the other, without perceiving the contradiction in which he was thus involving himself.

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[74] *Ad Æn.* VII. 607.

[75] *Beschreibung*, Bd. III, Th. II. p. 116.

[76] *Ibid.* Bd. III, Th. III. pp. 6. 7.

[77] This was the Janus built by C. Duillius, in the First Punic War, near the Forum Olitorium, and restored by Tiberius in A. D. 17.—Tac. *Ann.* II. 49.

The other passages which have been brought forward in regard to the Argiletum, really prove little or nothing. I cannot think we can draw with safety any topographical conclusions from the description in Virgil of the "lionizing" walk of Evander and Æneas;[78] and still less that we are entitled to infer from the order in which the names of certain localities are explained by Varro, that the places themselves were situated in that sequence. On the other hand, nothing can be less probable than the solution of the difficulty to which M. Urlichs appears to incline, that the name of the Argiletum was used by Martial in a sense wholly different from that intended by Livy and Virgil.

Closely connected by situation with the Argiletum, is another local designation, which has for the most part been the subject of a strange misconception—the LAUTUMIÆ. From Lucio Fauno down to our own days, it had been regarded by all topographers as merely another name for the Carcer Mamertinus, the prison under the Capitol. M. Bunsen was the first to call attention to the fact,[79] that the term occurs in two passages in Livy,[80] where it cannot possibly mean any thing else than a quarter or portion of the city immediately adjoining the Forum on the north, and which was subsequently occupied, in part at least, by the Basilica Porcia and adjoining edifices. M. Becker has since shown,[81] that the whole notion of the connexion between the Carcer under the Capitol and the Lautumiæ, has arisen from a misconception of the passage in Varro, in which he gives the etymology of the name; and that the "Carcer Lautumiarum," or as it was more frequently termed simply "Lautumiæ," was a prison wholly distinct from that of the kings. In later times we find the name employed only in reference to this place of confinement: its earlier and more general signification probably fell into disuse when the space which it had originally designated came to be wholly occupied by public edifices.

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I have now completed the review of those districts which

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[78] This has been done by K. O. Müller, (*ad Var. de L. L.* v. § 157), as well as by MM. Becker and Urlichs. The controversy between the two last upon this subject seems to me very unsatisfactory.

[79] *Beschreibung*, Bd. III. Th. II. p. 28.

[80] XXVI. 27; XXXIX. 44.

[81] *Handbuch*, p. 246–268; *Zur Röm. Topographie*. p. 19–24. The arguments brought against this view by M. Urlichs, (*Röm. Topogr. in Leipzig*, p. 13–16, and Th. II. p. 4), appear to me very inconclusive.

more immediately surround the Roman Forum, or are so closely connected with it as to fall naturally into the same survey. It would be a task of much interest to proceed from thence by the Vicus Jugarius to the Carmental gate, immediately outside of which we find the Forum Olitorium, with its three ancient temples of Juno, Spes, and Pietas, as well as the celebrated theatre of Marcellus; and to trace the gradual extension of the suburb which arose in very early times between the Capitol and the Tiber, (*extra portam Flumentanam*,) and eventually spread itself out into the broad plain beyond, where the magnificent series of structures, commenced by Agrippa and continued by successive emperors, occupied almost the whole space of the Campus Martius. But while the enquiries of the topographer upon the spot are rendered peculiarly difficult in this quarter of Rome by the circumstance, that the traces of the ancient buildings are here for the most part buried under the churches and palaces of the modern city, they possess less attraction for the scholar than those which relate to the quarters inhabited in earlier times, and thence associated with more interesting recollections. The elaborate examination of this portion of the subject by M. Urlichs and M. Becker, has however contributed much to our knowledge of this department also of Roman topography; and the reader who has not leisure to enter into their somewhat voluminous researches, will find an excellent sketch of the historical topography of this region in M. Preller's valuable commentary upon the Notitia. In the last-mentioned work, (which has appeared since I commenced the present series of articles,) coupled with M. Becker's *Handbuch*, and the invaluable collection of authorities which it contains, the student will find almost all the materials necessary for enabling him to prosecute his researches in the domain of Roman topography. A judicious selection of extracts from the mediæval authorities and documents is unfortunately still a desideratum in this department of literature; and the want of it is the more felt, because it is precisely this class of authorities of which the originals are commonly the most difficult of access.

E. H. Bunbury.

# XII.

## MISCELLANIES.

### 1. Remarks on Genesis xxxvii. 35.

"And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted: and he said, For I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him."

The old Jewish commentator Abarbanel translates the latter part of this verse as follows:—"And *his father* wept *with* him:" meaning by "his father," Isaac the father of Jacob.

Throwing aside all discussion as to the words and construction of the passage, the objection which would suggest itself to the mind of almost every one, would be, that Isaac at this time was not alive, for in the 35th chapter, and 28th and 29th verses, occur the following words: "And the days of Isaac were an hundred and fourscore years, and Isaac gave up the ghost and died," &c.—My principal object in writing this short paper, is not so much to contend for the reading of Abarbanel, as to prove the incorrectness of the above objection, and to show that we are not to conclude a man to be dead, because it has been previously stated that he *did* die, and his age at his death is given.

If we look into the subject more closely, we shall find that it can be most clearly shown, that Isaac must have lived at least twelve years after Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites and carried to Egypt.

Isaac, when he died, was 180 years old.

Gen. xxxv. 28. "And the days of Isaac were an *hundred and fourscore* years."

Jacob was born when Isaac was 60 years old.

Gen. xxv. 26. "And Isaac was *threescore years old* when she bare them." Consequently the age of Jacob at his father's death, must have been one hundred and twenty.

Joseph, when sold by his brethren, was 17 years of age.

Gen. xxxvii. 2. "Joseph, being *seventeen years old*, was feeding the flock with his brethren."

Joseph, when he appeared before Pharaoh, was 30 years old, and consequently had been 13 years absent from his father at that time.

Gen. xli. 46. "And Joseph was *thirty years old* when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt."

From that circumstance until Joseph sent for his father, there were *seven* years of plenty, and *two* of famine.

Gen. XLV. 11. "For yet there are *five years of famine.*"

Thus, by adding 13, 7, and 2, we see that 22 years at least must have elapsed from the supposed death of Joseph until he saw his father, and presented him to Pharaoh.

Jacob, when presented to Pharaoh, was 130 years old.

Gen. XLVII. 9. "And Jacob said unto Pharaoh, The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years."

Substracting 22 from 130, he was, at the time of his lamentation for Joseph mentioned in the verse under discussion, 108 years old.

Now, referring to the first part of this argument, we find that Jacob at the death of Isaac was 120 years old, consequently Isaac (subtracting 108 from 120,) must have lived *twelve* years, detailed in the 37th chapter of Genesis.

The above, at all events, shows that there is no absolute impossibility in the translation proposed by Abarbanel.

A similar difficulty occurs in the mention of the death of Abraham. Gen. XXV. 7, 8. "And these are the days of the years of Abraham's life which he lived, *an hundred threescore and fifteen years.* Then Abraham *gave up the ghost,*" &c. One would naturally suppose from this, that he was dead at the birth of Jacob and Esau, related further on in the same chapter; but this is by no means the case, as will be immediately seen from the following comparison of the dates.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Abraham's age at his death was . . . . . | 175 | years. |
| ... ... at birth of Isaac, Gen. XXI. 5, . | 100 | ... |
| Age of Isaac at death of his father, . . . . . | 75 | ... |
| ... at birth of Esau and Jacob, . . | 60 | ... |
| The time Abraham lived after Jacob and Esau were born, | 15 | ... |

If we now consider the words of the Hebrew, (ויכך אתו אביו) I think it can be shown that the rendering of Abarbanel is, to say the least, doubtful.

The Masorites evidently took the passage in the sense given in our common translation, as is seen by the pointing they adopted, namely, אֹתוֹ the accusat. sing. of 3d pers. pron. and not אִתּוֹ which would signify "*with* him." The Hebrew again throws nothing in the way of the common reading, for the word בכה in the sense of *bewailing the death of any one*, is in every passage constructed with the accusative. Thus Gen. XXIII. 2, ולבכתה "and to lament her," the pronoun being suffixed to the verb. Again, Gen. L. 3, ויבכו אתו "and the Egyptians

bewailed him." In this example, the construction is exactly similar to that in the verse we are discussing.

What most probably led Abarbanel to his interpretation, was the apparent change in person when we translate "and *his* father lamented him," the "*his*" leading us to suppose that Jacob is referred to, he being the principal personage in the verse. This is very common in Hebrew, where it is the constant practice to begin almost every clause with the particle ו "and," and so presents no difficulty. With this mode of construction, we may compare δε in apodosis in Homer.

R. G. W.

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## 2. On Æschylus, Agam. 374. Ed. Peile.

Βιᾶται δ' ἀ τάλαινα πειθὼ,
προβουλόπαις ἄφερτον ἄτας.

These lines have given no little trouble to the commentators. Blomfield, in his Glossary, renders προβουλόπαις ἄφερτος, *Quæ liberis pessime consulit.* "Ordo verborum hic est, ἀ τάλαινα πειθὼ Ἄτας προβουλόπαις ἄφερτος, *Fati vero Suadela urget* (i. e. *Fatum eos in exitium pellicit*) *quæ posteris intolerabili modo consulit* (i. e. *quæ presentis lucri spe facit nocitura postmodo se notis.*" This surely cannot be the meaning of the passage. Linwood, in his *Lex. Æschyl.* translates προβουλόπαιν, *a fore-counselling child*; and adds, "This is well explained by Klausen, 'Noxa quæ mentem læsit, progignit persuasionem suppeditantem argumenta quibus ad exequenda noxa consilia commovetur aliquis.'" Peile translates the passage, *Urget autem infausta suadela, intolerabilis noxæ filia consiliatrix.* I suspect the poet intended πειθὼ, not as *persuasion* in the abstract, but as *the Goddess of persuasion*, Πειθὼ, else why the article and the epithet τάλαινα? Προβουλόπαις I take to mean the *fore-counsellor*, or *the prime counsellor*, and, as an epithet of Πειθὼ, clearly shows that the poet meant the *Goddess of persuasion*, personified, as he has done Ἄτη. The epithets τάλαινα and ἄφερτος, coupled with Πειθὼ, indicate *the miserable* and intolerable, or awful issue of the persuasions of Πειθὼ, producing first *infatuation of mind*, and then *utter ruin.* The passage, according to this view of the subject, may be thus translated, —*The wretched goddess of persuasion, the prime counsellor of Ate*, (or Fate), *unbearable*, (or relentless), *urges* him *on.* It is probable that the poet meant Paris, by whose persuasions Helen deserted her husband, and brought ruin upon Troy and many of the Greeks. I

cannot see that προβουλόπαις has any relation to *posterity*, as explained by Blomfield and Scholefield. The latter coupling it with ἄφερτος, translates, *mola intoleranda posteris parans:* but he connects ἅπας with προβουλόπαις, and interprets ἄφερτος as if it were ἀφέρτου. That an abstract noun, preceded by the article and an epithet, is often personified, is evident from the ὁ δίκαιος λόγος, and the ὁ ἄδικος λόγος of Aristophanes, *Nub.* 882, &c.

GEORGE DUNBAR.

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THE

# CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

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## XIV.

## ON THE RELATION OF THE CLASSICAL TO THE SYRO-ARABIAN LANGUAGES.

[The following, although never before printed, was in substance written twelve years ago. The author cannot hope that it meets the demand of the present more advanced state of knowledge; yet, from a discussion which took place in the Ethnographical Section of the British Association at Oxford, he is led to believe that its publication will not be superfluous or without interest.]

It is well understood that those languages stand in a peculiarly close relation to one another, which show numerous coincidences in grammatical flection and structure; and it is a received principle, that *grammatical* resemblances are a far more trustworthy mark of a common origin, than identity of verbal or nominal roots. Resemblances of the latter sort have been called *glossarial*. When they occur to any extent, they obviously denote some historical relation between two tongues; but of what nature is that relation, may often appear uncertain. In many instances, we know that glossarial resemblance results from the local contact or intermixture of two foreign tribes; in some, however, (for any thing that has be
contrary,) it may denote community of or
both languages may have thoroughly rem
structure since the separation. In th
theory is assumed as to the cause
The writer is anxious first to pl

(so to say) uncaused, but have some proper historical origin. Afterwards, when we have select facts before us, we shall be the better prepared to go on towards a true theory.

The Indo-European tongues have been collected into a peculiar group by a consideration *chiefly* of their grammatical similarities. This phrase, however, includes the personal pronouns, and indeed the numerals, as parts of the grammar; besides which, there are other very numerous and striking identities of a glossarial nature. But the Syro-Arabian tongues, of which the Hebrew and the Arabic of the Korân are the leading types, are strikingly contrasted to the Indo-European in almost every detail of grammar. In consequence, great incredulity has prevailed among cautious reasoners as to the existence of any true glossarial resemblances between them, except in the names of articles imported in the way of trade. A reflux of opinion has already taken place with some leading scholars; and it is the object of this paper to exhibit proof that a considerable number of fundamental words in the classical tongues exist with slight change in Hebrew or Arabic. This was indeed familiarly believed by old lexicographers; but they damaged their own cause by mistaking or exaggerating the phænomenon which they descried.

It was long ago imagined by fanciful writers, that the *triradical* Hebrew roots were pure compounds formed from *biradicals*; and our English Parkhurst, a wild and half-fanatical Hebraist, seems to have had the merit of discerning that many families of roots ought to be regarded as springing out of a biradical. On the other hand, many monosyllabic roots in Latin and Greek may properly be called triradical. *Carpo*, for instance, or Καρπὸς, exhibit the radicals CRP, ΚΡΠ, which are (so far) comparable to the roots of Hebrew and Arabic. There is, no doubt, this *grammatical* distinction as to their use, that in such a root as *carp*, the Latins never introduce a vowel between R and P; while the Syro-Arabian radicals are always ready to fall apart; on the other hand, the *a* in carp[illegible] properly radical, and is rarely modified in the derivatives. [illegible]is is a distinction of grammar only, or of euphony; in fact the Greeks do say ἔκαρπος for ἔκαρδ, separating thus the P from [illegible] and the Hebrews also often have [illegible] long vowels [illegible] comparing roots of these two [illegible] scarcely [illegible] that the biradical resemblance [illegible] than [illegible] ly to spring

out of original identity, and may become of peculiar importance as the foundation of such a theory: especially if the radical words have no isolated existence in Hebrew and Arabic, (or, it may be, in the Indo-European tongues either,) but are obtained by a process of analysis, just as crude forms, we shall not be able to ascribe the resemblance to any direct borrowing of words. A similar remark will apply wherever mutations of consonants are discovered, such as forbid that hypothesis.

In entering upon comparison, a difficulty arises from the fact, that Hebrew and Arabic do not allow of certain *grammatical* mutations of consonants which are familiar to Greek and Latin; as from B to F or P; from κ to π or χ; and a cautious Hebraist is apt to treat it as an unwarrantable liberty, to confound such consonants in making comparisons. But the *glossarial* phænomena of the Syro-Arabian languages are not herein so sharply contrasted with those which are familiar to us in the classics. For instance, although the consonants כקח (or k, k′,[1] χ,) and טיע (or s, s′, s̄,) are not grammatically interchangeable, it is most certain that they are often glossarially related; of which the following family of words is a sufficient illustration.

k′as′s′, Arab.<br>k′as′as′, Heb. } to clip short.<br>k′oses, H. cut off.<br>χas′a, H.<br>χas′s′, A. } cut in pieces.<br>χaš̄, A. to mow.<br>χašaš, H. hay.<br>k′aš̄, H. A. straw, stubble.

k′as′a', H. cut off.<br>χas′ab, H. cut down.<br>k′as′ab, H. shear off.<br>k′as′ar, H. mow short.<br>kasar, A. break, snap.<br>k′as′ad, A. do.<br>χas′ad, A. mow down.

This simultaneously exhibits that the true root is the biradical K′as′, (changeable into k′as, k′aš̄, kas, kas′, kaš̄, χas′, χaš̄,) and that ע B D R, which are added as third radicals, are fairly parallel with the adventitious consonants in the English roots, hand, still, step, stout. Undoubtedly, the great mystery which we must feel, what Hebrew or Arabic consonant should represent a given English letter, as our H or S, will

[1] ... to ... [illegible] ... k ... [illegible] ... and ... [illegible] ... to ...

often embarrass investigation; but it does not necessarily enfeeble our arguments, when the words are actually produced which bear *in mass*, certain similarities to our own. On single resemblances no great stress can be laid.

As the Greeks were locally nearer to the East than the Romans, and a large development of their language must have taken place on the coast of Asia, we may naturally expect a greater number of late-imported Syro-Arabian words. Besides the names of plants and trees, and certain articles of commerce, which every one would expect to be Oriental, a sprinkling of other words may be here noted as probable importations.

αραχνη, spider. From H. *arag*, to weave.
αγγαρος, a courier. Compare Chaldee *Iggar*, denoting a root, *Agar*.
γεφυρίζω, to daub with pitch; H. kofer, pitch.
δελτος, a tablet; H. delet.
ελεφας, H. alef, tame cattle.
Ερεβος, H. 'Ereb, West, evening.
Ειλειθυια, H. yalad, to bear children.
καμηλος, H. gamāl.
κοχλος, a shell; H. koχel, to dye.
μαχαιρα, a cutlas; H. meχēra, מכרה
μεταλλος, H. met'il, iron bar; A. mat'al, cudit, cudendo extendit.
μεγαρον, H. magūr, lodging.
σακκος, H. sak', a sack.
σης, σητ-ος, a moth; H. sās.
φυκος, seaweed, } H. fūk,
*fucus*, paint, } eyepaint.
χιτων, κιθων, H. ketōnet, garment.
χλαμυς, H. gelōm, a cloak.
χρυσος, H. χārūs', gold (in poetry). Cf. Latin, *corusco*.

In δελτος, κοχλος, χλαμυς, χρυσος, we may observe that pairs of consonants unite inseparably in Greek, which were separable in Hebrew. If this happens in words of recent importation, there is nothing in such a phænomenon to inspire doubt as to the identity of two such roots as γλαφω and (Arab)[3] galaf.

We proceed to compare *companies of words* in the two groups of languages, which must in each case be studied collectively.

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[3] For present purposes, G may denote the Arabic Djim, which, in Africa, is sounded hard.

| Syro-Arabian. | Greek and Latin, &c. |
|---|---|
| Bar, *Chald.* a son.<br>Bār, H. &c., corn, grain.<br>Bar, clean, pure. | Puer, a boy.<br>πῦρος, wheat.<br>Purus, clean. |
| Bara, to eat.<br>Birya, Barūt, food.<br>Barī, fattened.<br>Ba'ar, to graze down, burn.<br>Ba'īr, cattle.<br>Ba'ar, brutish. | Voro, (qu. βορω,) βρω-σκω.<br>βορὰ.<br><br>Ang. Burn.<br><br>Brutus. |
| Gala, Ar. be bright, brighten.<br>H. to manifest, uncover.<br>Gilā, A. splendor.<br>Gīl, H. to rejoice. | Αγλαος, Clarus, καλος.<br><br>Αγλαϊα, κλέος, Glee.<br>Γελα, sunshine.<br>Γελαω, to laugh. |
| Galal, H. to roll.<br>Galgal, a wheel.<br>Galam, to wrap together.<br>Gelōm, a cloak. | κυλίω, καλινδεω.<br>κυλλος, κυλιξ.<br>καλυπ-τω, καλυβ-η, (χλαμυς.)<br>Celo, occulo, κελυφη. |
| K'ur, Kara, to excavate.<br>Kara', to bend or bow down.<br>Kra'-im, the two legs.<br>Kura', A. narrow part of the leg, peculiarly in cattle.<br>Kurrat, for Kurraw, a ball, a sphere, Arab.<br>Kikkar, a round (cake), a circuit.<br>Garig, A. in gyrum motus est. | <br>Curvus, κυρτος.<br>Crura.<br><br><br>Circus, κρικος. *Germ.* Kehren.<br>γῦρος, γυρός.<br>κάρα, head, qu. *round?* cf. κορση, κροταφος κορυς, &c.<br>κορη, pupil of the eye. |
| Kirker, H. to dance.<br>(Karkar, A. to turn *a mill* round.)<br><br>Karr, a lamb, a batt[illegible]<br>ram. | χορος, a dance.<br>σκαιρω, to bound.<br>χ[illegible] haps to<br>tle, |

| Syro-Arabian. | Greek and Latin, &c. |
|---|---|
| Kala, to shut up; to hinder.<br>Kelūb, a basket. | κλειω, to shut up.<br>κωλυω, to hinder.<br>κλωβος, a cage. |
| χala, H. to be weak, sick.<br>χall, A. to dissolve; to loosen, break (a law).<br>χalal, H. do.<br>χalas′, to untie, set free.<br>χalī, χelya, necklace. | χαλαω, loosen.<br>χαλαζα, measles in swine.<br><br><br>χαλασ-μος, relaxation.<br>χαλαστον, a necklace. |
| Pata, to be wide open, to be open to seduction.<br>Pitte, to persuade, seduce.<br>Pataχ, to open. | πετα-νυμι.<br><br>πειθω.<br>Pateo. |
| Fari, A. to cut, split.<br>Paras, H. to divide, split.<br>Farad, A. to separate, single out.<br>Faraz, do. Also, to decide.<br>Farak′, cleave, rend away.<br>Parasˇ, H. } to divide, &c.<br>Fasar, A. } to explain. | πρίω, split, saw apart.<br>φαρω, (old word) to split.<br>φαρσος, quarter of a city.<br>Part-ior.<br><br>φαραγξ, chasm, cliff.<br>Frango, &c.<br>φραζω. |
| Pala, H. to be separated.<br>Fall, A. to burst.<br>Palag, to divide.<br>Palaχ, to cleave, furrow. In Ar. Falaχ, Falad, Fala′, Falak′.<br>Palat′, to escape.<br>Falat, A. do. | φλαω, to break.<br><br>φαλαγξ, a log of wood, &c.<br>Plough, &c. πελεκυς.<br><br><br>Flee. |
| Sek′ef, A. roof, ceiling, eaves.<br>ŝak′af, H. in Niphal, to project as eaves; to bend forward *in order to see.* (Compare κυπτω, &c. in later Greek.) | σκεπη, shelter, roof.<br>σκοπη, σκοπιη, eminence for surveying.<br>σκοπεω, to look closely into. |

| Syro-Arabian. | Greek and Latin, &c. |
|---|---|
| Sok, H. a booth.<br>šakan, to dwell.<br>Sakak, to cover, overshadow. | σηκος, a fold.<br>σκηνη, a booth.<br>σκια, σκοτος, &c. |
| Amal, H. to be weak.<br>Malas, A. to be soft, to lick.<br>Malas′, A. to be slippery.<br>H. to be pleasant.<br>Malad, A. to be soft.<br>Malaθ, A. to soothe with words.<br>Melet′, clay, mortar.<br>Malat′, to be smooth.<br>Malik′, A. bland, gentle.<br>Malak′, A. to soothe, to suck the breast. H. to nip off with finger and thumb.<br>Malag, A. to suck the breast. | ἁμαλος, Mollis, μελι.<br>Mel.<br><br><br>μελδω, Melt.<br>μαλθασσω, &c.<br>μαλθα, soft wax, calking pitch.<br>To Mould.<br>μειλιχος, μαλακος.<br>Mulgeo, Milk, αμελγω.<br><br>Mulceo.<br>Malacia, smoothness of sea. |
| Mas′a, to wring, to knead; to gulp down.<br>Mas′as′, to suck.<br>Mas′s′a, unleavened bread.<br>Maχa, to wipe, A. Masaχ. | μασσω, to knead.<br>μαζος, μαστος, μασθος, the breast.<br>μαζα, dough, &c.<br>μασσω, to wipe. |
| Mak′, oozing matter, filth.<br>Mak′ak′, to melt away, &c.<br>Mūg, to faint, melt.<br>Mūk′, to mock. | μυξα, Mucus. (Eng. Muck.)<br>Maceo, to pine away.<br><br>μωκαω, to mock. |
| χaraš, χarat, H. } to cut into,<br>χaraθ, A. } engrave, plough, scratch.<br>χeres, the itch.<br>garad, H. to scrape, scratch.<br>garab, the scurvy, the itch. | χαρασσω, to scratch, &c.<br>χαραγ-μα.<br><br><br>*Fr.* Gratter, *Eng.* Grate.<br>γραφω, Grave, σκαριφῶ, Scrape, Grub, &c. Scrub, &c. |
| Galaf, A. to peel off.<br>Gallāb, H. a shaver.<br>Galam, A. to strip bare. (Cf. Gala, to uncover, in Heb.)<br>K′alaχ, H. } to shave the head.<br>Galak′, A. } | φαλακρος, bald.<br>γλαφω, to polish by shaving the surface, &c.<br>Glaber, smooth, hairless. |

| SYRO-ARABIAN. | GREEK AND LATIN, &c. |
|---|---|
| Mada, Madad, H. to extend over, measure out.<br>Midda, an extent, measure.<br>Matt, Mata, and Mat't', Mat'a, A. to extend a rope, to draw water. | Modus, Modius.<br><br>Meta ; Metior, Metor.<br>μετρον. |
| Ra'a', to shatter.<br>Ra'ad, trembling.<br>'Aras', to tremble.<br>Ra'am, thunder.<br>Ra'aš, earthquake.<br>Ra'as', Ras'as', dash in pieces. | ῥαιω, to shatter.<br>αραδος, palpitation.<br>αρρωδεω, ορρωδεω, to shudder, &c.<br>ῥασσω, αρασσω (root ραγ), to dash in pieces, to slam, bang. |
| šafâl, H. sefil, A. low, mean, humble.<br>šafel, H. to be overturned, laid low. | σιφλος, ασυφηλος, low, mean.<br>σφαλλω, to overturn. |
| χereb, drought, heat, desolation.<br>χarēb, to be dried up.<br>χaraf, to cull, strip, revile.<br>χereb, a cutting weapon.<br><br>χār, A. χara, H. to burn.<br>χarak, &c. to scorch, singe. | καρφω, to dry up.<br><br>carbo, hot coal.<br><br>ἁρπη, a sickle. Cf. Carpo, Crop, Carp, καρπος, &c.<br>Areo, I am scorched.<br>Ara, an altar. |
| Kaff, the fist. Gabb, an arch, back.<br>Gabah, to be high.<br>Kafaf, to be bent or curved.<br>K'ubba, A. a vault.<br>Gibbòn, H. hunch backed.<br>Gib'a, a hill.<br>Kifôr, H. a cup, bowl. | κυφος, a hump. Eng. Cob, a hill.<br><br>κυπ-τω, to stoop.<br>κυφος, σκυφος, Cup.<br><br><br>Gibbus, Gibbosus. |
| Masak, to mix.<br>Mezeg, mingled wine. | μισγω, μιγ-νυμι.<br>Misceo, Mix, &c. |

| Syro-Arabian. | Greek and Latin, &c. |
|---|---|
| Marax, to rub, or spread over.<br>Marat', to make smooth and bright.<br>Marak', to scour, polish.<br><br>Barak't, emerald. | μυρον, ointment.<br>μαρμαρος, rock, marble.<br>μαρμαιρω, to glisten.<br>μοργ-νυμι, to wipe.<br>(purg-o, to cleanse?)<br>μαραγδος. |
| Asar, to bind.<br>Azar, to gird on. | σειρα, a chain.<br>ζειρα, a jacket. |
| As'ar, to store up; whence probably *Tas'ar*, a treasure. | σωρος, a heap.<br>θησαυρος, a treasure. |

Whatever doubt may rest on some individual words here quoted, it seems quite certain that the families of words are allied; and in many instances the Syro-Arabian gives a proof of the connexions of vocables, which could only have been feebly guessed at from the Greek and Latin. Nor is this all; but in most of the cases it is impossible to believe the classical words to have been imported directly from any known Syro-Arabian language. They point to an earlier state, in which certain roots either existed primitively in common, or were transmitted; out of which the branches that we now see have grown up. But the common stock lies deeper than these, and is wholly out of sight.

Although the groups of languages which we are comparing have no grammatical resemblances, there are some identities in the pronouns and numerals. The definite article of the Indo-European, it is well known, is reducible to two principal forms, *Ho* and *So*, which have as varieties *To*, *Zo*, Δ*o*.[3] The fundamental forms in Hebrew are, masc. *Hu*, fem. *Hi*; also *Ze*, *Zu*; to which in Arabic answer *Hu*, *Hi*, and Δ*a*, Δ*i*. Moreover, the Hebrew *Hal*, *Ellè*, the Arabic *El*, *Haula*, differ not much either in sound or sense from the Latin *Ille*, *Illi*. In the first and second persons the similarity is much slighter, and may be doubted. However, the syllable *na* appears to be radi-

[3] The δ, as in [illegible]. The. So γ is for *gh*.

cal to the first personal pronoun of the Syro-Arabian and North African tongues, as in the plural *Nos* of the Latins and *Ni* of the Welsh; and *K* is in the same extra European tongues the characteristic suffix of the second personal pronoun, which admits of comparison with the Welsh *chwi*, ye; *och*, you. Among Hebrew (and indeed also among Turkish) relative pronouns, appear the little word Ki and initial K, the similarity of which to Qui, &c. no one will overlook.

Four of the principal numerals seemed to be allied to the Indo-European.

| | Arabic. | Hebrew. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | χamsi, | χemes, | quinque, Latin. |
| 6. | sitti, | šeš, | šeš, Pers. Sansc. |
| 7. | seba', | šeba', | sibun, Gothic. |
| 10. | tisa', | tiša', | t'asan, Armen. |
| | | | desyat, Russian. |

Perhaps after this the reader will have less scepticism as to the following derivations; it being understood that the Syro-Arabian root is not regarded as always the parent of the Greek or Latin word, but only as furnishing us with an index to the relationship.

Αγελη, H. 'egel, a bullock.

Αγαπω, H. 'agab, to love.
A. 'agab, to admire.

Αγρομαι, αγρη, αγρεω, αιρεω, H. agar, to collect.

Αγρος, Acre, H. Ikkar, a husbandman, implying a root Akar, aravit.

Αγχω, to strangle, H. χanak, do.

Αζα, soot, ααζω, to blow hot, Chal. aza, to kindle.

Αχολος, food, H. akal, to eat.

Αμυνω and Munio. Cf. H. *Aman*, to establish, defend.

Amita, A. 'ammet, father's sister, from 'amm, father's brother.

Aurora, Aurum; H. ōr, light. So ὡρα, ωρανος, or ουρανος.

Βασιλευς, H. Mašal, to rule.

Βαλην, Æsch. Pers.; H. Ba'al, lord.

Γαιω, to exult; γαυρος, H. Gāa, to be exalted.

Γαια, γη. H. gī, gīa, valley.

Γαμεω, A. gama', to unite.

Γαργαρεων, H. garōn, neck, gargerōt, throat.

Fors, H. pūr, a lot.

Ζυγον, A. zōg, a pair; a husband.

Θαλαμος, a storeroom, a (dark?) chamber. A. D'ulm or Z'ulm, darkness; H. S'alam.

Αρα, H. Arar, to curse.

Arca, Ark; H. Argan, a box or chest.

Αυλη, H. Ohel, tent, dwelling.

Καδος, Cadus; H. kad, do.

Καιω, καυσω, H. kawa, to brand, burn.

Caleo, to be hot; H. k'ala, to roast, fry.

Καλεω, call; H. k'ōl, a voice; to cry, &c.

Calumnia; H. kelimma, insult.

Casa, cottage; H. kasa, to cover.

Castus, virtuous; H. kasid, pious, holy. [The words Castus, Castro, compared with ακολαστος, κολαζω, κολουω, guide us to a root *Cas*, to prune or lop. We perhaps have it in Eng. Cut. Also kasīd, probably is referable to the Syro-Arabian χας' or *kas'*, to cut short; of which above.]

Κειρω, shear; Curtus, short — A. k'ara', H. gara', k'araχ — to shave.

Κελης, Celer; k'al, light, active.

Cornu, Κερατ; H. k'eren.

Κραζω, Κηρυσσω; Ang. Cry: Quæro, Quæso: H. k'ara, to call out, call for: karaz, to cry out, preach.

Κρυος, H. k'or, k'ara, cold; keraχ, koraχ, ice, hail.

Λειχω, Lingo, Lick; H. lak'ak', laχak.

Laqueo, H. lakaχ, to take; lakad, to ensnare.

Loquor, ελεειν, A. laya.

Θν, sandbank, shingles; A. Ch. t'īn, mud.

Θρυπτω, mince; Δρυπτω, mangle; H. t'araf, to mangle.

Mare, Amarus, Maereo — H. mar, bitter; marar, to mourn.

Marceo, μαραινω, H. maär, to become raw and angry, as a sore.

Munus, a gift, H. minha, do.

Μωμος, αμωμος, αμωμων — H. mūm, a blemish.

Νευω, Nuo, Nod; H. nū', to wave to and fro; nūd, nūt', to tremble, wander.

Noceo, H. naka, to smite; naga', to touch, smite, blast.

Obesus, H. abas, to fatten up.

Ορω, Orior, H. 'ōr, to awake, excite.

Ορος, ουρος, H. hōr, a mountain.

Ορεγω, H. arek, to be elongated.

Ορχος, a row; H. 'arak, to arrange.

Οφις, H. ef'e, a viper.

Παλαιος, H. balā, to grow old.

Pario, H. para, to bear fruit, bring forth.

Πιος, Fimus; H. pīma, fatness; A. fīm, to be fat.

Precor; H. A. Barak, to kneel.

Ραπ-τω, ραφη; H. arab, to weave, plait, lay snares.

Rivus, ρευ-μα; H. rawa, to drink to satiety; riwwe, to water, irrigate.

Ros, H. rasas, distil as dew.

Salus, H. šalu, to be in peace and safety.

Μαλα, Multus, } H. mala, to
Πολυς, πλεος, &c. } be full.
Mas, maris, } A. Mar, a man.
Mars, ... } Muru, bravery.
Σκυλον, σκυλευω, συλαω, H. šalal, to plunder, spoil.
Σκυτος, Scutica. Cf. A. sōt, H. šōt', a lash, thong.
Stolo, a sucker; H. šatil, a plant.
Tamino, to pollute; H. t'ame, to be unclean.
Ταυρος, A. θūr, Ch. tūr, H. šūr, a bull.
Sitis, H. šeti, drinking.
Situs, Sedeo, &c., H. šīt, to place.
Σκωβαλον, A. zibil, dung, litter.
Τυπ-τω, H. tafaf, to smite.
Turtur, H. tūr, do.
Τυρσις, Turris; H. šūr, Syr. tūr, a castle.
Τεγος, Tego, Στεγω, H. t'ūχ, to plaster a roof and make it water-tight.
Uro, us-tum, εὐω; cf. H. ūr, fire.
Φαος, H. īfa', to shine.

The result of this investigation is to teach us, that two sets of languages, which are ever so deficient in *grammatical* resemblance, are not, therefore, necessarily quite disconnected; but that such groups admit of being *more* or *less* distant from one another; and it will, in each case, remain as a problem, by means of their *glossarial* relations, to assign the degree of affinity between them.

F. W. NEWMAN.

## XV.

## MUSEUM DISNEIANUM:

BEING A DESCRIPTION OF A COLLECTION OF ANCIENT MARBLES IN THE POSSESSION OF JOHN DISNEY, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A. With Engravings. London: J. Rodwell, 46. New Bond Street. 1846.

ON dipping into the pages of a foreign periodical (*Philologus*) some months ago, in the shop of one of the Sosii of Cambridge, an article met my eye, written by the illustrious champion of ancient art, Professor Welcker, and purporting to be an account of various collections to be found at the seats of some of our English aristocracy. My leisure did not at the time permit me

to examine the details of what, I have no doubt, would have proved a highly interesting paper, and a very bad memory prevented me from availing myself of subsequent more convenient opportunities. I can only call to mind a feeling of shame which came over me, when I reflected that the task of communicating to the public the nature of these collections, which so eminently deserve the name of "private," had been left to the pen, however able, of a native of a foreign land. Already indebted past redemption to the talent and acumen of Germany on every thing connected with classical antiquity, there was something painfully humiliating in the thought that we should need a guide where it was so peculiarly ours to lead the way. I was not at the time aware that the work, whose title stands at the head of these remarks, had issued from the press. The beauty of many of the specimens which the collection contains, renders altogether superfluous the apology with which Mr. Disney prefaces his Introduction. Would that the publication of this work may encourage others to put forth their collections in a similar manner, and thus to do what in them lies to raise the standard of art in this country, to foster and to cherish those nobler aspirations after the beautiful and the sublime, which embellish life and fertilize the mind, which, so far from clogging and being incompatible with the industrial pursuits of commercial enterprize, form no small item in the true wealth of nations. But some one may urge, that in what has been said, too depreciatory a view has been taken of the services which England has rendered towards the cultivation of ancient art. He may point with triumph to the British Museum, that great cemetery where so many costly remains of antiquity are deposited, and exclaim, "Can you look upon these precious treasures, and yet tax England with coldness and indifference to ancient art?" In reply, I would observe, that such an one would be altogether under a misapprehension, if he supposed I was insensible to the services which England had rendered as a NATION to the study of this particular department of classical antiquity. Far from it: I am here lamenting the scanty evidence we have of this study being followed up for any sound object, by those numer who, like Mr. Disney, are in possession of ntiquities, and who thus have it in the id the inclination and the ind-

archæological pursuits, in which, I contend, we are so lamentably outstripped by our continental neighbours.

But amid all this inertness in so noble a cause, it is a comfort to reflect, that however much the all-engrossing worship of Mammon, and the frivolous literature of the present day, may encroach upon and stifle the due appreciation of those gorgeous heirlooms of art which antiquity has bequeathed to us, the entail can never be cut off. The present can never say to the past, "I have no need of thee." The chain of association which links them together may indeed rust and canker by neglect, but it will never break. Nay, she will at times be but too glad to have recourse to that past, as to an ever-welling fountain, where, when worn out by the fatigue of jostling through that great market-place, the world, she may lave her brow and parched lips with purer waters than those of that Pactolus, for whose sands of gold her arm has laboured, and her heart has throbbed.

But I must pause: the engrossing interest of my subject has led me into making more lengthy remarks than I originally intended. I shall now proceed to give a short notice of the interesting work before us, offering such observations and corrections as an attentive perusal has suggested. The "Museum" comprises in all fifty-eight marbles, of which fifteen are urns and tables, bearing inscriptions. Each of them is illustrated by a beautiful plate, which reflects great credit on the skill of Mr. L. H. Hamersley, Principal of the Government School of Design at Nottingham. Mr. Disney has inserted among his own interesting observations on each specimen, which bear such strong evidence of the erudition and elegance of the writer, some remarks which cannot fail to be valuable, as wearing the initials of John Flaxman, James Christie, and Taylor Combe, all of whom, we are told, saw this collection at the Hyde. The urns and tablets are illustrated by the pen of the Rev. James Tate. There is, I think, considerable room for doubting whether the learned Canon's lucubrations are as great an acquisition as his reputation might have led one to anticipate.

On Plate II., which is conjectured to be a head of Antoninus Pius, Mr. Disney speaks of him as "*father* of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus." (So also, p. 4. pl. III., where Aurelius is said to have "succeeded his father Antoninus Pius.") This is calculated to mislead:—Aurelius was not actually the son of Antoninus, but

of Annius Verus, the brother of Annia Galeria Faustina, the wife of Antoninus, and was adopted by that emperor at the time when the latter was himself adopted by Hadrian.

P. 5, pl. III.—If the band across the breast in this bust of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus be the latus clavus, it would seem that the statement in Smith's *Dict. Gr. Rom. Ant.* p. 240, to the effect that not one of the ancient statues contain any trace of this ornament, must not be understood without some limitation. The latus clavus is there said to have consisted of a single band of purple, extending from the neck down the centre of the tunic, and forming only a distinction of colour, not of material: a description which is borne out by a painting of a very late period in the Barberini family, of which a wood-cut is annexed.—Others, however, have contended that the phrases in Horace, of "*depositum* clavum," and "*demisit* pectore clavum," must allude to some article of dress, separate and detached from the tunic itself. At any rate this bust of Aurelius, together with that of Severus mentioned by Mr. Disney, very materially weaken the opposite theory. Mr. Hawkins, of the British Museum, is stated to have come to the conclusion that the dress here is not the laticlave, but the læna.—This seems to me rather startling.

P. 13, pl. VII.—Mr. Disney here observes,—"I have called this Otho, though with some hesitation; the bust has a robe on —"*the angusticlave.*" He adds at the end,—"The angusticlavus was the mark of senatorial rank.—Adam, *R. Ant.* p. 417." This is an oversight: Adam expressly mentions the laticlave as a badge of the senator, the angusticlave of the eques. Passages are to be found throughout classical authors which support this opinion. Statius, in an ode to Septimius Severus, a young man who had not availed himself of the privilege granted by Augustus to the sons of senators, of wearing the laticlave, as if they were of senatorial rank, makes use of these words:—

"Hic parvus inter pignora curiæ
Contentus arcto lumine purpuræ
Crescis, sed immensos labores
Indole patriciâ secutus."

and Suetonius, (*Tiber.* 35,) in recording a punishment inflicted by Tiberius on a senator who had incurred his displeasure, says, "Senatori latum clavum ademit." See also Suet. *Claud.* 24, where the laticlave is used as synonymous with senatorial

rank, and Plin. *Ep.* II. 9, 2. "Latum clavum ab Cæsare impetravi." On these grounds I should be inclined to doubt with Mr. Taylor Combe, whether this be a bust of Otho. It seems to be that of a person above the age of twenty-five years, which was fixed by Augustus as the senatorial age, and consequently the angusticlave would be out of place.

P. 15, pl. VIII.—Jupiter Serapis.—This is indeed, as Mr. Taylor Combe says, "a beautiful little bust, genuine, antique, and very fine." The worship of Jupiter Serapis having been introduced into Rome in the time of Hadrian, we are furnished with a clue to the date of the bust. One of precisely the same kind, and bearing the title of "Jupiter Serapis, Tête colossale, marbre de Paros, Haut. 0,906 m. 2 p. 9 p. 61," is mentioned in a *Description des Antiques du Musée Royal*, Paris, 1820," p. 9, n. 13.

P. 21, pl. XI.—Sappho.—"The hair is in a corymbus behind." Winckelmann and many other authorities consider that in the corymbus the hair was gathered up all round the head, and tied in a knot on the summit.—See the Comment. on *Thucyd.* I. c. 6. Ancient artists generally represented the busts of Diana in this fashion. So that the hair here seems to be nothing more than the simple style of young Greek girls.—See Pausan. VIII. 20, X. 35.

P. 35, pl. XVIII.—Lucius Corbulo.—If, by Corbulo, Mr. Disney means, as I have no doubt he does, the illustrious general who flourished under the Emperors from Tiberius to Nero, his name was Cneius Domitius, not Lucius Corbulo. The strong mental powers, the calmness and decision, which Mr. Disney so justly finds stamped upon this bust, are well borne out by the brilliant success which attended his career as one of the greatest generals of his time. There is a fine bust of him in the Louvre, found at Gabii.

P. 46, pl. XXIII.—Bacchus and Libera.—Both here and in p. 25, Mr. Christie speaks of "Liber et alma Ceres," as the representatives of the sun and moon, of day and night. That he alludes to the well-known invocation[1] in the first book of the

[1] ——— "Vos, ô clarissima mundi
Lumina, labentem cælo quæ ducitis annum,
Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista,
Poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis,
Et vos," &c.

*Georgics*, there is, I think, no doubt. for in no other passage that I am aware of is countenance given to this myth. But indeed, though he is supported by Heyne and Macrobius in his interpretation of those famous lines, I am inclined to think with the more recent editors of Virgil, (Heyne himself leaves it an open question,) that they afford no authority for making "confusion worse confounded," by introducing this new element into the chaos of the Bacchic myth. It will be seen on an examination of the passage, that Virgil, after invoking each deity, subjoins a mention of the peculiar attribute which each was supposed to possess. So he addresses the "clarissima mundi lumina," as presiding over the seasons of the year, Liber and Ceres as the divinities who had bestowed on man the blessings of corn and wine; and similarly with the rest. Now, to my mind, none but a dreamy myth-mad Macrobius on the one hand, or a paradox-loving commentator on the other, would ever suppose that Virgil could be so clumsy, as in one line to address Liber and Ceres as "the world's all-glorious orbs, which rule the year as through the heaven it glides;" and in the next as the divinities, "by whose gift the earth Chaonian most exchanged for the rich ear, and Acheloian cups mixed with the new found grape." Varro too, at the commencement of his work, follows up an invocation to Sol and Luna, by one to Ceres and Liber; and it is very probable that Virgil was but copying him. At any rate, it is little likely that Virgil would have introduced a recondite and (as far as Ceres is concerned) unheard of mystery, in the introduction to a popular work like the *Georgics*. As to the omission of the copula before "Liber," comp. *Georg.* I. 498. On the whole, then, unless some other passage can be found in a Roman classical author, in which "Liber et alma Ceres" are more clearly spoken of as identical with the sun and moon, than in these lines of Virgil, I shall withhold assent to Mr. Christie's statement.

P. 59, pl. XXVIII.—"Silenus (and dog)."—This is a grand and beautiful work of art, and, to my untutored eye, the finest piece in the collection. Mr. Disney speaks of it as "of excellent Greek workmanship, the anatomy particularly fine, and in that 'severe style' of which Mr. Knight speaks in the quotation below."

P. 63, pl. XXX.—Goethe, in giving the imaginary portraits of a goddess, says, "Her robes were elegant

enveloped every limb without restraint, and the rich folds of the drapery multiplied, *like a thousand-fold echo*, the fascinating motions of the divinity."—(*Welhelm Meister's Lehrjahre*, I. 8.) I am reminded of this beautiful expression of Goethe, in looking at the fine specimen of drapery in this figure of Juno. The drapery goes a great way towards marking the ἦθος, or "character," of a work of art. In the next plate but one, there is a fine profile of Julius Cæsar.

P. 81, pl. XXXIX.—Agamemnon and Chryses.—This is a very beautiful piece, "on Parian marble in low relief, and in the fine style of Greece;" it was found at Perusia, now Perugia, in 1826, and was pronounced by Thorwaldsen and Treutanove to be exceedingly fine and genuine. It was on their united judgment that Mr. Disney purchased it. The artist has been guilty of a slight inaccuracy, by placing the στέμμα, or festoon, in the hand of Chryses, instead of representing it as wound round or suspended from the staff, χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, says Homer, (*Il.* I. 15.) Ἀνὰ with the dative case, can mean nothing but "upon," as in Pindar (*Pyth.* I. 6, Ed. Dissen,) where the very same words occur, εὖδει δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς αἰετός. The notion that it can mean σὺν, "with," rests on mistaken passages.

In plates XLI. and XLII. we have two specimens, one of a Roman, the other of a Greek sarcophagus. The subject on the former is taken from the story of Bacchus, while that on the latter represents the stratagem of Odysseus by which Achilles was discovered, when, according to the later traditions of Statius and others, he was disguised as a maiden by Thetis, and lay in concealment at Scyros among the daughters of Lycomedes.—(Apollod. Plut. Philostr.) The ends of this sarcophagus represent Achilles in the act of slaying Hector, and Penthesilea queen of the Amazons. As regards the Πῖλος worn by Odysseus, it was no doubt assigned to him by Nicomachus, in consequence of his sea-faring life. This conical shape threw off the wet. So in Theocritus (*Id.* XXI. 13.) the fisherman wears the pileum.

P. 91. pl. XLIII.—We now come to the Inscriptions. The first is a very curious marble found at Rome, and commemorating the victories of Paulus Æmilius. It runs as follows:—

SACRUM HERCULI INVICTO . PAULUS ÆMILIUS IMPERATOR MACEDONIAM TERRARUM IMPERIO POSITAM COEPIT CUIUS UNO DIE LXXII URBES VENDIDIT ETIAM INDIÆ VICTOR PER VESTIGIA LIBERI PATRIS ATQUE HERCULIS ROMANA SIGNA CIRCUMTULIT

DIGNUM DEO DONUM DICAVIT. Mr. Tate reads "CEPIT," setting down COEPIT as a mistake of the engraver. This is rather a summary mode of disposing of a difficulty. Mr. Disney, on the other hand, remarks, "It is to be observed that the word 'coepit' has an ō in it: this seems to have been done in very old Latin; and the O is introduced in very great profusion in the inscription on the famous tomb of Scipio, copied at length in the second volume of '*Rome in the Nineteenth Century*,' p. 171, where the words 'Unum' and 'Plurimi' are written OINO . PLOIRUME." To these instances may be added MACESTRATOS (acc. pl.), EXFOCIONT, CONSOL, PRIMOS (nom. sing.), CAPTOM, found in the inscription on the Column. Rostr. So FACIONDAM DEDERONT in *Inscr. Orell.* no. 1585, and MONDO, HOC TOMOLO, *Ib.* no. 4858.

P. 95. pl. XLIV.—One of the inscriptions in this plate presents us with a riddle,—DIIS MANIBUS SACRUM. PATER CUM FILIA FRATER ET SOROR, SOCER ET NURUS HIC TANTUM DUO IACENT. CONSULES VIATOR ET ÆMILIUS. Mr. Tate associates this with the "Vir gregis ipse caper," and "olentis uxores mariti," of the poets. I wonder what the worthy Canon could have meant. I think his illustration is far more enigmatical than the inscription itself. Mr. Disney's solution is very ingenious;—he takes three names, Marcus, Fulvia, and Julia; and by supposing Marcus to be the natural son of Fulvia, and that Julia is the daughter of Fulvia by her son Marcus, and that Marcus marries his mother Fulvia after the birth of Julia, this highly creditable connection is at once made out. He adds, that all persons who marry women, by whom they have natural children, are fathers-in-law to them; till when they are termed *nullius filii*.

P. 100. pl. XLV.—In commenting upon one of the inscriptions contained in this plate, Mr. Disney remarks,—"If it be right to interpret the L in the third line *Liberta*, then should not the L in the first, referring to the boy, be *Libertinus*? for he is the son of a *Liberta*; and, according to Suetonius, the son of a *Libertus* was called *Libertinus*."—Claud. c. 24. I should be inclined to answer this question in the negative. In the first place, Suetonius himself confines this meaning of the word *Libertinus* to the time of the censor Appius Claudius (temporibus Appii, et deinceps aliquamdiu); and, secondly, because the word is so used in any extant Roman author.

P. 101. pl. XLVI.—In the first line of one of these inscrip

which Mr. Disney has very ingeniously restored, is found a device, which the author takes to be an adze, used probably to dig the graves with. He adds, "There are in many places, as Dauphiné, Savoy, Languedoc, Piedmont, slabs with this sort of adze upon them. Montfaucon says these monuments are dedicated "sous la hache;" and where he finds the letters S · AS · D ·, he reads 'Sub ascia dedicavit.'" This writer declares he cannot make out the reason of such a dedication. If I might venture to hazard a conjecture upon the subject, I should say that the object of this device was, if I may so speak, to secure an *inchoate* sacredness to those tombs to which no bodies had as yet been consigned, having been dedicated in the lifetime of their future occupants, while the *adze* alone, and not the corpse, had sunk into the ground. Thus, in the *Inscr. Orell.* n. 4465, we find,—"Quem tumulum duplicem posuit et sibi *vivus* posterisque suis et sub ascia dedicavit." In one of what are called the Triopian inscriptions, this adze is called the δμωὴν κυανέου Ἄϊδος.—(*Anth. Gr. App.* n. 50.)

P. 113. pl. LI.—We have here the following inscription,

HAVE ACCIÆ
P · F · TVLLIÆ
SOL · TI · B · F

which Mr. Tate thus interprets,—"Have Acciæ Piæ Filiæ Tulliæ Soli Titi Libertus Benemerenti Fecit;" translating it as follows, in his usual *plethoric* style,—"Hail! and farewell! to Accia Tullia. In memory of a good and only daughter, and in gratitude for all her kindness, (her father) the freedman of Titus, erected this stone." But, as Mr. Disney remarks, there is no letter which justifies the word Libertus: HAVE is used as an address to a deceased individual in Catullus, *Carm.* 101: "in perpetuum frater have atque vale." Compare *Inscr. Orell.* nn. 2663, 4732, 4734, 4742. In Martial it is distinguished as an address to the living, from *vale*, the greeting to the dead. "Jam satis est: non vis, Afer, avere: Vale," (9, 8.) This double meaning of *avere* furnishes the substance of an anecdote of Claudius in Suetonius, (c. 21),—"Emissurus Fucinum lacum naumachiam ante commisit. Sed quum proclamantibus naumachiariis, 'Have Imperator, morituri te salutant:' respondisset, 'Havete vos,' neque post hanc vocem, quasi veniâ datâ quisquam dimicare vellet, &c. . . . . ."

But to come to the only difficulty of this inscription, the signification of the letters SOL · TI · , in order that the readers of the Classical Museum may have ample data for exercising their ingenuity, I will give them the benefit of Mr. Disney's conjectures on the subject:—"There was a college at Rome of Titii or Titienses, priests of Apollo under the empire; see Lempriere and Dr. Smith, Dictionaries, in verbo Titii. The letters S. SOL have been interpreted Sacerdos Solis; and by reading SOL · TI · 'Solis Titii,' we may suppose that this was dedicated to a priestess of Apollo by the members of that fraternity. These letters have also been interpreted Soli Tibi.

Judicent peritiores—for the present I acquiesce in the last proposed solution. I trust, that if a more satisfactory one suggests itself to any of the readers of this Journal, they will not fail to communicate it in some ensuing number. It would be as well to observe that the two letters following SOL are, we are told, distinctly TI. Some six or seven more inscriptions complete the volume. Their elegant simplicity presents a striking contrast to the swollen epitaphs of modern times, telling the passer-by in fulsome strains how some little king has lived his little day. It is not the least blemish in Mr. Tate's lucubrations on this part of the work, that in his translations of these inscriptions, he has almost uniformly destroyed this character of simplicity, and substituted in its stead a style of his own, as turgid as it is weak.

Limited as have been my remarks upon the Museum Disneianum, the reader will be able, I trust, to form some conception of the obligations he is under to the industry, elegance, and acumen of the author. He must remember that I have only called his attention to those specimens on which I felt I had some animadversions or corrections, however destitute of interest or value, to advance; and that I have passed by many whose beauty I was conscious praise of mine could not adorn, and in the illustrations of which by Mr. Disney, I found there was nothing to amend. What is called the getting-up of the work is everything that can be desired;—in it Mr. Disney has very wisely imitated the British Museum.

I conclude by recommending this book most warmly to the notice of all who take an interest in archæological pursuits. Such persons will, I feel assured, be glad to learn that there is

a prospect of its being shortly succeeded by another volume, containing a description of other branches of the collection at the Hyde.

C. K. W.

Trin. Coll. Camb.

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## XVI.

## MOSES IN CANAAN.

It is the general opinion, derived from some passages of Scripture—whether correctly or incorrectly understood, is a question open to criticism—that Moses was never in the land of Canaan. To me, however, it appears to be probable that Moses was well acquainted with Canaan, from actual observation, before he led the Israelites out of Egypt; and that he acquired this knowledge by travel, in the interval between his departure from Egypt into the land of Midian and his return to rescue his countrymen from oppression.

Moses was forty years old when he left Egypt; he passed forty years as an exile; and can we suppose that a person, accomplished as he was in all the learning of Egypt, endowed, as plainly appears from all his subsequent conduct, with great activity of mind, could have been so far destitute of a natural and liberal curiosity, as not to be impelled by the desire of becoming personally acquainted with that country where his distinguished progenitors had sojourned; a country which he, in all likelihood, even then, from traditional knowledge of God's promises transmitted, and from the declarations and blessings of the dying Patriarch Jacob, knew to be prophetically allotted as the inheritance of the Israelites? We can hardly suppose that his active and cultivated mind could have remained satisfied, for the whole period of forty years, with dwelling in the vallies of Horeb, confined to the narrow occupations of the pastoral life. It is most natural, and perfectly accordant with the character of Moses, to think that he employed some portion of these forty years exile, in acquiring a personal knowledge of other countries, and particularly of Canaan, from which, while resident near Horeb, he was but a few days travel distant.

There are passages in the Pentateuch which may impress the reader with the conviction that the supposition is not unfounded.

It may be said that he acquired the knowledge of Canaan which his writings evince, either by reading or conversation, or by inspiration. That he may have gained some information respecting the country by reading is not impossible, and by conversation is highly probable, indeed we might say, certain:[1] but I do not see the necessity or the propriety of referring his knowledge on this topic to inspiration, when the nature of that knowledge—the condition and qualities and productions and local peculiarities of a country—is such as could easily have been acquired, in the ordinary way, by an active and intelligent mind; especially when Moses was so circumstanced that the acquisition of this knowledge must be considered as unimpeded by any difficulty, but merely the result of a very natural curiosity.

There being, then, no reason for supposing that his knowledge on this subject was inspired, it appears to me that neither reading nor conversation could have imparted that knowledge of the country which he displays in his writings; a knowledge which, in some instances, is so particular, so minute and exact, that we may conclude none but an eye observer could have so happily delineated the circumstances, and been so accurately acquainted with some of the localities of the land.

In Deut. III. 9, speaking of Mount Hermon, the northern boundary of the territory to the east of the Jordan, he says, "which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir." This denotes knowledge seemingly derived from an actual acquaintance and conversational intercourse with the people who called the mountain by these names.[2] The Hebrew and Samaritan texts agree in the words: the Septuagint has Σανίωρ for Sirion; and in the Targum of Onkelos, for Shenir, it is, "the mountain of snow," טוּר תַּלְגָּא .

But there is one particular passage in Deuteronomy which more than any other evinces the writer to have had very clear and accurate local knowledge of the country. "And it shall

[1] From the Egyptian priests, among whom and by whom Moses was educated, he may have acquired some knowledge of the geography of Canaan, as well as of other countries; and some traditional knowledge of Canaan from his own countrymen.

[2] Unless this may be considered as a marginal gloss derived from the schools of the Prophets.

come to pass when the Lord thy God hath brought thee in unto the land whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim, and the curse upon Mount Ebal." "Are they not on the other side Jordan by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh?"—Deut. xi. 29, 30. These two verses appear to me to be very strong evidence in support of the opinion, that Moses had travelled through the land of Canaan.

It required an accurate knowledge, derived from personal observation, to be enabled to select two hills so peculiarly situated, and, from their proximity, so well adapted to be the scene of the solemn service for which they were appointed by Moses. From the charge given by Moses, Deut. xxvii. 11, 12, 13, &c. it is certain he must have known that these mountains were so near to each other, that the voices of the one half of the tribes on Gerizim could be heard by the other half on Ebal. The Jewish writers, describing the ceremony, place the ark, the priests and Levites, in the middle, that is, in the valley, and six tribes on each mountain. In fact, the interjacent valley is so narrow—not above a furlong broad, says Maundrell—that the tribes must necessarily have been arranged up the sides, and most probably, on the summits of the two hills. The ark was surrounded by the priests and Levites, and the tribes must have kept a reverential distance. So numerous was the whole body of the tribes, that, had they not been arranged up the sides and on the summits of the hills, their line would have extended so far in length, through, and far beyond the valley, that the intention of the religious service, that all the tribes should hear the blessings and the curses, and declare their assent by pronouncing the word Amen, could not possibly have been accomplished. The space which the tribes occupied in their encampment in the plains of Moab, on the east of Jordan, between Bethjesimoth and Abel Shittim, was twelve miles. Num. xxxiii. 49. Twelve miles square is the space assigned by the Jewish writers to the usual encampment of the Israelites while on their progress to Canaan.[3] So that, with this place, the situation and circumstances of which were so admirably adapted for this ceremony, perhaps more peculiarly fitting than any

[3] See Lightfoot's Works, vol. ii. c. 48, p. 46, folio edition.

other spot in the whole land of Canaan, it is highly probable Moses was well acquainted from accurate observation.

The narrow valley and the two enclosing approximating hills formed a scene surprisingly well adapted for the celebration of the solemn service. The narrow valley in which was erected the tabernacle, and where the priests and attendant Levites could perform the religious services in addition to the sacrifices offered on the altar erected on Mount Ebal, accordant with the ceremony of the ratification of the Covenant, and of the divine system of laws which was to form the civil as well as the religious constitution of their polity. On each side, a hill ascending in gentle gradation like the seats of an amphitheatre, and forming one more magnificent, and appropriated to an inexpressibly more noble purpose than all the taste of Greece or the colossal genius of Rome had ever erected; on which the vast host of the Israelites were arranged according to their tribes; where every individual could behold the religious service, and every individual could hear the awful maledictions and the animating blessings, and assent to the ratification, by solemnly responding Amen; so as to hear and be heard by those arranged on the opposite hills. For the celebration of such a national service in such a manner, by so numerous a body of people, a situation was required very peculiarly circumstanced. The position also of the place in the country was of importance. It should not be in any remote part, but in a district to be included in their early conquests, as it was proper that the ratification of the law should take place, as soon as they had, by the conquest of some of the land, acquired the command and possession of some territory in their promised inheritance. All these peculiarities, which rendered the place so admirably fitting for the ceremony appointed by the legislator, evince, either that it must have been named by Moses in consequence of a divine command, of which, however, there is no vestige, or selected by him from his accurate knowledge of the local circumstances, a knowledge which he must have acquired by having travelled through Canaan. There seems to me also, in Moses having named Ebal as the mountain on which the altar of unhewn stones was to be erected, a peculiar propriety, arising, as it must have done [illegible] nowledge of the nature of the hill, de[illegible]n. Ebal is stony and rocky; [illegible]ty in finding mate-

rials for building the altar; but Gerizim is not so. "In Mount Gerizim," says Benjamin of Tudela, "there are fountains and gardens, but Mount Ebal is arid like stones and rocks."[4] And this contrasted appearance of the two hills is mentioned also by other travellers. This circumstance respecting the nature of Ebal, of its being stony and rocky, and affording materials for the construction of the altar commanded by Moses to be erected there, may be an argument in support of the Hebrew text against the Samaritan, on this long contested point.

In Deut. xi. 30, Moses seems to be pointing out to the Israelites the exact situation of the two mountains Ebal and Gerizim: "Are they not there, beyond Jordan, to the west, beside the plains of Moreh, in the land of those Canaanites who dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal?" From the high grounds or hills east of the Jordan, Moses could point out, and the expressions in verse 38. seem to intimate that he had pointed out, to the Israelites the mountains Ebal and Gerizim. The hills east of the Jordan command an extensive view of the land of Canaan. Many, or all of the Israelites, during their marches over the hilly country, when engaged in conquering the kingdoms of Sihon and Og, must have frequently enjoyed an extensive prospect over Jordan into the land. It is natural to suppose that many of the more curious would anxiously ascend to the summits of some of the highest hills, in order to feast their longing eyes with as wide a view as possible of their promised inheritance. From almost any part of the high mountain range that overlooks the plain of Jordan on the east, Gerizim and Ebal, with the plains of Moreh, can be easily distinguished. "Mr. Buckingham left Nablous by the eastern gate, and, after passing along the valley for about a quarter of an hour, he arrived at the spot where the pass opens into a more extensive vale, the mountains on the other side of the Jordan being in sight on the left."—*Mod. Traveller, Palest.* p. 245. From this it appears, that not only Ebal and Gerizim, but the entrance into the valley between them, could be discovered from the hills on the east side of the Jordan. Gerizim and Ebal are, perhaps, not more than between twenty and thirty miles from the Jordan. From the purity of the atmos-

[4] Dr. Robinson's account of these two mountains is not so much in favour of the distinctive character assigned to them by Benjamin of Tudela.—*Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. III. p. 96.

phere in that country, the eye can penetrate through a vastly greater extent than we, in this our denser air, can form a conception of. Volney, speaking of the adaptation of Syria for making philosophical observations, says, "We in our foggy climates, in the depths of vast continents, are unable to pursue the great changes which happen in the atmosphere; the confined horizon bounding our view, also circumscribes our ideas. The field of observation is very limited. In Syria an immense scene opens. . . . . To the west, the vast liquid plain of the Mediterranean; to the east, the plain of the desert, no less extensive; . . . between these two level surfaces rise the mountains, whose tops are so many observatories, from whence the sight may discover full thirty leagues. Four observers might command all Syria; and from the tops of Casius, Lebanon, and Tabor, let nothing escape them within that boundless horizon."—*Volney's Travels*, c. 20, s. 11. The view which Moses enjoyed from Nebo, before he died, proves the great extent to which the eye can reach in that pure atmosphere; and this passage, Deut. XXXIV. 1, 2, 3, is illustrated by the observations quoted from Volney. And thus it is rendered highly probable, that Moses may have pointed to the situation of Ebal and Gerizim, being previously acquainted with their site and nature, from his knowledge of the country.

The accurate knowledge, also, which Moses evinces of the land of Canaan and its productions, seems to favour the opinion that this knowledge was the result of actual observation. In Deut. VIII. 7, 8, 9, the nature and productions of the country are accurately presented to us. "For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land; a land of brooks of water; of fountains, and depths that spring out of vallies and hills; a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig-trees and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive, and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." "A land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills:" How different is this picture of the land from what Moses had been habitually acquainted with in Egypt or Midian! and how precisely does it paint the agreeable and distinguishing features that rendered it the desirable object of their wishes, and made it so eminently

to Egypt!

"For the land whither thou goest to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs; but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and vallies, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven; a land which the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year."—Deut. xi. 11, &c. In this passage Moses pointedly marks its superiority to Egypt, whose fertility precariously depended on the inundation of the Nile, where the Israelites had been obliged to labour hard in irrigating their fields by machinery, an operation performed in Canaan by the natural springs and seasonable rains of heaven, under the bountiful care and providence of the Lord, who had so blessed it with natural advantages and extraordinary fertility, that "from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year" it was still producing something for the nourishment and gratification of the inhabitants.

I shall now examine some passages which seem to militate against the opinion that I have been endeavouring to support. Why did Moses, if he were acquainted with the country, send spies to view the land, and bring an account to the people? Num. xiii.—"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Send thou men, that they may search the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel; of every tribe of their fathers shall ye send a man, every one a ruler among them. . . . And Moses sent to spy out the land of Canaan, and said unto them, Get ye up this way southward, and go up into the mountain; and see the land what it is; and the people that dwelleth therein, whether they be strong or weak, few or many; and what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be good or bad; and what cities they be that they dwell in, whether in tent, or in strong hold; and what the land is, whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein or not; and be ye of good courage, and bring of the fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the first ripe grapes." These spies were sent, not for the information of Moses, but that the people might be convinced of the excellent quality of the land, by an eye-witness from each of the tribes.

"And the Lord said unto Moses, Get thee up into this mount Abarim, and see the land which I have given unto the children

of Israel; and when thou hast seen it, thou also shalt be gathered unto thy people, as Aaron thy brother was gathered." —Num. xxvii. 12, 13. There is nothing, as it appears to me, in the whole passage, that excludes the idea of his having seen the land at a former period. In fact, during his marches with the Israelites, while subjugating the kingdoms of Sihon and Og, he had frequent views of the land, across both the southern and the northern stream of the Jordan. To Moses, indeed, was interdicted the enjoyment of the promised land, and he was denied the high honour of leading into their inheritance the Israelites, whom, by his talents, and the wonderful system of polity which he was the instrument of establishing, he consolidated into a nation. Although he was not permitted to pass over Jordan with the other Israelites, yet he was gratified by having an extensive view of it before he died.

"And I besought the Lord at that time, saying, . . . . I pray thee let me go over and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain and Lebanon."—Deut. iii. 23, 25. Neither does the expression here, in my opinion, exclude the idea of Moses having seen the land formerly, but rather, on the contrary, it seems to intimate, that he had been so deeply impressed with a sense of the admirable qualities of the land on a former visit, and with the beauty and magnificence of Mount Lebanon, that he ardently prayed he might be permitted to enjoy the happiness of entering into the land, and dwelling there, even for a short time before he should die. Moses, too, when conquering the country that was afterwards assigned to the eastern half tribe of Manasseh, enjoyed a near view of Lebanon. A strong desire of seeing the land that he had seen at a former period of his life, particularly as circumstances peculiarly interesting were now connected with it, was quite natural. Ulysses, as Homer beautifully observes, would have been content to die, had he but first beheld even the smoke ascending from the houses of his native land.

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς,
ἱέμενος καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρώσκοντα νοῆσαι
ἧς γαίης θανέειν ἱμείρεται.

*Odyss.* i. 57.

In that prophetic ode, the thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy, in which Moses depicts in miniature the future fortunes of the

tribes, the situation which shall be assigned to each on the partition of the land, and the peculiar nature of the territories of some of them, as of Joseph, Zebulon, Issachar, and Asher; though the foreknowledge displayed, respecting the situation which would be allotted to the tribes, was of course infused by inspiration, yet, thus foreknowing the peculiar tracts of territory, the knowledge which he evinces of their qualities and productions may have been derived from personal observation. In Deut. XXXII. 52, and in XXXIV. 1, &c. the expressions may be interpreted in the same manner as others similar, as not excluding a former acquaintance with the country. In Deut. I. 35, it is said, "Surely there shall not one of these men of this evil generation see that good land," yet of all these spoken of, ten (of the spies) had already seen the land.

Eichhorn, in dwelling on the proofs in favour of the Book of Deuteronomy having been written on the east side of the Jordan, asserts that Moses had never been in Canaan. He says, "The land to the east of the Jordan was well known to Moses, so that he could easily judge, from the situation of its chief towns, which would be appropriate for cities of refuge, and therefore he appoints them by name. The land to the west of the Jordan he had never seen, and hence he was too little informed of the situation of particular places, to be able to fix on appropriate cities as places of refuge. He therefore limits himself to the matter of appointing that three places of refuge should be established to the west of the Jordan also, but he leaves the selection of those places to a future time, or to those who, at a future period, from a better knowledge of the country, might be able to appoint the most appropriate cities for that purpose. From his want of acquaintance with the localities of the country to the west of the Jordan, he would not venture to fix upon the place that would be most appropriate for the worship of Jehovah, and speaks merely of a place of the sanctuary, which at a future period Jehovah would select."—*Einleitung*, v. 3. p. 226.

But these arguments in support of the opinion that Moses had never seen the land to the west of the Jordan, are invalid. The reason why he did not appoint the cities of refuge to the west of the Jordan is, that Joshua was to conquer the country; and, therefore, the appointment of these cities was to be left to his judgment and decision. Changes, too, might have occurred

since Moses was in the country. Knowing how far his own conquests to the east of the Jordan extended, he was fully qualified to decide what situation would be most appropriate for cities of refuge there; but he did not know how far the conquests of Joshua might extend; he could not, therefore, how accurate soever might have been his local knowledge of the country, have fixed upon places that would have been suitable. He fixed upon Ebal and Gerizim for an important purpose, for which they were so singularly, so admirably well adapted, that nothing but accurate ocular knowledge of the peculiar appropriateness of the place could have led him to fix upon it. And if we are to suppose that inspiration intervened to point out the nature of this place, which from its natural arrangement was so admirably adapted for the purpose, why might we not expect that inspiration would assist in designating the best adapted positions as cities of refuge? But the truth is, inspiration has never proffered its infallible certainty of knowledge except when it was necessary. Ebal and Gerizim, and the interjacent local dispositions, could not be changed: they were permanent formations of nature; he therefore could have no hesitation in fixing on them for a specific purpose, even after many years might have elapsed since his having seen them. But in addition to his not knowing how far the conquests of Joshua might extend, and consequently being unable to determine what distance should intervene between the cities of refuge, the towns of Canaan might have been changed since he saw them.

The reason, too, why Moses did not appoint the particular place for the sanctuary of Jehovah, is not, as Eichhorn supposes, because Moses was unacquainted with the country; but the true reason appears to be that assigned by Maimonides: "lest, if it were mentioned, every tribe should desire to have it in its lot, and strife should arise among them about it." See Patrick on Deuteronomy XII. 11.

Thus it seems highly probable that Moses had travelled through Canaan. Possessing a mind so active and intelligent, and having, as is evident, exerted himself strenuously in the acquisition of knowledge, we can hardly suppose that he could have been content to remain for forty years confined to Midian or the vallies of Horeb. Canaan, which from the tr knowledge obtained among his countrymen he must ha was the divinely destined allotment of the Israelites,

far distant, we may naturally conclude that he was impelled by that common curiosity which influences all men, of knowing something of other countries, but particularly of the destined inheritance of his brethren, and the region which had been the abode of their and his divinely conducted and protected progenitors.

Thus, on the first view of the matter, previous to any particular examination of passages, we might conjecture it to be highly probable that he had visited Canaan during the period of his exile from Egypt. And this conjecture is, as it appears to me, verified by some passages in his writings, which evince such a particular, clear, and exact knowledge of the country, that it must have been acquired either by ocular observation, or have been infused by inspiration. With respect to the last source of information, there is neither a necessity nor a ground to assume it, in this particular portion of knowledge displayed in the writings of Moses. And the passages which speak of his being permitted to behold the land, do not, in my opinion, exclude the supposition of his having seen the country at a former period. His selection of the natural amphitheatres, facing one another, presented by the gradually ascending sides of Ebal and Gerizim, with the interjacent valley, for the grand and solemn service of the national ratification of the covenant which was instituted at Horeb; his appointing Ebal as the hill on which was to be erected an altar of unhewn stones, which mountain, from its natural quality being stony, supplied, without any difficulty, the materials for its construction; and his pointing out to the Israelites the exact situation of these two hills,—all evince his clear, minute, and accurate knowledge of the local circumstances.

WILLIAM EWING.

VICARAGE, DONEGAL.

## XVII.

## C. LUCILII SATURARUM RELIQUIÆ:

Edidit, auxit, emendavit Fr. Dor. Gerlach. Zürich, 1846. 8vo.

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THE young scholar who, a few years ago, might have felt inclined to apply himself to the study of Lucilius, would have found little to aid him in his pursuit. The original collection of the remains published by Robert and Henry Stephens, in their *Fragmenta Veterum Poetarum Latinorum*, (1564) and the enlarged edition by Dousa, (1597) had been frequently reprinted, but with few additions, and with but little of improvement or of change. The great body of the Latin grammarians, to whom we are indebted for much of what has been preserved, were lying, as too many still lie, a rude unformed heap in the clumsy compilation of Putschius. The invaluable, although sadly mutilated, treatise of Verrius Flaccus, as abridged by Festus, had gradually become so mixed up with the later compendium by Paul the Deacon, and the bold supplements of Scaliger, as to be worse than useless; while for more than two centuries, the important glossaries of Nonius Marcellus had remained untouched. It was often a source of wonder to us, that while our learned and indefatigable neighbours in Germany had disinterred from their resting-places a multitude of names deservedly forgotten, and had expended vast toil in repairing and furbishing various relics, dug out from the rubbish of antiquity, which, being neither valuable nor curious, nor in any way interesting, might have been safely permitted to moulder away, they should have allowed the father of Roman satire—the great master of his native tongue, while it was still in the full freshness of its young vigour—the poet regarded at once as an object of rivalry, and a model for imitation by Horace and Juvenal, to languish in neglect and decay. But a brief period has wrought a mighty change. The labours of Müller, of Lindemann, and of many others, have communicated a new aspect to the writings of the classical and mediæval philologists; while a whole cloud of critics, as if ashamed of their former supineness, have rushed almost simultaneously into the field, eager to achieve renown by their efforts on behalf of A·

son. We now find marshalled, in imposing array, a battalion which numbers the following champions, and, we believe, several others, on its muster-roll:

VARGES,—Specimen Quæstionum Lucilianarum, in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1835, p. 13.

VARGES,—Lucilii Fragmen. I. II. Stett. 1836.

SCHMIDT,—C. Lucilii Saturarum quæ de libro nono supersunt disposita et illustrata. Berol. 1840.

SCHOENBECK,—Quæstionum Lucil. Part. Posn. 1841.

PETERMANN,—De C. Lucilii vita et carmm. Vrat. 1842.

VAN HEUSDE,—Studia Critica in C. Lucilium Poetam. Traj. ad Rhen. 1842.

VAN HEUSDE,—Epistola ad C. F. Hermannum de C. Lucilio. Traj. ad Rhen. 1844.

E. F. CORPET,—Satires de C. Lucilius, Fragments revus, augmentés, traduits et annotés pour la premiere fois en Français. Paris. 1845.

GERLACH,—C. Lucilii Saturarum Reliquiæ. Turic. 1846.

To which we must add, some acute remarks in the bulky and discursive *Prolegomena to Persius* by Otto Jahn, a man of deep learning, but unfortunately imbued with the spirit of that school of essayists, already too numerous, who, like ill-trained hounds, never follow staunchly the game first started, but dash off recklessly in pursuit of every fresh fox which may cross their path, and after a long, bewildering, and unprofitable chase, with difficulty find their way back, jaded and blown, to a cold scent, having effectually baffled and thrown out all who attempted to keep pace with them in their erratic career.

Of the above publications, one only, with the exception of the work of the French translator, which does not call for any particular notice, contains the text complete. The others are confined to particular portions, or are composed entirely of disquisitions upon collateral points, interspersed with conjectures, explanations, and miscellaneous remarks. The volume of Gerlach, however, puts forth considerable pretensions, since it exhibits, not only a revision of the whole of the fragments, but also a considerable mass of preliminary dissertations.

We must not conceal, that it would be most unreasonable to look for a perfect edition of Lucilius from any quarter, if we understand by such a term an edition which should present all the remains in a pure and intelligible form. The greater num-

ber of these being confined within the limits of a single line, or even of a portion of a line, and being for the most part extracted from treatises in which they are quoted for the purpose of illustrating an uncommon word, or an uncommon form, or an ordinary word employed in an unusual signification, we often look in vain for any clue to indicate the general bearing of the passages to which they belong, or to guide us out of the labyrinth of corruptions in which we find ourselves entangled. Much of this embarrassment is doubtless due to the evil plight in which the text of the grammarians is so often found, and many errors of a still more complicated character may be referred to blunders on the part of the grammarians themselves, who frequently quoted from memory, and were indifferent to everything, except the single point which they were seeking to illustrate. But although a restoration of the *disjecta membra* to shape and comeliness, is an undertaking far beyond the powers of any single individual, even were he inspired with the daring genius of Bentley, and the unscrupulous boldness of Bothe, yet a scholar of sound judgment and moderate industry might have discovered in these relics, not only an ample field for the display of his own ingenuity and skill, but might have presented them under such an aspect as would have greatly facilitated their gradual amelioration. In order to attain this end, the main body of the book ought to have been separated, according to the common method, into three divisions, kept perfectly distinct:—1. Text; 2. Various Readings; 3. Annotations. But it would have been necessary to carry out this arrangement in a particular manner, in order to suit the circumstances of the present case. Lucilius ought in fact to have been regarded very much in the light of a newly discovered author, and hence the text ought to have been exhibited in its most naked condition. When we bear in mind how little has hitherto been done for it, and in what a careless and desultory manner it has for the most part been approached, it is evident that the first step towards a better state of things would have been, to place the materials for our toil before us, clean and free from all foreign admixture. Hence each fragment having been traced up to the source from whence it was derived, the best reading supplied by the MSS. ought to have been set down, even although evidently corrupt, and admitting of an apparently easy and certain correction; and this having been done, all the most impor-

tant discrepancies of the MSS. ought to have been carefully noted, the reader having been previously furnished with data for estimating the value of the codices referred to.

The annotations might with advantage have consisted of three parts.

*a*. The passage of the classical writer or grammarian in which each fragment is contained, ought to have been extracted entire. This would not have greatly augmented the bulk of the volume, and would have vastly increased its convenience. Valuable hints for comprehending or correcting a stray expression, may occasionally be caught up from observing the circumstances under which it is cited; but when mere references are given, the reader being compelled to verify these himself, in a great majority of cases, shrinks from a task which is always irksome, and frequently impracticable. Few persons would have the courage to sit down with a dogged determination of reproducing, in its original integrity, each isolated scrap, although many, when casually examining the dilapidated mass, might strike out happy thoughts if the facts requisite for arriving at a conclusion were clearly set before them.

*b*. The second portion of the annotations ought to have embraced the conjectural emendations proposed from time to time by various scholars;—these being in some instances highly satisfactory, are in themselves sufficient to render farther investigation unnecessary; and even when less felicitous, often lead to something more perfect—to which might have been added any improvements suggested by the editor himself.

*c*. The third section might with advantage have been purely explanatory of those passages in which the true reading had been ascertained; and here there is wide scope for profound and highly interesting illustration on various matters connected with the developement of the language, and with the manners of the Romans at the most interesting epoch of their social history.

We lament that M. Gerlach has in no one point realised the conceptions sketched out above, of an useful edition of Lucilius. Much of his text is made up of conjectural emendations by Dousa and others, many of these being arbitrary and extravagant. In marking the various readings, we have no tabl which we may calculate their comparative valua—the tions are seldom given at full length,

tant,—the department of general exposition has been almost entirely passed over;—and of the few original conjectures scattered up and down, we can say nothing complimentary.

Let us now turn to the Prolegomena. They are distributed under six heads, entitled respectively,—1. *De C. Lucilii vita.* 2. *De personis Lucilianis.* 3. *De singulorum librorum argumentis.* 4. *Quae Lucilianae Saturae ratio fuerit exponitur.* 5. *De oratione Lucilii.* All attractive subjects.

The leading facts in the life of Lucilius, the date of his birth (B.C. 148), and of his death (B.C. 103), the place of his nativity (Aurunca), his close intimacy with Scipio and Lælius, and his military service under the former in the Numantine war,—seemed to have been clearly ascertained from the direct testimony of Jerome, of Juvenal, of Ausonius, of Horace, and of Velleius Paterculus. Bayle, in his Dictionary, first sought to cast a doubt upon these particulars, by endeavouring to prove that they were inconsistent with each other, and with the internal evidence yielded by the fragments themselves, and his reasonings have recently been followed up and expanded by Van Heusde. Gerlach, without bringing forth any new argument, has sided with Varges and others in taking the sensible view of the question, demonstrating that the difficulties stated by Bayle are altogether imaginary; that it was in no way contrary to Roman usage for a youth to enter the army under the age of seventeen; that the Calpurnian law alluded to in the 4th fragment of Book XX. may have been the enactment of the tribune L. Calpurnius Piso, *De pecuniis repetundis*, which belongs to B.C. 150; and not that of the consul C. Calpurnius Piso, *De ambitu*, passed B.C. 68; that the Licinian sumptuary law may have been passed in B.C. 104, during the prætorship of P. Licinius Crassus, or even earlier; and that we have no right to conclude from the term *senex*, (Hor. *S.* II. 1, 34), that the personage to whom it is applied actually attained to an advanced age.

The *personae Lucilianae* may be divided into three classes. To the first belong those whose fame is so high that their history is familiar to every one conversant with the annals of antiquity. Such are Scipio and Lælius; and we are therefore
ased to think that the pages in which they are discussed
ve been safely omitted. The argument that the younger,
elder Africanus, was chiefly celebrated by Lucilius,

must appear superfluous to all readers; and the attempt to prove that the antagonist of Hannibal might also have afforded a theme, is puerile; for by the same uncontrovertible process of reasoning, it can be demonstrated that any conspicuous character belonging to the first six centuries of the City *might* have been introduced into the Satires.

In the second class we may include those who, from their own proper obscurity, or from the indistinct and cursory manner in which they are noticed, may be pronounced altogether unknown; and such might have been at once dismissed with an honest confession of ignorance. The greater number of these M. Gerlach is compelled to pass over: but he is unable altogether to resist the temptation of rearing a few castles in the clouds. One of the scholiasts of Horace, in order to illustrate a certain form of speech, quotes from Lucilius the three words "*Valeri sententia dia.*" From what part of the works of Lucilius this phrase may have been extracted, what the purport of the "*sententia*" may have been, whether expressed in prose or verse, orally or in a book, whether proceeding from a contemporary or from some of the countless high-souled Valerii of the olden time, are points on which we possess no information whatever, and no means of obtaining information. M. Gerlach, however, not content with insisting that this Valerius must be Q. Valerius Soranus, the author of the ἐποποιΐαν, actually imagines that he has discovered in the fragments of Book XXVI. a conversation between Lucilius and Soranus; and has even attempted to reconstruct it to a certain extent. We might, with equal prospect of success, endeavour to give a detailed plan of a large edifice, concerning whose form and uses no record has been preserved of any kind, and of which nothing remains except a few stones of different sizes scattered up and down in various buildings of comparatively recent date.

The third class is composed of those who, we can ascertain, were distinguished contemporaries of Lucilius, who were the objects of his praise or censure, but whom, in consequence of the ambiguity so constantly attendant upon Roman names, it is difficult to identify. Among these we may rank Lupus and Mutius, whom our author bit at fiercely, but found so hard that he broke his grinders upon them.

——"Secuit Lucilius urbem,
Te, Lupe, te, Muti, et genuinum fregit in illis."

Here a little ingenious original speculation might have been regarded with indulgent favour, but we can discover nothing bearing upon this pair, nor upon any of the individuals particularly described in this chapter, which may not be traced to the Onomasticon attached to Orelli's Cicero, or some source equally obvious. We regret, moreover, that since M. Gerlach has here borrowed so largely from the useful compilation just referred to, he did not adopt the arrangement there followed, and instead of mixing up the names in a confused dissertation, range them regularly in alphabetical order.

As much has been done in the chapter *De singulorum librorum argumentis*, as the subject will rationally admit. The topics treated of have, in some few instances, been specified by ancient authorities, and so far all is well; but with regard to the greater number, the wisest course is to echo the reluctant confession,—"In tanta diversitate fragmentorum libri . . . . fieri non potest ut argumentum diligentius circumscribatur." What is really known has been faithfully set down, and the most plausible conjectures have been collected and arranged. But ignorant as we are of the principle upon which the distribution into books was founded, and of the manner in which they may have been subdivided, being unable to discover whether each book consisted of one continuous piece or of several, and whether, if we adopt the latter hypothesis, they contained a series of pieces devoted to the same theme, or, like the books of the Satires of Horace, were an assemblage of essays on a great variety of topics,—it is evidently a waste of time to rear up complicated theories upon a few scattered lines. How fanciful the objects descried by those who have sought to peer into these millstones, may be made obvious by simply turning over and comparing the records of their visions. Thus, according to Gerlach, the twenty-sixth book was occupied by a dialogue between Lucilius and Q. Valerius Soranus, when the latter was consulted by the former as to the path on which he ought to enter in order to secure happiness and the esteem of his countrymen; Petermann can disentangle nothing from the ravelled skein, except a quarrel between a husband and his wife; while Corpet believes that the poet here dwelt upon the miseries of human life in general, denounced the marriage state in particular, and supported his invective by referring to the disastrous union of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra.

The two concluding chapters form the next useful portion of the book. In the one we have a well-digested outline of the opinions propounded by the most judicious historians of Roman literature, touching the origin of Roman Satire, and the merits of Lucilius in placing it on a firm and well-defined basis. In the remarks *De oratione Lucilii*, the chief peculiarities of his dialect and phraseology have been carefully collected and analysed.

That the present editor has done something towards the renovation of Lucilius, we willingly admit; that he might easily, by following a more judicious plan, have done a great deal more, we are fully convinced; and that either he or some one else will speedily furnish us with a new edition, which we shall be able to praise more cordially, we earnestly hope.

W. R.

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## XVIII.

System des Heutigen Römischen Rechts. Von Friederich Carl von Savigny. Berlin. 1840, &c.

Traité de Droit Romain, par M. F. C. De Savigny, Traduit de l'Allemand par M. Ch. Guenoux. Paris. 1840, &c.

The object of the following article is to explain, in a general way, the design of a work, which the name of the distinguished author, and its own intrinsic merits, have placed among the few books which will have a permanent effect on the study of jurisprudence. With an unaffected modesty, the inseparable companion of sound knowledge and true genius, the author declares (*Vorrede.* p. 50), that he feels a confidence that his "work may contain fruitful elements of truth, which others probably may be enabled fully to develope, and to bring to perfect ripeness; and it is immaterial if the present work should be neglected, or even forgotten, by reason of new and more complete investigations, to which it has prepared the way. The labours of an individual are as transitory as the individual's own personality, but not so the thought which is perpetuated through successive periods of human existence: it unites all of us, who labour with earnestness and love, in one great, enduring community, wherein every contribution of the individual, small as it may be, has its

permanent vitality." The author has explained at length in his Preface the object which he has proposed in the present work; which, briefly stated, is this.—When a science like jurisprudence has been long cultivated, we of the present generation are in possession of a rich inheritance, the accumulated labour of many ages. If, through indolence or self-conceit, we neglect this precious bequest, we exclude ourselves from communion of ideas with the past; and at the same time fail to secure that regular and active progress, without which communion with the past would become a mere dead letter. To prevent this, it is necessary that, from time to time, what has been attempted and achieved in detail should be brought together and combined in such manner as to produce the consciousness of unity. It is not only the contemporaneous cultivators of science, whose opinions present strong points of opposition: this opposition appears still more marked when we compare entire periods of time. The problem here is not merely to select one thing, and to reject another: the problem rather is to resolve into a higher unity the points of opposition; and this is the only way to a sure scientific progress. The proper qualification for such an undertaking is reverence for all that is great in the labours of our predecessors; but in order that this reverence may not become exclusive, and so impede the freedom of thought, it is necessary to keep our view steadily directed to the ultimate object of our science, compared with which even the greatest achievements of the individual must appear imperfect.

But this rich inheritance which the labour of our predecessors has provided for us, is not pure truth: it is truth mixed with error; and this error may work upon us with all the traditional power of long-established possession, and gain the dominion over us. This danger is only obviated by examining anew from time to time the whole of that which has been transmitted to us, and by subjecting it to a rigorous scrutiny. The proper qualification for such a critical labour, is intellectual freedom, independence of all authority: but this feeling of freedom may degenerate into presumptuousness, if it is not accompanied by the wholesome feeling of humility, which is the natural result of an unprejudiced estimate of the limited nature of each man's intellectual strength, and which alone enables that freedom of thought to produce any fruits of its own.

"Thus from altogether opposite points is indicated to us

one and the same want, as existing in our science. This want may be designated to be a periodically recurring revision of the labour of our predecessors, in order to eliminate from it that which is not genuine, and to appropriate to our use as a permanent possession that which is true; and so to be enabled, according to the measure of our powers, to approach nearer to the solution of the general problem. To make such a revision for the time in which we are now living, is the object of the present work."

The author proceeds to state, that his name may induce many to think that his work will not be so much devoted to the general service of the science, as to the one-sided support of the so-called Historical School; and this possible objection he answers in the most satisfactory manner. The expression "Historical School," was innocently used by the author and others some time ago, simply to denote that one branch of the subject had been long neglected; and that in order to this branch being restored to its true position, it required, for a time at least, more than any other branch, to have its active representatives. Hence the name Historical School has become a party term; and many who are opposed to this school are accustomed to comprehend under this name, and to censure, every literary effort which does not please them. Such objections are not in their nature capable of being answered. But there is one objection, which has a general and scientific character, and which requires to be answered. The objection which has often been made is, that those who are attached to the Historical School, forgetting the present, and its independent existence, would subject it to the dominion of the past; and specially, that they would extend the dominion of Roman Law beyond its reasonable limits, partly as opposed to German Law, partly to the modern development of Law, which scientific cultivation and practice have put in the place of the pure Roman Law.

The author distinctly disclaims all such design as the opponents of the Historical School attribute to it. With reference to the Roman Law particularly, the object of the Historical School is to discover, and determine, what in the whole mass of our law is of Roman origin, that we may not be unconsciously governed by it. The object further is to discover among the Roman elements still existing in our law, what in fact is defunct, though it may retain a deceptive appearance of vitality. The

author's work, therefore, so far from giving to Roman Law an unreasonable authority, disputes the applicability of it in many cases to which it has hitherto been maintained to be applicable, and even by those who have always declared themselves the opponents of the Historical School.

Though the author thus clearly shows that his work does not aim to extend the authority of Roman Law beyond its due limits, he distinctly declares his opinion that a sound knowledge of it is of the utmost importance, even with reference to the present state of law,—nay, that it is indispensible; and even if he had not in express terms declared this opinion, the undertaking of such a work would itself be a sufficient announcement of it. He proceeds then to explain the grounds and the nature of this high value, which he attributes to a knowledge of the Roman Law. This explanation should be read in the author's own words, for it would be difficult to do justice to it in a translation, and impossible in a brief summary. One conclusion may suffice:—the reasons for the study of Roman Law do not apply to those countries only where the Roman Law is received; they apply to countries which have a code, such as France, for instance; and they apply to such countries as Scotland and England, in both of which the influence of Roman law has been most extensive, and its operation in each distinct and peculiar. In England, at the present day, the Roman Law is not received as such; but it has been largely incorporated in our legal system, yet in such a way that we of the present generation know not what we have got, how we came by it, or what to do with it. If a sound study of Roman Law is useful any where, it is in England.

The real nature of the study of Roman Law is often conceived very inaccurately; and the author, accordingly, begins by defining the limits of his undertaking. Modern Roman Law is confined to those legal institutions which have a Roman origin; but it does not exclude the development which they have received in modern times, though this development may be referred to other than a Roman original. It excludes, however, all legal institutions which are of German[1] original. Being "Modern Roman Law," it excludes the history of legal institu-

[1] This expression, as it will presently appear, implies that it is Roman Law, as received among the Germanic nations, which is the special object of the author's work. But the Roman Law has been received in other European

tions, merely as history, and also every rule of law which belongs to a time before the compilations of Justinian, and is not incorporated in his system; for it is only the Roman Law, as it exists in the compilation of Justinian,[2] which has entered into the composition of modern systems. Such legal institutions as belong to the system of Justinian, but no longer exist in modern times, are also excluded from the author's design.

Further, the author's plan only comprises what the Romans designate as Privatum Jus, or sometimes as Jus Civile, in one of the many significations of that term; and this limitation is indeed comprised in the notion of "Modern Roman Law," for, as the author observes, it is only the Privatum Jus that has been received into modern systems. Though this remark is true in the main, and if understood as applied to the Roman Privatum Jus in the mass, it is also true that the rules of Roman Criminal Law (which was a part of Publicum Jus), and the rules of law applicable to the Fiscus and various branches of administration, have had some effect on modern systems, though in a much less degree than the Privatum Jus.

The author's design is further limited to an exposition of Rights, and is not extended to the forms of procedure by which Rights are vindicated. The reason of the limitation lies in this: forms of procedure have been so much modified by historical elements and the peculiar circumstances of each people, that they require a distinct consideration. It is true that the Roman jurists viewed procedure as properly a part of the whole system of rights, and such it is, for rights of action are not a distinct class of rights, but they are new forms of other rights; and procedure is nothing more than the mode of obtaining a recognition of a right by a competent court, and a judgment which shall

states; and the mode in which the author treats his subject renders his work generally applicable to all systems of Law which have grown out of the Roman system. The jurists of Germany are not yet aware of the fact, which is imperfectly known even among ourselves, that the English has derived a large part of its rules of law from the Roman. Indeed, the English law is often much nearer to the genuine Roman Law than the received Roman Law of Germany.

[2] The compilation contains under the present name of Corpus Juris, the three compilations of Justinian, the Digest or Pandect, the Code, and the Institutions, and the Novellæ which were published after the compilations. But these four parts or divisions are taken as Roman Law only within the limits and in the form which they received in the School of Bologna, (p. 66.)

give to the right that effect in act, which it already has as a part of the whole system of law. But though procedure is properly excluded from the present work, it must not be supposed that the subject might not be profitably treated by itself, nor that a comparison of the Roman and of modern systems might not lead to some useful results.

By means of these limitations, the author observes, the notion of Roman Law is determined with accuracy in the sense in which it is become the common law (*gemeines Recht*) of a large part of Europe. This notion of "Modern Roman Law" is also nearly identical with the notion of "common law" (*gemeines Recht*) as it exists in Germany; and this notion of a common law is connected with the constitution of the Germanic Empire, the several members of which had a territorial law of their own, but were united into one body under the common law of the empire. The dissolution of the Germanic Empire has not destroyed this common law; and accordingly, a systematic exposition of Modern Roman Law, which is the object of the present work, would, with some few additions, serve as an exposition of the common Law of Germany.

Though the author's design is thus limited, and the limits are marked with his usual care, he thinks it necessary to inform (p. 5,) the reader, who, indeed, will readily make the discovery himself, that he does not adhere to these limits so closely as to impair the fulness or the perspicuity of his exposition. Many Roman legal institutions are traced by the author from the earliest period of Roman Law, through the various modifications to their final reception and establishment in the system of Justinian; and this process is necessary if we would form a clear conception of those legal institutions which the legislation of Justinian has transmitted to our own days. A very superficial examination, even of the Institutions of Justinian, will show how much of that which he either changed himself, or which had been changed before his time and was confirmed by him, cannot be understood without a knowledge of its history. In this respect the English system of law resembles the Roman. The English system cannot be understood simply in its present form. It is constantly necessary to retrace legal institutions to their source, or as near as we can come, in order to form a right estimate of what they real
dispel the obscurity and confusion which a ca

guage and a multitude of conflicting decisions have produced and are daily producing.

But though the author's work is limited to Modern Roman Law, he observes (p. 6,) that in the execution of his design he has admitted a great deal which belongs to the common fundamental nature of all Positive Law, and accordingly, is not peculiar to the Roman Law. Besides the reasons for this, which are founded on the mode in which law is taught in the German Universities, and other reasons mentioned by the author, the chief is, that the Roman Law has, by the course of events, acquired a more general character than any other Positive Law, by which superior generality it is peculiarly adapted for a satisfactory exposition of the principles of general jurisprudence.

These remarks will serve to explain the following brief statement of the plan of the author's work. He begins with considering the general nature of the sources of law, (p. 6,) whence he passes to the sources of Modern Roman Law, (p. 66,) and to the interpretation of Laws, (*Auslegung der Gesetze*, p. 206). These subjects are treated in the First Book.

The Second Book begins (p. 331,) with examining the essential nature and kind of legal relations, (*Rechtsverhältnisse*,) a term which will presently be explained; it then treats (vol. II. p. 1, &c.) of persons as the subjects of legal relations, or, in other words, human beings as having rights and owing duties; it treats (vol. III. p. 1, &c.) of the commencement and termination of legal relations; (vol. IV. p. 1, &c.) treats of gifts, &c.; finally, (vol. V. p. 1, &c.) of the violation of legal relations, or the violation of rights.

The Third Book comprises the application of the rules of law to legal relations.

The Fourth, the law of things, (*Sachenrecht*) that is, ownership.

The Fifth, the law of obligationes (*Obligationenrecht*) in the Roman sense, or the law that concerns obligations which arise either from contract or from delict.

The Sixth, the law of family, (*Familienrecht*,) or the law that concerns marriage, and the relations which arise out of marriage.

The Seventh, the law of succession, testamentary and intestate, (*Erbrecht*).

This undertaking is only completed so far as the fourth chapter of the Second Book, and fills five octavo volumes and part of a sixth.

The division of the matter of law into a general and a special part, is adopted in many other German works; and it has great advantages. It is only by a careful consideration of the general that we are enabled to assign to the particular its appropriate place; and though in every thing which is for the first time exhibited to a learner in the general, there is much that he cannot fully apprehend, and something that he may misapprehend, he will find in the application of general principles to particular cases the clearest evidence of a general truth, the most satisfactory conviction that he has rightly apprehended it, and the readiest means of detecting and correcting erroneous apprehensions. In fact, every particular case has only a specious and deceptive show of particularity, by reason of being marked by place, name, and other like non-essential circumstances; for if all these non-essentials are dropped, we have something remaining, which by the supposition is itself general, and which, by the nature of law, must be part of a whole, and must be viewed with reference to it. And this leads to an explanation of the term *Rechtsverhältniss*.

General jurisprudence does not yet possess a set of terms sufficiently extensive and exact for all its purposes; and if new terms are introduced, they are sometimes objected to, simply because they are new, without respect to whether they are necessary and useful. The English law terms frequently will not suit the purpose, because they are either stamped with some peculiar meaning by virtue of their origin, or they are vague and inexact. We have no term extensive enough to express, except by implication, what is expressed by "Rechtsverhältniss," the notion, that all rights are relative. In the case of any given person, whom we see exercising what we call a right or legal faculty, (jus, in the subjective sense,) we have an example of the exercise of a man's free will, and of the use of a power which has certain determinate limits. The fact that the right may be disputed, or its exercise impeded by any person, renders it necessary for the existence of the right and the extent of it to be ascertained by the judgment of a competent court. But this, which is an accidental circumstance, can not determine the real nature of the right, which is determined by other things;

and thus in fact the judgment of the court is merely a decision on the right as determined by these other things. All these things, then, viewed as a whole, and in their mutual relations, as elements which mutually support one another, and are conditions of one another, form a Rechtsverhältniss, or a relation of rights, from which any one particular right may be considered as detached, and so may be the matter for the judgment of a court. But the judgment as to the particular right can only be made a true judgment by being founded on a full understanding of the Rechtsverhältniss from which it is detached. The Rechtsverhältniss has, by virtue of its organism, as a whole of related parts, a capacity for development and modification; it has an origin and a termination. This living construction of the Rechtsverhältniss in every given case is the intellectual element of legal practice, and distinguishes its noble function from the mere mechanical part, which is all that many ignorant persons see in it. (*System, &c.*, p. 8.)

A case which is laid before a lawyer for his opinion, is a case of the kind which we have been considering. The problem is to determine what is a man's right, according to the statement of facts. The right may be a simple claim of one man against another; but to arrive at the solution of the question, it may be necessary to consider a great variety of facts or relations, in order to determine the right in question.[3] A man mortgages his land for a loan of money: the lender bequeaths a sum of money equal in amount to the sum borrowed, by way of legacy to the borrower and his wife for their life, and the life of the longest liver, and then to be divided equally between their two daughters. The lender dies, and leaves an executor who does not pay the legacy, but returns the title-deeds to the borrower, without a reconveyance of the land. The borrower, with the title-deeds in his power, mortgages his land again without stating the fact of the first mortgage. The father and mother die, the daughters marry, their husbands become insolvent, the legacy has never been paid to the daughters, the interest of the last mortgage money is in arrear, and the last mortgagee consults the lawyer to know what are precisely his rights as mortgagee under the circumstances. This is an actual case.

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[3] The instance which Savigny gives is the celebrated "Frater a fratre," (*Dig.* 12, tit. 6, s. 38,) under the title, *De Condictione indebiti.*

But, to determine a particular right, it is necessary to refer the facts of the case to a general rule, which rule determines or fixes the right. Such a rule is called the law, or the general rule of law, or jus (in the objective sense). It exists in its most palpable form in the shape of a law or a statute, which has proceeded from the supreme power.

The rule of law itself is subordinate to some general legal institution, (*Rechtsinstitut,*) as the particular right is subordinate to, and a part of, a general legal relation, (*Rechtsverhältniss.*) The legal institution also has its organism, which is shown in the connection and relation of the component parts. Thus it appears that every legal relation has its corresponding legal institution, as the type to which it conforms. Thus, in the example just given, we have corresponding to the relations of original mortgagor and mortgagee, of testator and legatee, of second mortgagee and mortgagor, and so forth, the various legal institutions which comprehend the several rules of law applicable to these relations.

But further, every legal institution is a part of a system, and only receives its full meaning and significance by being viewed as a part of an organized whole. Between a single limited legal relation (*Rechtsverhältniss*) and the whole system of law of any nation, there appears, and in fact there is, an almost immeasurable distance; but the difference lies only in degree, not in kind: the two things are essentially the same, and the same kind of intellectual process is requisite to master both. "Hence," says the author, (p. 11,) "it follows how unmeaning it is, when theory and practice in law are considered as entirely separated, or even as opposed. It is true that the professional occupation which the two require is different, and the application of the knowledge which is acquired is different; but in the kind and in the direction of the intellectual power, and in the discipline which leads thereto, they agree; and both of these occupations can only be worthily discharged by him in whose mind exists the consciousness of that identity."[4]

This explanation is necessary for the understanding of the author's main division of his work, the reasons for which are

[4] The author adds in a note: "This conviction first arose in the author's mind from a more exact acquaintance with the Roman jurists, whose greatness is precisely shewn in this matter; and it was chiefly developed and confirmed by a familiarity for many years with legal practice."

explained in a subsequent part of the first volume, (p. 331, &c.) His work is limited, as already explained, to Privatum Jus, and he now proceeds (p. 330,) to explain the notion of a legal relation (*Rechtsverhältniss*) in this its limited application:—

"Man stands in the midst of the external world, and the most important element in that which surrounds him, is his contact with those who resemble him in their nature and their destiny. Now, if free beings are to exist in such contact side by side, mutually aiding, and not obstructing, one another in their development, this only becomes possible by our recognizing an invisible boundary, within which the existence and the activity of every individual must have a sure and undisturbed territory. The rule by which that boundary, and consequently this undisturbed territory, is determined, is Law. Therewith, at the same time, is also ascertained the relationship and the difference between law and morality. Law assists morality, not by executing her commands, but by securing the free development of the moral power which dwells in every individual's will. But the existence of law is an independent existence, and for that reason there is no contradiction in maintaining that, in particular cases, there may be an immoral exercise of an actual right.

"The necessity and the existence of law, is a consequence of the imperfection of our condition; not an accidental, historical imperfection, but such a one as is inseparably united to the present stage of our existence."

It thus (p. 333,) appears that every legal relation (*Rechtsverhältniss*) is a relation between person and person, determined by a rule of law; and the determination consists in assigning to the individual will a territory within which it can act independent of every other will. Consequently every Rechtsverhältniss consists of two parts, a part material and a part formal. The part material, the relation in itself, is simply fact; the part formal, the legal determination of the material, is that by which the mere relation that consists in fact, is elevated to a form of law.

That all the relations of person to person do not belong to the province of law, is obvious, if we consider that they are not all susceptible of being determined by rules of law, and do not all require such determination. The instances given by the author (p. 334), will suffice to guard any one against the ordinary

confusion of the provinces of law and morality. There are relations among human beings which are solely determined by law, of which ownership or property, (that is, appropriation of some determinate thing,) is an instance. There are relations which are not susceptible of any determination by rules of law, of which friendship is an instance. And there are relations which, in some respects and to some extent, are determinable by rules of law, and in other respects are not susceptible of such determination; of which marriage is an instance, (p. 334.) That Marriage contains the notion of Agreement; that it is an agreement between two persons of different sexes to live together till one of them dies, conformably to the precepts of religion, and to the state of matrimony as fixed by the law of the country; and that certain rights and duties arise from this agreement by virtue of positive law, is shewn by the author in another place, (Vol. III. p. 317); but all this neither implies the whole state or condition of matrimony, nor does it touch the due discharge of that which morality requires, and for the discharge of which Law gives protection and security; nor does it put the agreement of marriage on the same level as contracts properly so called, among which it has been placed by those who look on legal institutions in the same way that careless and self-sufficient men often look on a book, who survey the binding and half read the title-page, and then think themselves qualified to form a judgment on the contents.

The essence of a legal relation (*Rechtsverhältniss*), consists, (p. 334,) as it has been shewn, in there being, within certain limits, the independent exercise of the will. But the will must have an object, and it may operate either on the body of him who has the will, or on things external to his body; and these external things are either objects material different from himself, or beings like himself,—that is, other persons.

The author dispels, in a very few words (p. 335), the absurd and unpractical notion of a man having a right over himself, a right which commences with his birth, and which lasts as long as he lives; a kind of original right, (*Urrecht.*) Blackstone (Book I. chap. I.,) has a set of "absolute rights," 'which every man is entitled to enjoy, whether out of society or in it.' His exposition of these rights, is characterized by his usual want of precision, and abundance of self-contradiction.

If we allow, with the writers to whom Savigny alludes, that

a man has a right over his own body and limbs, this can mean no more, if it is to have a precise meaning, than that his right consists in having his body and limbs protected from injury by others; but it is both absurd and useless to assume such an original right, in order to establish this proposition.

That a man shall have the free exercise of his body, limbs, and intellectual powers, and that all persons must be restrained from interfering with such freedom, is a necessary condition of the existence of all proper rights. But this freedom requires not to be recognized by Positive Law, and it is incapable of being exactly defined. Many legal institutions have for their object the protection of a man's life and limbs against violence; others have for their object to protect him against defamation or slander of his good name, against fraud, and against the consequences of acts done under the influence of threats. And though the security of life, limb, good name, and the like, for the protection of which Positive Law gives various rights, is all resolvible into security for a man's person, yet the various rights are not deducible from this notion of personal security. They are positive legal institutions, which simply give a right in particular cases; but they affect not to determine, under the name of rights, the limits within which a man shall exercise his natural powers. Whether these supposed rights are called rights to a man's own person, or absolute rights, or by any other equivalent name, their real nature is obscured by such an abuse of the term rights; and all the attempts to make such a class of so called Rights, are founded on a misapprehension of the term rights, which appears from its being found necessary to qualify such rights by the terms original and absolute, and by the mode in which they are treated in detail.[5]

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[5] There is another mode of showing the absurdity of the expression, that "a man has a right to or over himself," which is obvious enough. The expression involves the notion of a man being something distinct from himself, whereas man (homo) is one and indivisible, whether viewed as a person moral, or a person legal. A man is not one person, and his body a distinct thing from his personality. In order to express our notion of the various powers, appetites, and acts of the being man, we are almost compelled, by the imperfection of language, to speak of man as composed of various parts, as body, soul, spirit, mind, understanding, affection, and the like; but all these terms merely express something abstracted from the whole of man, and abstracted merely in word or expression, for in actual thought we cannot abstract any thing, or part, or quality, from the entire person. The person (homo) is one, and cannot there-

The only Rights, then, which we have to consider, are those which are given by Positive Law; and these rights have for their object either things which are not persons, or persons.

The notion of thing (in its narrower sense, as opposed to person) means something that is determined by certain limits of space; and a right which Positive Law gives to any such thing, is in its fullest and largest sense ownership.

Those legal relations (Rechtsverhältnisse) which have other persons for their objects, are more complicated. A person may be the object of a right in the same way as a thing is; but in that case, the notion of his freedom and personality no longer exist, and the person is the property of him who has the right. This was the condition of a Roman slave; and it is the condition of slaves in some countries in modern times.

But the dominion which one person may have over another person, by virtue of a right, may be limited to particular acts, or to a particular act of such person; and such act of the person, which is conceived as subjected to the will of another, is so much taken from his general freedom of action, which in other respects still subsists. This power in one person over a particular act of another person, is expressed by the Roman term *obligatio*, which contains both the notion of what the one person owes, and the other has a right to demand. This right has a general resemblance to ownership, in its being an extension of the dominion of our will over something external; and a more particular resemblance in the circumstance, that the obligatio is capable of being estimated in money, and of being thus changed into the acquisition or ownership of a certain quantity of precious metal; and further, in the circumstance,

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fore be its own object. Each person can be object to another person, and this is the reason why law can exist. Each person not only can be object to another person, but society can not exist unless each person be object to other persons; and this is the reason why law must exist. For when many persons can and must mutually be object to one another, there must either reside in each person a sufficient power to secure his freedom of action, according to his nature—and this power does not reside in each person; or there must be a rule which shall secure this freedom. The rule is law. Rule implies ruler; and ruler implies the notion of political society, sovereign, government.

That no misunderstanding may grow out of the expression, "according to his nature," I observe that I here use nature, as Bishop Butler uses it, to express the whole nature of man, his whole constitution.

that most obligationes have for their object either the acquisition of ownership, or its temporary enjoyment. Both obligationes and ownership, therefore, may be included under a generic term. The German term which the author uses to express all the relations comprehended under these two heads, is *Vermögen*, or Power; and all the legal institutions which are applicable to these relations, he calls Vermögens-Recht. He observes, that the German word is peculiarly adapted to express the essential notion of the thing, or that which we are entitled to do by virtue of these rights (das was wir durch jene Rechte auszurichten im Stande sind oder vermögen.)[6] The Roman expression *bona*, which has passed into the Romanic languages, is less suitable, because it directly denotes a subsidiary notion, a benefit or advantage derived from the power, and not the power itself. We have no single term which expresses this entire class of rights, to which the author has applied the name of Vermögen.

So far as the relation of person to person has been treated, each person has been considered like every other; or persons have been considered simply in the relation of human being to human being, and each person as a complete and independent unit. But every person may also be considered as a member of an organized whole, his relation to which is effected through the medium of determinate individuals, and his relation to these individuals is the foundation of a new kind of legal relations, (*Rechtsverhältnisse*). Here the individual no longer appears as having a complete independent personality, as he does in the matter of obligationes, but he appears as a being which is incomplete in itself, and only acquires its complete condition by virtue of being a member of one great natural body. The imperfection of the individual is first shewn by the distinction of the sexes, for each sex by itself is only part of the whole man, (homo, Mensch,) and each individual of the one sex, therefore, requires the addition of one of the other sex to make the two individuals complete, which is effected by Marriage.[7]

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[6] "L'extension de puissance que ces droits nous font acquérir; c'est à dire, ce que ces droits nous permettent de faire."—Guenoux, *Trad.* i. p. 334.

[7] "It is," says Fichte, quoted by Savigny, (p. 341, note *c.*) "the absolute destination of every individual of both sexes to marry,—the unmarried person is only half a human being." Hegel, also quoted by Savigny, (p. 347, note *b.*) says that "marriage is the legalised moral love," whereby he means un-

The imperfection of the individual is also seen in his limited existence, which imperfection is supplied by procreation; and thus not only is the human species perpetuated, but in a degree also the individuality of persons. Again, the individual in the early period of his existence has no sufficient power over himself, and he only acquires it gradually by the lapse of time; this imperfection is supplied by the care of others, by education, or the bringing up of the infant till he attains a sufficient intellectual and corporeal capacity of his own. In the Roman system these two imperfections are supplied by the father's power (Patria Potestas). This power is also the foundation of that remoter natural relation which is kinship, (agnatio) in the limited and legal (Roman) sense.[8] Kinship in the wider

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doubtedly, as Savigny remarks, "the legalized moral sexual love," (geschlechtsliebe.)

Swedenborg (*The Delights of Wisdom concerning Conjugial Love*, English translation, London, 1841,) observes: "Love considered in itself, is a desire and consequent tendency to conjunction; and conjugial love to conjunction into one; for the male man and the female man were so created, that from two they may become as it were one man, or one flesh; and when they become one, then, taken together, they are a man (homo) in his fulness; but without such conjunction, they are two, and each is as a divided or half man. Now as the above conjunctive principle lies inmostly concealed in every part of the male and in every part of the female, and the same is true of the faculty and desire to be conjoined together into one, it follows, that the mutual and reciprocal love of the sex remains with men (homines) after death."

Swedenborg's conclusion is part of his system of conjugial love, which he has developed in his peculiar manner. Those who do not accept his revelations, may still be instructed by his remarks, which, under whatever outward form they may appear, are always profound.

[8] The author, in a note, refers to the well known passage of Ulpian, (*Dig.* 1. tit. 1, s. 1, § 3.): "Jus naturale est quod natura omnia animalia docuit: nam jus istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium—commune est: hinc descendit maris atque feminæ conjunctio, quam nos matrimonium appellamus: hinc liberorum procreatio, hinc educatio. Videmus enim cetera quoque animalia, feras etiam, istius juris peritia censeri." Savigny has commented on this passage, (*Beylage*, 1. *Jus Naturale, Gentium, Civile*, vol. 1. p. 413). He shows that the two-fold Roman division of law, with reference to its origin, is Jus Civile and Jus Gentium or Jus Naturale; and, consequently, Jus Gentium and Jus Naturale are equivalent terms. But Ulpian in this passage makes a three-fold division: Jus Civile, or the Roman law; Jus Gentium, or the law that prevails among all people; and Jus Naturale, or that which is common to man and other animals. That this triple division of Ulpian cannot be defended, is obvious enough; but his Jus Naturale has a meaning in the sense which he gives to it. He means to say that the relation of the sexes, and the propagation and nurture of offspring, are common to all animals; he does not mean to ascribe law to animals which are not human, but only the matter law, or the natural relation whi

sense (cognatio), is the recognition of a community among individuals by virtue of a common origin from the same person, whether male or female; and such community is recognized by the Jus Gentium. The Agnatio of the Jus Civile has its source in the Patria Potestas, an institution of the Jus Civile Romanorum. These three relations then, marriage, the father's power, and kinship, constitute what the author denominates Family law, (*Familienrecht,*) and though the term itself is not Roman, the notion which it expresses is Roman.

By this process, the author determines Rights into three great classes:—*Familienrecht,* or the combination of rights which constitute the law of family; *Sachenrecht,* or the combination of rights which constitute the law of ownership or property; and *Obligationenrecht,* or the combination of rights which constitute the law of obligationes. In each case, the rights of course imply duties. The following remark of the author (p. 345,) will show that he sets no undue value on classification, and that his theoretical views have always a practical end: "Though thus separated, these three classes of rights exist only in our abstraction; in reality, they appear combined in the most varied ways, and in consequence of this continual contact, mutual operations of one on the other, and modifications, are unavoidable. While, then, we have now to consider more closely the several legal institutions which belong to these three classes, we must also have regard to these modifications, and especially to the particular development which these institutions have received in our positive law."

The author's further consideration of these three classes can only be briefly noticed.

The three component parts of this Family Law exist simply as such by a necessity independent of positive law, though positive law may, and does, modify them in various nations. But each relation which thus arises is a natural relation, it is also a moral relation, and it is also susceptible of a legal character.

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the foundation of law. But in whatever manner it may be explained, and Savigny's explanation is probably the correct one, this triple division must be rejected. Ulpian's Naturale Jus is nothing more than a doctrine which Swedenborg has developed, "that the love of the sex belongs to the external or natural man, and that hence it is common to every animal." He proceeds to show that conjugial love is peculiar to man (homo), and that no other animal is capable of it.

Accordingly Marriage, or the union of the male and female in a society for life, is founded on a natural element, the sexual passion;[9] it contains a moral element, which is that which distinguishes the sexual passion in man from the same passion in the beast; and a legal element, which varies according to the positive morality and the particular circumstances of a people. Hence it follows that the legal element is only one of the elements of Marriage; and, indeed, it is of much less importance than the moral element, which, as already observed, is to a great degree beyond the reach of the form and the power of Law.

It is not merely the temporary union of the sexes which the author considers as founded in a necessity: he considers marriage, that is, the permanent union of the male and female, as founded in a necessity. Both Polygamy and Monogamy, he observes, may exist by positive law, and they are both Marriage; but Polygamy[10] he views as a lower stage in civilization. Some writers deny that Marriage is to be viewed as a necessity; they view it simply as a matter of positive institution. If so, they

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[9] But "the love of the sex is not the origin of love truly conjugial; but it is its first rudiment in respect to time, yet not in respect to end; for what is first in respect to end, is first in the mind and its intention, because it is regarded as primary; but to this first there is no approaching unless successively through mediums, and these are not first in themselves, but only conduce to what is first in itself."—Swedenborg on *Conjugial Love*, 98.

[10] If the notion of marriage is rightly conceived according to man's nature, it implies the union of a male with one female; and this is also the Christian doctrine. Swedenborg maintains that there is a true conjugial love, that it can only exist between a man and one woman, and consequently in Polygamy there is no conjugial love, and no real marriage, though Polygamy may be marriage by the positive law of the country, (*Of Polygamy*, 332, &c.) The Roman notion of marriage was this: "matrimonium est conjunctio maris et feminæ, consortium omnis vitæ, individua vitæ consuetudo, divini et humani juris communicatio," (Dig. 23, tit. 2. s. 1.) It is the conjunction of male and female, the companionship of the whole life, the indivisible consuetude of life, the intercommunion of rights pertaining to things divine and human. This definition or description is not a legal one: it expresses merely the nature of that conjugial union, which the Law recognized as a legal marriage, and the foundation of the Patria Potestas. Its essence was the union of one man and one woman by their mutual consent; the continuance of the union was by virtue of continuing consent. It was a just deduction that if the consent ceased, and was declared, the marriage ceased. Whenever the consent does in fact cease, the true conjugial union is at an end. Positive Law may declare that the legal effect of the marriage shall continue; but Positive Law does not by such declaration affect the real essence of marriage, which lies beyond the limits of its power.

must consider that the continuation of the species may either be secured by promiscuous intercourse or regulated as a matter of public administration; and thus the relation of husband and wife, of parent and child, which constitute the real notion of Family, would disappear; and all individuals, instead of being connected with the whole human family by these relations, which are at once natural, moral and legal, would have no relation to the whole human family, or to one another, except simply as persons. Both the instinct and the understanding of mankind reject the notion of an accidental or even a purely arbitrary mode of continuing the species; and it has been reserved for a profound jurist to maintain a doctrine that contains in the terms of its enunciation its own confutation.[11]

Marriage is itself, as a matter of positive law, an independent legal relation: but it gives birth to other legal relations; 1. the parental power over the children of the marriage, which is distinct from marriage, though it comes out of it; 2. protection of the moral purity of the marriage union by the criminal law; 3. numerous rules as to property, in the matter of Dos, Donatio propter nuptias, and so forth, in the Roman system; and marriage settlements, and the rights of husband and wife, with respect to the property of each other in the English system, and the rules of law as to consanguinity and descent, as applicable to the claims of children and kin to the property of a deceased person. These rules are not natural consequences of marriage, but they are rules of which the possibility is established by the fact of marriage; and they are also to a great extent conditions, without which marriage could not be what it is. Kinship is less definite than the relations of marriage and of the Patria Potestas, because it appears in various degrees and finally is imperceptibly lost. Yet it is undoubtedly a Family relation: its origin is in marriage, and its existence excludes the possibility of marriage within certain degrees of consanguinity. These degrees vary according to the positive law of various countries; but the foundation of these rules of law is a moral judgment. The exact determination of this relation of consanguinity is rendered necessary in order to the application of rules of law as to succession.

"According to the view here explained," says the author (e.

[11] See Savigny's note (e.) p. 342.

355,) "every relation of Family, considered as a natural-moral relation, is altogether individual, inasmuch as it consists in a mutual relation between two individual human beings: as a legal relation, it is a relation of one person to all other human beings, inasmuch as conformably to its own essence it consists only in the title to a general recognition: Thus, for example, a father, by virtue of the paternal power, has directly merely a legal claim to have the existence of this power recognized by every person who disputes it, and the claim is valid against the son himself, neither more nor less than against every third person. But the legal relation, when once recognized, can serve as the foundation of various other claims, as ownership, intestate succession (hereditas,) and so forth. All this view receives a striking confirmation in the Roman form of procedure. The procedure in this case is a præjudicium,[12] that is, a suit, or an action which has no condemnatio as a consequence, but only a declaration as to the existence of a relation. The name of this kind of suits is derived from the circumstance of their serving as a preliminary to other or future suits or actions. All these suits are *in rem*, which means that they avail not exclusively against a particular person who owes a duty, as the suits do which arise out of obligationes."

So far (p. 356,) the author observes, he has viewed Family in its natural limits. Yet positive law can fashion other institutions after the type of these natural family institutions, and thus artificially extend the law of Family. But these artificial relations not being based on a natural-moral foundation, do not rest on a general necessity; and, to use a Roman expression, they do not belong to the Jus Naturale. These artificial institutions in the Roman system are,—1. Manus; 2. Servitus; 3. Patronatus; 4. Mancipii Causa; 5. Tutela et Curatio. These artificial relations of Family have, in their most important elements, a character which resembles the natural relations of Family; for instance, the wife in manu is thus placed in the legal position of a daughter. They are also legal relations which avail against every person who disputes them, and they are protected by præjudicia, (Inst. 4. tit. 6. § 13.)

[12] "Sicut in præjudicialibus formuletur aliquis litet et alise com-

the Digest 25, tit. 3. De Agnoscendis et alendis liberis, &c.; and Dig. 43, tit. 30. De liberis exhibendis.

In the Roman system the doctrine of representation in the acquisition of ownership was connected with the potestas, manus and mancipium, a subject which the author has fully developed in another part of his present work. But the doctrine is not connected with the relations of marriage as such, kinship, patronatus or tutela. Consequently the law of family has a much wider extent than the doctrine of representation, and is by no means identical with it.

Again the capacity to have or to hold (*Rechtsfähigkeit*,) which the author has fully examined and explained in another part of his work, depends on three classifications of persons, with which are connected three degrees of capitis diminutio. The distinctions of liberi and servi, freemen and slaves, and of persons who are sui juris and alieni juris, are entirely founded in certain of the family relations which have been already enumerated. But the third distinction of Cives, Latini, Peregrini, lies altogether beyond the limits of the law of Family. On the other hand marriage as such, kinship, patronatus, tutela, has no influence at all on the capacity to have or to hold. Consequently the doctrine of legal capacity is not identical with the law of Family, and the two have altogether distinct boundaries.

Some of these artificial institutions which belong to the law of Family, have disappeared with the political institutions in which they existed. In the time of Justinian, the manus and mancipii causa had become extinct; and though Roman Law has been transmitted to modern Europe, slavery and patronatus no longer exist in Christian Europe. The Roman Colonatus was replaced in modern Germany by Serfdom, and in England by Villenage,[13] which itself has disappeared.

Accordingly, of all these Roman institutions, there now only remain marriage, patria potestas, kinship, and tutela.

The author observes that as on the one hand Roman institutions have disappeared, others have arisen since the middle ages on the soil where German Law prevailed, in which institutions as in the family relations of the Romans, the force of a moral element must be recognized, and which must be admitted in some degree at least, partly within the limits of Family Law, partly within the limits of Public Law, (*Staatsrecht*,) if their

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[13] The nature of this institution is best shewn in Littleton's *Tenures*, B. II. c. 11. Of Villenage.

nature is to be rightly understood. Among such institutions he enumerates the whole feudal relation (*Lehenverhältniss*) and the German serfdom, (*Leibeigenschaft.*)

We must consequently admit that the limits of Family law cannot be fixed for all times and all ages, but we must recognize the possibility of a free development of it in every system of Positive law. He instances, as an example of this development, the condition of voluntary servitude, (*Dienstbotenrecht.*) "Viewed with reference to the Roman Law, it can only be considered as a contract, (operæ locatæ,) and for the Romans this narrow mode of treating the subject was sufficient, since owing to the numerous body of slaves the necessity of free servants was not at all felt. It is otherwise with us, who have no slaves; and consequently that relation is become a most important want, and one that is widely extended. At present it is not sufficient to treat the relation in a narrow manner, like any other contract for labour; and thus, in the Prussian Landrecht, with perfect propriety, the law relating to free service is not placed under contracts, but under the law of persons."

The fact that free service is a necessity in states where slavery does not exist, and that the want or the necessity is widely extended, applies to a great many other relations besides that of master and servant. The relation of master and free servant originates solely in contract, like the modern relation of attorney and client, principal and agent. The fact of a servant residing in his master's house, which however is not the case with all servants, may strengthen the moral element that enters, and ought to enter, into the relation, but it does not make it a different moral element from that which exists or ought to exist between an attorney and his client, a principal and his agent. Good faith and honest endeavour to discharge their several duties are required of master and servant, attorney and client, principal and agent. The relation in all these cases commences by contract, and terminates either according to the terms of the contract, or by notice on one side or the other. We may indeed constitute almost as many kinds of status as we please under the law of Persons, but it does not seem appropriate to co-ordinate any of them with the relations which strictly and properly belong to Family.

The two objects comprehended in that branch of the which the author has denominated Vermögensrecht,

(not including persons) and acts, or in other words, the law of ownership or property, and the law of obligationes. Ownership, as a right, consists in the unlimited and exclusive dominion over a thing; as a fact, it consists in possession. As all persons are naturally capable of this exclusive dominion over things, and as each must of necessity recognize in every other this natural capacity, and also the desire to possess, there must be some means by which their mutual relations with respect to things must be determined; and this can only be determined through the medium of the State, by positive law. The State must be viewed as having the dominion of all things included within certain limits of space, and the individual as participator of this common possession. There are various possible ways in which individuals may be secured in the enjoyment of the things included within these limits; but the ordinary mode in which this enjoyment has been secured by positive law, is by the recognition of individual appropriation of things, (property, proprietas,) and the exclusive enjoyment of them, yet so that this appropriation and enjoyment must depend on such acts and natural events as positive law recognizes. The full recognition of property or ownership implies the possibility of individuals acquiring wealth without limit or being totally destitute of it.

There is no dominion of individuals over external things that can be conceived, except ownership; but within the limits of ownership there are many conceivable degrees of dominion (jura in re) which may exist in various ways in various systems of law. All these rights, ownership and *jura in re*, are comprehended by the author under the general name of *Dingliche Rechte*.

The law of Obligationes has for its matter the partial subjection of one man's acts to the will of another, which appears in its palpable shape in the transactions and commerce of active life. It is manifest that all acts are not capable of being the objects of obligationes, but only those which are of such a material nature as to be separable from the person, and capable of being treated, in some degree, like things.

There is accordingly a fundamental distinction between the law of family, and the law of things and obligationes. The notion of family has a natural and a moral element, independent of its legal element. The law of things and obligationes has more of an arbitrary and positive character; and if it is rightly

viewed as the mode of extending individual freedom or power, it is precisely this power and this dominion which constitute the nature of this division of law, which is purely of Positive institution. And this determination of the nature of the law of things and obligationes by no means excludes the notion that the exercise of the rights included in this division of law, may not be viewed as having a moral end, and as controlled by positive morality. The abuse of wealth is an object of moral condemnation; but the rights of property themselves are purely objects of law, and independent of the moral or immoral use of them.

Though the law of things and the law of obligationes are separated by the fundamental distinction which has been already pointed out, that is, by the nature of their several objects, the two divisions are capable of many peculiar determinations in the positive law of different people; and these peculiarities may appear both in the nature of the boundary between the two divisions and in their relations to one another. As to the boundary, all depends on this, whether the thing in itself, independent of the act of another person, is already an object of our right, or whether our right is immediately referred to the act of another as an object subjected to our dominion; and this act may have for its end to give us the right to a thing or the enjoyment of it. In the Roman system there is a sure test of this boundary in the *Actio in rem*[14] and the *Actio in personam*; a distinction which generally, but not always, coincides with the distinction between an indeterminate or a determinate opponent.[15] This is the general notion of the distinction in the

[14] The author observes in a note that this must not be taken as an assertion that the boundary between these two kinds of actions in all respects coincides with the boundaries of the Sachenrecht and Obligationenrecht, or there are in the Roman system important actiones in rem, which do not belong to Sachenrecht. It is true however that all actions founded on Dingliche Rechte are in rem, and all actions founded on Obligationes are in personam.

[15] "It is generally observed," says the author in a note, "that the nature of the in rem actio as opposed to the actio in personam consists in this, that the former is against every third person, against every possessor, and the latter not. However the actio Quod metus causa is as an actio in rem scripta against every third person, and is not on that account less in personam. But these are only rare exceptions, and if we look at the subject in the mass, we are justified in saying that Dingliche rechte (real rights) are distinguished from Obligationes precisely by generally availing against all, not merely against determinate individuals."

Roman system, which treats these two divisions of rights as quite distinct. Ownership is treated as an independent dominion over a thing, without regard to the obligatio which may have served to effectuating it; and the obligatio is treated as an independent power over another person's act, without respect to the real right (*dingliches Recht*) to which this act may have a final view. A neglect of this fundamental distinction, which is involved in the very nature of these rights, has led to the classification by Domat (lois civiles) of the law into Engagemens (law inter vivos) and successions, (law of testament and intestacy.) The engagemens are obligationes, in connection with which real rights are treated only incidentally as consequences, or as something which gives them additional strength.[16]

The term *Vermögen* (power) is comprehensive enough to contain within itself the totality of all these rights, so far as they inhere in a single person. But this totality of rights has only a determinate extent with reference to a given point of time, and it may change in every successive moment of time. Further, we may abstract in our conception of this totality of rights every thing which is peculiar or particular, from the several rights, and so conceive the whole purely as quantity, as a sum total of things all of one kind. This abstraction also enables us to include in our reckoning the passive part of obligationes, or debts or duties, which are not an extension of a man's power, but a diminution of it. Consequently the sum total of a man's power or legal faculties (*Vermögen*) may at any given time be a positive quantity, a negative quantity, or a zero.

This quantitative notion obtains its practical use in the notion of worth (value,) or the placing of rights of various kinds on the same level, by reducing them to a common third term. This notion is palpably presented to us in the form of money, so that for legal purposes worth and money's worth are equivalent terms. Thus all the various rights which a man may have, and all his obligations, are reducible to an estimation in money. It is in this way that we estimate in ordinary life the value of all that a man has, or in common language, what he is worth; and this practical application of the quantitative reduction of all rights to a money value, is seen in the case of

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[16] Some further remarks on the classification in the French Code Civil and the Prussian Landrecht, are made by the author in a note.

the estimate of a deceased person's property for various purposes; in which the value of what he possesses as owner, his *jura in re*, his claims or demands upon others, and his own debts, are all included. Another practical result of this view is to show more clearly what has been already stated, that all acts are not adapted to be objects of obligationes: such acts are those which cannot be conceived as reducible to a money value; or at any rate such acts can only be considered as imperfect obligationes.

The notion of a unity, which, as it has been shewn, can be attached to the sum total of a man's legal power, (*Vermögen*,) is founded on the unity of the individual. But this notion of a unity, when once formed, is susceptible of an arbitrary application to any number of things; and this is the Roman sense of Universitas, which denotes any whole or unit conceived as opposed to its component parts. The most important practical application of the notion of a universitas is to the matter of successions, *ex testamento*, and *ab intestato*, the general nature of which the author proceeds to explain, (p. 379.)

The author begins by repeating an observation which he had already made, that in actual life the relations of family and those of power (*Vermögen*) affect one another in various ways, and that thus peculiar developments are produced in each of these classes. Thus slavery, (servitus,) or the relation of slave to master, consisted of two distinct legal relations, Dominium and Potestas. Viewed as to the relation of dominium, the slave was purely a thing. Viewed as to the relation of Potestas, he was a member of the Familia, and the Potestas of the master was like that over his children. Thus slavery as a part of Family law arose from the reception of one case of ordinary ownership within the limits of the Family society.

Again, on the other hand, Family had a like effect on Power (*Vermögen.*) Thus peculiar relations of power are attached to the several relations of family; in other words, Real Rights (*dingliche Rechte*) and Obligationes, which in the form that they here assume are only possible by virtue of existing determinate relations of Family. The whole of these Rights the author comprehends under the name of Applied Family Law; and he observes that this is precisely that which gives to Family its proper legal character. An examination of the Law of Hus-

band and wife for instance in our own system will show the truth of this remark.

But besides this, the Law of Power (*Vermögensrecht*) is within its own limits susceptible of a wider development, which in fact it also requires. To this the author gives the name of *Erbrecht*, the meaning of which he proceeds to explain.

All the rights which an individual may have, whether rights of ownership or rights in personam, are rights which are attached to his personality. A man's personality ceases with his death, and his rights thereby lose one of their essential conditions, and consequently they cease. Now all rights obtain their essential character as rights only through the medium of the State, and as part of the positive law of the State; in this way only is the exclusive dominion of individuals over a thing ascertained and fixed, and it is effected by virtue of the rules of positive law. In the case of an individual's death, his rights, though they cease to be his, because of the destruction of his personality, can be conceived as still existing in the State whose nature is permanent; and we may conceive these rights treated in various ways in different systems. The mode in which they are treated in the Roman system is this: all the rights of the individual still subsist as private and peculiar, not as public; and by a kind of fiction the activity of the deceased is continued beyond his death. This may be effected in two ways: the deceased may in his lifetime express in what manner his rights shall be dealt with after his death, that is, he may dispose by testament or by contract which has reference to a time after his death of all that he is worth; or, he may make no testamentary disposition, and the rules of law may give all that he has to them who stand in a certain degree of kinship to the intestate, and who thus in a manner continue the individuality of the deceased. Now it is important to determine in what manner these rights, which have lost their subject in consequence of the destruction of the individual's personality, shall be transferred to other persons. There is no way in which this can be effected so consistently and so practically, as by considering all the power (*Vermögen*) of the deceased as a unity, which notion of a unity arises from all such rights being referred to the individuality of the deceased. It is a further consequence of this mode of viewing the thing, that all the rights included in this term (*Vermögen*) of the deceased must be con-

sidered as purely quantitative, and as entirely abstracted from all consideration of the nature of the several things. The Roman technical expression for this mode of transfer of such rights from a deceased person to living persons is Successio per universitatem, which notion does not exclude certain cases of particular succession.[17] The practical legal tact of the Romans is shewn in nothing more strikingly than in their clear and exact notion of succession, and the mode in which the notion was worked out long before the scientific study of jurisprudence existed; for even in the laws of the Twelve Tables, the notion was fixed so completely and so distinctly, that future times had nothing to add thereto or to correct. In the fifth century before the Christian æra, the whole doctrine of Successio per universitatem was conceived in all its exactness, as appears from the fact that claims or credits and debts were all included in the notion of hereditas.[18]

The Hereditas is thus viewed in two ways, first, as a mode of acquisition of all the several rights which are included in the whole, as *adquisitio*[19] per universitatem; second, as a peculiar and independent right, as a Universitas; and it was with reference to this peculiar right that peculiar modes of vindicating it were established. These two ways of viewing the thing are combined in one view, when we consider the heredes and the deceased person as one person, or the heredes as continuing the existence of the deceased person, and representing him. By this mode of viewing succession, the original relation is completely reversed. Originally the person is viewed as the substance, and all his power (*Vermögen*) as accident; but now the power (*Vermögen*) is viewed as the permanent and essential, to which the several proprietors or owners now appear in the relation of temporary and changeable proprietors.

Ownership and obligationes have been all along assumed as the proper objects of the succession here explained: the relations of marriage, and those which flow directly from it are not in their nature capable of being objects of succession.

The determination of that part of the law which concerns

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[17] The more particular examination of Succession as here explained, and of Succession generally, is contained in the second volume of the System.

[18] Savigny, p. 383, note (6); and in the passages referred to, L. 6. C. (3. 36,) L. 7. C. (4. 16,) L. 26. C. (2. 3.)

[19] See the author's note on the use of this expression in the Institutions of Justinian and in Gaius.

succession, testamentary and ab intestato, (*Erbrecht*) completes the view of the organization of law, which is thus extended beyond the limits of the individual's life. It is not a subordinate part of that division of law which concerns ownership and obligationes, but it is a co-ordinate part; and these two co-ordinate parts are to be considered, the one as contemporaneous, the other as successive. "The first contains the conditions under which every individual at any given moment of time can acquire ownership and the rights arising from obligationes. It is true that changes may arise in these rights by the alterations which take place in course of time, but such changes are accidents, and quite foreign to the nature of these rights. But in the case of the other kind, the Successive, the change is of necessity produced by virtue of the limit of each individual's life, which change is in fact the foundation and the peculiar matter of the whole of the legal relation."—(p. 386.)

The author observes (p. 386,) that "the arrangement which he has attempted of Legal institutions is founded on their essential nature, or in other words on their organic combination with the essential nature of man, the being in whom they inhere. All other qualities of these Legal institutions must accordingly be considered as comparatively subordinate, and not adapted to serve as a foundation of the whole system of Law." To this subordinate class belong First, the Objects of legal relations, or the Things, which by virtue of them are to be subjected to our will. Here the first question is, what can be subjected to our dominion. The Objects of legal relations accordingly point to a subdivision of Rights of ownership and Rights in personam (*Vermögensrecht*), but not to a principal division, because they do not apply to Family. To this subordinate class belong Secondly, the nature and condition of the person who stands opposed to him who is invested with a Right, for the Right may either be a Right against all men, or a Right against determinate individuals. Considered from this point of view, legal institutions would be arranged thus—

1. Against all: Real Rights (*Dingliche Rechte*) and Hereditas (*Erbrecht*).

2. Against determinate individuals: the relations of Family and Obligationes.

This arrangement produces a specious resemblance between Family and Obligationes. But the relation between individuals

as members of a family, and between individuals as united by an obligatio, is altogether of a different kind, which has been already shewn. In an obligation the legal relation consists in the partial subjection of one person to another's will; whereas in Family, that which constitutes the nature of the legal relation, simply as a pure relation of Family, consists rather in the duty of all persons to respect the relations of Family. The resemblance then which arises from this arrangement, or the resemblance on which it is based is accidental, not essential. The author observes in a note that it could only proceed from a misapprehension of his meaning to suppose, that he considers the bond or relation of Family as weaker than that of Obligationes. On the contrary the notion of Family penetrates to the very essence of man's nature; that of Obligatio only affects a man's external act, which may be conceived as separated from his personality. The bond or relation of Family is not then a weaker relation than that of Obligatio: it is altogether of a different kind.

The author now proceeds to arrange the several Legal institutions in the following order, with the omission of those which have no application to Modern Roman Law.

Marriage,
Father's Power,
Kinship,
Guardianship,
} Pure Family Law.

Ownership and Jura in re (*Sachenrecht*).

Obligationes.

Applied Family Law (*Angewandtes Familienrecht*).

Succession, Testamentary and Ab Intestato (*Erbrecht*).

Though this is the natural order in which the notions of these several legal institutions present themselves to us, the author considers that a different order is more convenient for the purpose of exposition. The consideration of the relations of Family becomes much more distinct, when the pure relations of Family are brought into immediate connection with the influence which these relations exercise on other Rights. Consequently the Law of Family must be placed after the consideration of Vermögensrecht, because the influence of Family on these Rights cannot be understood, unless these Rights have been fully explained. The Law of Succession, Testamentary and Ab Intestato, would be perfectly unintelligible without a

previous exposition of the notion of Family. Accordingly the author considers the following arrangement of Legal Institutions as the simplest and the best suited to his purpose:

Ownership and Jura in re (*Sachenrecht*).

Obligationes.

Family Law (Pure and applied).

Succession, Testamentary and Ab Intestato (*Erbrecht*).

After this preliminary explanation, the author adds, it might be expected that he should proceed at once to the matter of Ownership. But there is still a general part or division of considerable extent, which must precede the particular exposition; and such a general part or division has been made by other systematic writers. The reasons for such a preliminary general part are briefly these, (p. 390.) When we attempt to explain the several legal institutions, and to combine their separate parts in one whole, we find that there are many notions which are common to other legal institutions and to that which we are considering. Of this kind are the notion of Person, or the subject of Rights, and more particularly the capacity of Persons to have Rights (*Rechtsfähigkeit*); the origin of legal relations and the termination of them; the protection of Rights against injury, and the modifications of Rights which thence arise. Now whatever is of this general nature, must either be explained each time that we come to treat of one of the great divisions of the matter of Law, which would cause repetition; or it must be done once for all when we begin with the first chief division, that of Ownership. Both these methods would be inconvenient; but there is another reason against adopting either of them. That which is really general, and of universal application to all the divisions of the matter of Law, is much better understood when it is exhibited in a connected form. Accordingly the plan of the author is to take all that is really General and to prefix it to the systematic exposition of the several great divisions of Law, by which method he is enabled to refer the modifications which belong to the several divisions, to their common foundation.

This General Part is all that the author has yet accomplished, and even this is not yet quite complete. In what manner he has accomplished it, no one can fairly judge without a complete study of the whole. Such a study will well repay any man's labour, who wishes to see a science like that of Law treated in a truly practical way, in the proper and just accep-

tation of practice; to see the questions that arise in real life resolved into their true elements, and the relation of these elements brought in subordination to rules which are founded in man's nature and his position with respect to the things amidst which he is placed. Such a study will further enable a person rightly to appreciate the practical good sense, the honest purpose, the clear understanding and the perspicuous language of the great Roman jurists. Numerous passages from the Corpus Juris are explained by the author in the happiest manner; and his exposition, like all good teaching, is not limited barely to what is taught, but it strengthens the capacity to learn and stimulates to fresh activity.

That the author has conceived his plan of a general preliminary part or division in a really practical sense, the following remark will show, (p. 391):—"It is true that such a general part may tend to prevent a clear conception of things, because that may be exhibited as general, which in fact has no application except in the concrete. It may also happen still more frequently, that many particular notions or Legal doctrines may be improperly treated as if they were something general; and this improper mode of treatment, being less apparent, may the easier lead to erroneous views. Herein consequently great care must be taken, that the Particular may not by being put in the wrong place acquire a deceptive show of generality, whereby the true boundary between that which is really general and the Particular will be transgressed. Indeed one of the most fertile sources of erroneous views in the science of Law has always consisted in an unreasonable striving after abstractions; and this habit may be especially encouraged by the arbitrary and uncritical way in which a General part may be constructed. But as on the one side, a man must not overlook this risk, nor neglect the hints which warn him against an unreasonable extension of the General part; so on the other hand, truth may be damaged, if a notion or a legal doctrine is not conceived in the generality which really belongs to it. Accordingly here, as in all other things, the tact, which can maintain the due medium, is the only security against aberrations in opposite directions."

The System of Savigny has been translated into French by Guenoux. It is no part of my present purpose to say how the translation has been executed. Though the author's ideas are always clear, and his language perspicuous, the difficulty of

translation is sometimes very great. If the exposition which I have here attempted is in any part imperfect or obscure, the fault must be imputed to the expositor alone.

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The author has observed (p. 331) that "the general nature of Legal Relations (*Rechtsverhältnisse*,) and their distribution into relations of Staatsrecht and Privatrecht have been explained above, (§ 4, 9.)" The explanation contained in these sections (§ 4, 9, which extend from p. 6 to p. 28, vol. I.,) has not been given above in its proper place, except so far as to explain Rechtsverhältniss (§ 4), and Rechtsinstitut (§ 5); and the omission arose partly from fear of transgressing due limits: but as the explanation is essential to a just view of the author's system, I have added here a brief summary of what is contained in § 6, 9.

Under the term "Sources of Law" (Rechtsquellen, § 6,) the author comprises the original foundation of general law (die Entstehungsgründe des allgemeinen Rechts,) and consequently the original foundation of Legal institutions (Rechtsinstitute) as well as of the several Rules of Law formed out of them by abstraction. The several Legal relations (Rechtsverhältnisse) have also their original foundation,[20] and the connection between Legal relations and Legal institutions may easily lead to a confounding of them with the original foundations of Rules of Law. If we make a complete enumeration of the conditions of any Legal relation, the enumeration must include the existence of a Rule of Law and a fact corresponding to this Rule; to take an instance, there must be a Law which recognizes agreements, and an agreement actually made. But these conditions are specifically different, and we must not co-ordinate Agreements and Laws as sources of Law.[21]

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[20] The general doctrine of the origin of Legal relations is discussed by the author in the Third Chapter of the Second Book, vol. III. § 104, &c.

[21] This co-ordination, observes the author in a note, is found among other writers (not to mention modern writers,) in several passages of Cicero. One passage is in Cicero's *Oratoriæ Partitiones*, c. 37. First, he says that Jus (law) is divided into Natura and Lex. After enumerating what is common to Natura and Lex, he says: "sed propria legis et ea quæ scripta sunt et ea quæ sive literis aut gentium jure aut majorum more retinentur. Scriptorum autem privatum aliud est, publicum aliud: publicum, lex, senatus-consultum, fœdus; privatum, tabulæ, pactum conventum, stipulatio. Quæ autem scripta non sunt, ea aut consuetudine aut conventis hominum et quasi consensu obtinentur." In this passage the facts which are the origin of the several legal re-

Another kind of confusion has its origin in the term Sources of Law (Rechtsquellen,) whence arises a confusion between Sources of Law and the historical sources of Jurisprudence. To the historical sources of Jurisprudence belong all monuments and records from which we derive a knowledge of Jurisprudential facts. The two notions are consequently quite distinct. By way of illustration the author observes that the Digest of Justinian is a source in both senses of the term: the Lex Voconia is one of the sources of the older Roman Law, but as the Lex is lost, it is not and cannot be a source of Jurisprudential Knowledge. On the other hand many passages of the ancient historians and poets, which contain juristical notices, are sources of Jurisprudential Knowledge, but not sources of Law. It is to be observed however that generally when we speak of sources of Law, the two significations coincide, and the danger of any confusion of ideas owing to the ambiguity is not great.

The author now proceeds to consider (§ 7,) "What are the original foundations of general law, or wherein consist the sources of Law?"

We might be inclined to assume that Law had various origins dependent on chance, human caprice, reflection and wisdom. But this assumption is contradicted by the indisputable fact that wherever a legal relation becomes matter of inquiry and of our consciousness, a rule of law applicable to it already exists, and therefore neither requires to be now discovered for the first time nor allows the possibility of such discovery. In reference to this characteristic of Law by virtue of which in every condition in which it is presented to us, it has, as a thing given, an actual existence, we call it Positive Law. The subject in which and for which this Positive Law has its existence, is a People (das Volk.) Positive Law lives in the common consciousness of the People, and accordingly the author calls it Volksrecht. But we must not conceive that Law is produced by the choice of the several members of a people: it is the common intellectual activity which resides in every individual, which produces Positive Law, which Law is consequently one and the same in the consciousness of every individual. Thus the origin of Positive Law being assumed to be unknown, we can of course have no docu-

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lations, are confounded with the sources of law; and this confusion is apparent in some of the expressions used by English lawyers.

mentary evidence of its origin; but this deficiency of evidence is common to this view and every other view of the origin of Law, for in every nation which has been the subject of history, we find a Positive Law existing before the history of the nation commences, and the origin of the Law is consequently beyond historic limits. There are other things in the history of a people which are equally beyond the limits of history; such for example as the usages of social life, and particularly Language. We do not assign the origin of Language either to chance or to the free choice of a number of individuals: it was produced by the activity of the common mind of the people (Volksgeist) working in every individual. "In the case of language all this is more apparent and less easily overlooked owing to its sensuous nature, than in the case of Law. In fact the individual character of different peoples is simply determined and recognized by these common tendencies, among which Language, as the most apparent, assumes the first place," (p. 15.)

"The form in which Law exists in the common consciousness of a people is not that of the abstract rule, but the living contemplation of legal institutions in their organic combination, so that when it is necessary to attain a consciousness of the rule in its logical form, the rule must be derived by an artificial process out of that contemplation of the entire legal institution. This form exhibits itself in symbolical acts, which represent the essence of legal relations as in an image or picture, and wherein the original law of a people (Volksrechte) is generally expressed more clearly and more completely than in Laws or Statutes."

Positive Law being once produced is developed with the life of a people: it also receives additions and undergoes change. As a people's language is in a constant course of formation and development, so it is with Law: and the growth of both is determined by an internal strength and necessity, independent of chance and individual caprice. Yet the development of Law is not that of mere change: it has a definite and regular course of events, in which each individual contributes his share to that particular manifestation of the national character by which Law is produced. This individual activity is greatest in the early period of a people's existence, when the national unity is stronger, the consciousness of it more generally diffused, and it is less obscured by difference in individual cultivation. But in

proportion as the cultivation of the individuals becomes different, and the line between various occupations and intellectual acquirements becomes more marked, this production of Law, which depended on the common consciousness, becomes more difficult, and in fact it would finally almost cease, if these very circumstances did not give birth to new and peculiar organs, Legislature and Jurisprudential Science (Rechtswissenschaft). Law thus developed may produce new Legal institutions (Rechtsinstitute), or change existing institutions; and it may even cause old institutions to disappear altogether, when they have become unsuited to the feelings and the wants of the time.

The production of Law having been attributed to People (Volk) as the active subject and personality, the author proceeds (§ 8.) to determine more exactly the nature of this subject.

If we consider legal relation (Rechtsverhältniss) in its utmost generality, abstracted from all consideration of particular matter, its essence consists in this—that a number of human beings are living together under certain defined regulations. Now we might assume that Law is simply an invention of such a body of individuals, without which invention the external freedom of each could not exist. But such an accidental union of an indeterminate number of persons is a fiction; and if such a union were admitted to be a possibility, such a union of persons would not have the capacity to produce Law. The simple fact is that so far as the records of history extend, man has always lived in a state of intellectual intercourse, which is shown by the use of a common language, which is also the means of securing and developing this social state. In this natural community then is the seat or origin of the production of Law, for there exists in the common mind that pervades all the individuals of a body, the power to satisfy the necessity of Law. The boundaries of such collections of individuals are in their nature indefinite, which shows itself in the unity or the difference of the Law which arises among them. Thus when we examine cognate races, it is sometimes doubtful if they are to be viewed as one People or as several; and in like manner we discover in their Law not absolute agreement, but still a degree of relationship.

Where the unity of a People is indisputable, there are still within its boundary narrower circles, which in addition to the general bond of union of the whole people have their special bond, such as cities, towns, and corporations of all kinds, which

collectively are subdivisions of the whole, though masses of a like kind with it. Here again there may be a special production of Law in the form of Particular Law, which may exist side by side with the common Law of the whole people, which may thus in many respects be extended or modified.[22]

A People is thus viewed as a natural unit and as that which maintains the existence of Positive Law. But we must not view it as merely composed of a number of individuals living at the same time; for this unity of a People pervades all successive generations, and connects the present with the past and the future. Law is thus transmitted from one period to another by the gradual change in the generations of man. Law then appears to be independent of the life of the actual members of a people, and thus is secured the unchanged continuance of the rules of Law; but the same fact is also the foundation and ensures the possibility of the gradual development of Law. The individual People is here viewed as the producer of its Positive Law, a view which may appear too limited to many persons, who might rather ascribe the production of Law to the common faculty of man than to the individual faculty of a People. "If we examine more closely however, the two views are not contradictory. That which works in the individual People, is only the common faculty of mankind, which shows itself in such people in a particular way. But the production of Law is a fact and a social fact. Now this fact is only conceivable as to those among whom a society in thinking and acting is not only possible, but is actually in operation. And as such a society only exists within the boundaries of an individual People, so it is only under these circumstances that Law can actually be produced, though in the production of Law we observe the manifestation of a universal human capacity for development, and consequently not merely the peculiar caprice of several distinct Peoples, of which in other Peoples perhaps scarcely a trace can be found. Herein only appears a distinction, that this product of the faculty of a People is sometimes altogether peculiar to the individual People, and sometimes appears in several Peoples in a like degree. In what manner the Romans conceived this more general foundation of Volksrecht

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[22] Thus local customs exist in all old states. The author remarks in a note that there were at Rome ancient toms of the several Roman Gentes

under the name of Jus Gentium, is explained in another place (p. 105).

A People (Volk) has been hitherto viewed as an invisible natural unit, the limits of which were necessarily undefined. But a People never exists thus (§ 9). The invisible unit is by its nature impelled to assume a visible and organic form. This embodiment of the spiritual community of a People is the State, in which the unit receives its well defined limits. The origin of a State springs from an internal necessity as much as Law does; and this is true of the existence of a State generally, as well as of the peculiar form which the State has in each people. The origination of a State is in fact a kind of origination of Law, or rather the highest stage in the production of Law.

Viewing the whole of Law from this point, we discover in it two distinct departments or divisions, Constitutional Law (Staatsrecht) and Private Law (Privatrecht). The first has for its object the State, the organic phænomenon of the People. The second has for its object the totality of the legal relations which surround the individual human being, to the end that he may within them pursue his own inward life and fashion it to a definite form.[23] It is not asserted that these two divisions are unconnected. But there is a clear distinction between them in the main, which is this: in the Publicum Jus the whole appears as object, and the individual person is subordinate; in the Privatum Jus the individual person is his own object, and every legal relation has respect, only as a means, to his existence or his peculiar circumstances (p. 23).

The State exercises the most varied effects on Privatum Jus, and specially on its existence. It is only as State, that a People acquires a real Personality, and a capacity to act. Independently of State, we can only view Privatum Jus as existing in a certain unanimity of feelings, thoughts and moral habits; but in the State it acquires by virtue of the office of the judge, life and reality. This however is not to be understood as if in the life of a People there was actually a period before a State was devised,—a time in which Privatum Jus had this incomplete character (natural state, Naturzustand.) On the contrary, every People as soon as it appears as such, appears likewise as

[23] This is the division in the Institutes of Justinian (1. tit. 1) into Publicum Jus and Privatum Jus.

a State, whatever may be the form of the State. What then has been said above of Privatum Jus, as it exists independent of State, merely expresses that condition of a People, which we conceive when we view it as abstracted from its character as State.

Law (§ 7, 8) has been shewn to exist in the common understanding of a People (Volksgeist,) consequently in the collected will, which in that respect is also the will of every individual. But the individual by virtue of his freedom to act can oppose as an individual that to which he assents as a member of the whole. This contradiction constitutes Wrong, and wrong must be destroyed in order that Law may rule. This can only be effected by the State; for it is in the State alone that a rule of Law can present itself to the individual as something external and objective. In this new relation the individual freedom, which is capable of Wrong, appears bound by the collected will and annihilated in it. The State also exercises its power in the production of Privatum Jus, and not only as to the matter thereof, but also as to the limits within which Law may be generated. Thus the growth of Particular Law (custom) is not entirely prevented by the unity of the State (§ 8.), but the growth is only so far limited that the essential unity of the State shall not thereby be endangered.

The author proceeds to say, that something must be still added in order to secure his proposed classification of Law against the charge of incompleteness. He does not limit the State to the mere objects of Law, nor does his theory aim at defining the limits of individual freedom by enumerating exclusive objects of the activity of the State. Yet doubtless one of the first and most indispensible functions of the State is to give to the notion of Law its dominion in the visible world: and this is effected in two ways. First, if an individual is injured in his rights, the State gives him protection against this injury: the rules by which this is effected, are called Civil Procedure (Civilprozess.) Secondly, the State has to maintain the violated right in itself without respect to the individual interest. This is effected by Punishment; and the rules according to which the State here acts, are comprehended under the name of Criminal Law, of which Criminal Procedure forms a part. "Accordingly (p. 26,) Civil Procedure, Criminal Law and Criminal Procedure are parts of Staatsrecht, and were so viewed by the Romans.

That this mode of viewing this matter has become somewhat strange to us in modern times, originates in the following circumstances. The administration of Criminal Law is often given to the same judicial functionaries as the protection of Private Law, and accordingly the mode of dealing with both things has also assumed a form of greater resemblance. In Civil Procedure however the activity of the State is so interwoven with the rights of the individuals that a complete separation is not practically possible. Yet the real essence of these two forms of procedure, as here explained, cannot be altered by that. Now in order on the one side to give to this essence of the thing, and on the other side to those more practical relations, their proper recognition, it appears to be conformable to usage and also appropriate, in addition to the name of Staatsrecht to use also the more general name of Public Law (Oeffentliches Recht,) under which Civil Procedure and Criminal Law are comprised."

"The case is different with Ecclesiastical Law (Kirchenrecht.) Considered purely in a worldly point of view the Church appears like every other society; and as other corporations have their dependent, subordinate position, partly in Constitutional Law, partly in Private Law, so one might be disposed to give such a position also to the Church. But the importance of the Church which governs the inmost being of man does not allow this mode of treating the matter. In various periods of the history of the world accordingly the Church and Ecclesiastical Law have assumed very various positions with respect to the State. Among the Romans Jus sacrum was a part of Staatsrecht and subordinate to the State. The all comprehensive nature of Christianity excludes this purely national mode of dealing with the matter. In the middle ages the Church attempted to subject States to itself and to rule them. We can only view the different Christian churches as existing by the side of the State, but in varied and close connection with it. Accordingly for us Ecclesiastical Law is a domain of Law existing for itself, which cannot be arranged as subordinate either to Public (öeffentliches) or to Private Law."[24]

G. LONG.

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[24] The true notion of a Christian Church is simply a union of Christians for the purposes of their religion. We can conceive numerous churches, each

# XIX.

## ANTHOLOGIA OXONIENSIS, AND THE CRITIC IN THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

IN vol. XIV. and number LVII., for July last, of the *Christian Remembrancer*, there appeared a review of the *Anthologia Oxoniensis*, edited last year by Mr. Linwood, including a short

of which is distinguished by something peculiar; yet they all form in a sense one Christian Church. When the author speaks of the Church attempting to subject the State, he uses the term Church in a different meaning. It was not the Christian Church as such which attempted to subject States: it was the ministers of the Church, or the Clergy. A Church proper then, or a number of Churches is nothing more than an association, or several associations of individuals, for Christian purposes, and may be conceived as having no more connection with the State than any other association: such is the condition of Christian Churches in the United States of North America. They have the power of associating for the purposes of their Religion, and doing every thing which is not inconsistent with the existence of the State or the established rights of individuals. Yet the nature of Religion and of Education do in a measure bring churches and establishments for education into a kind of natural connection with the State; which connection may vary infinitely. The problem in a Free State is to secure to every man both in matter of Religion and of Education, the free development of his natural capacity and the satisfaction of his spiritual and intellectual wants. Associations for Religion and for Education accordingly, as means towards this development, are allowed and protected, so far as they shall tend to accomplish their proper purpose. How far this shall be, is a difficult problem to determine in a free State. But so much as this can be determined. Neither Associations for Religion, whether called Churches or by any other name, nor associations for education, can exist permanently in a free State in any form and in any degree which shall be an obstacle to the freedom of man's spiritual and intellectual activity. In such a State a body of Ecclesiastical Law, as a self-existing Law, is an anomaly. In such a State there can finally be no law relating to a Church or to Christian Churches, which shall not be the same for all Christian Churches, and shall have no other object than to secure each man the choice of attaching himself to such church as he pleases, and to secure to each church the free exercise of its religious services; which of course implies that no one church shall have any power which shall in any way affect any other church, nor any man who does not choose to attach himself to such one church. Such a freedom is of the essence of Christianity; which is imperfectly developed where this freedom does not exist; and may be fully developed under various forms where this freedom does exist. A mass of Ecclesiastical Law existing for itself is one of the badges of servitude, and a remnant of the partial subjection of the State to a Clergy.

prefatory Notice of the *Arundines Cami*, as again, for the third time, presented to the public by Mr. Drury.

There runs throughout the article a candid and a kindly spirit, shewing that to the writer "humane studies," as he somewhat quaintly calls them, are in truth what in their effect upon the mind and manners of their cultivator they always should be, "studia humanitatis"—softening by a liberal urbanity of language, and amenity of tone, the rigour of an independent and uncompromising criticism.

While, however, he evinces an experienced discernment, not only of the essential requisites, but of the nicer refinements of Latin versification, as also the possession, on his own part, of practical adroitness in the handling of that well-tried and efficient instrument of exact and finished polish in the studies of our youth, that pleasing source of intellectual recreation in the business of our graver years; there has nevertheless escaped him, here and there, an inconsiderate oversight, or erroneous and untenable remark.

Of these a candid exhibition,—prompted, as it is, by no invidious pride of cavilling pedantry, but simply by a taste in common for the same accomplishment, and in its occasional, though now infrequent exercise, habitual regard to pure and accurate diction; tempered, moreover, with respect for his own manifest attainments in the art;—may to himself, no less than to some other persons who are possibly familiar with the pages both of the *Christian Remembrancer* and of the *Classical Museum*, prove not uninteresting or unwelcome.

The Reviewer, who again, in p. 111, refers in laudatory terms to Mr. Jones's translation of a passage from Shakspeare (Comedy of Errors, Act IV. sc. 3,) into Latin iambics (*Anth. Oxon.* p. 53,) hazards, in p. 101, the following rash assertion:—"We venture to say the lines here quoted might appear as a recovered fragment of Terence, without the most acute scholar being able to impeach their genuineness from internal evidence alone."

The challenge is publicly given; nor can it fairly be deemed an uncourteous, much less a hostile and offensive act, if we, or any other reader, take up the gauntlet, and run a literary tilt, it may be with our betters.

Vss. 1, 2.—"But doth salute me, As if I were their well-acquainted friend," is thus rendered, "Quin me salutet hîc tam

familiariter." Here tam (for it is not coupled with a superlative,) is surely not correct, requiring, as it does, its apodosis.

It should have been "quam familiariter," *as intimately as possible*, after Terence himself, *Andr.* Act. I. sc. 1, vs. 109.

Vs. 7.—"Ev'n now a tailor called me in his shop,"
"Dudum in tabernam me vocat sartor suam."

Here *dudum*, with the present tense vocat, can, in good Latin, mean only "*has for some time been calling me*," and includes the notion of the act *continued* at the moment when the speaker utters the words. Of this examples may be seen in Facciolati, or in Scheller, who gives nearly the same. Among them, Cicero *ad Attic.* lib. IV. ep. 5, "dudum circumrodo," *I have long been* (and am still) *nibbling round about;* oftener with jam dudum. *Orat. pro Cluent.* cap. 23, "vocat me alio jam dudum," *has long been claiming my attention to another point.* Add Virgil, *Æn.* IV. 362,—IX. 186–87,—XI. 836–37. Horace, *Sat.* VII. 2, vs. 1. So with quam dudum, Plautus, *Stich.* Act II, sc. 1, vs. 38, "Vide quam dudum hic adsto et pulto," *What a long while I have been standing here knocking.*

Had the preterite, vocavit, been used, (as here it ought, and not the narrative present for the past, especially after the preceding dat, vocat, agit, ostendit, rogat, all of them rightly expressing in the present tense an existing *practice*,) it would, with either dudum or modo, and that almost indifferently, have been correct: dudum in that combination serving to intimate a short, as well as, on occasion, a more considerable, but indefinite interval. In Plautus, *Amphitr.* act. II. sc. 1, Alcmena says, in reference to the departure of her *personated* husband, which had but a very little while ago taken place, "qui dudum aiebat," and "dudum dixeras;" to her *real* one, on his return home, vs. 50, "Sic salutas atque appellas, quasi dudum non videris," *as if you had not just now seen me:* and a little further on, "quasi multo post videris," *as if it were a long time since you had last seen me.* When the true Amphitryon asks, "Quam dudum istuc factum est?" she answers "Tentas? jam *dudum*, pridem, *modo*;" here purposely joining together opposite terms, in order to mystify in her turn him who, she thinks, is, for the joke's sake, trying to mystify herself: "Qui nunc primum te advenisse dicas, qui *modo* abieris:" and again, "Nam *dudum*

ante lucem ——— te vidi." But this will appear still more clearly from passages where dudum and modo are relative. Plaut. *Pers.* Act. IV. sc. 3, vss. 28–29, "E Persia ad me allatæ *modo* sunt. Quando? *haud dudum.*" Terent. *Eun.* Act. IV. sc. 4, vs. 30, "Venit Chærea. Fraterne? Ita. Quando? Hodie. *Quam dudum? Modo.*" *Andr.* Act v. sc. 2, vs. 9, "*Modo* introii. Quasi ego *quam dudum* te rogem."

Of the two, however, we should ourselves be disposed in this instance to give the preference to *modo*, which is the very word given by the good old Ainsworth for the English phrase "*even now*," that is, but just now. Cicero *in Verrem*, Act. II. lib. IV. cap. 3, "Quid dico *nuper?* Immo vero, *modo*, ac plane *paulo ante.*"

But the main difficulty in the version of these lines of Shakspeare is how properly to equip in Latin costume the impracticable tailor; that reputed fractional part of manhood which in our day is so essential to the completion of the integer, though in the eyes of the more ancient race of Rome considered a nonentity so absolute, as even to lack in their vocabulary its distinctive designation by any one single noun appropriated to itself.

With them, the tailor was not, as with us, the enlightened professor of a liberal and elaborate art, second only, if indeed second, to that of the creative statuary; but lay engulphed in the promiscuous obscurity of the opifices: a class of men of whom Cicero pronounces that they "omnes in sordida arte versantur: Nec enim quidquam ingenuum potest habere *officina*," (*De Offic.* lib. I. cap. 42.) For elsewhere (*De Nat. Deor.* lib. II. cap. 60,) after noticing the "tegumenta corporis *suta*," he says, "adhibitis *opificum manibus* nos consecutos ut *vestiti* esse possemus." Nay, Suetonius (*de Grammaticis*, cap. 23,) speaks out, and boldly talks of "promercalium *vestium officina.*" The Latin "sartor," who, with Mr. Jones and his reviewer, passes muster as the representative of the Shakspearian "tailor," was no better than a sorry mender, a patcher-up and darner of worn and torn habiliments (from the verb sarcio,) not an inventive and original constructor of the new exterior. And even this, humble sphere as it is, rests only on the authority of Nonius I. n. 24, who cites from Varro an example treated by Facciolati as apparent, not as certain.

It is, then, in a different sense, that of hoer or weeder (from

the verb sarrio,) and not of the μηχανόῤῥαφος κακῶν of Euripides (*Androm.* 447, Conf. *Soph. Œd. Tyr.* 387,) that Plautus, in the *Captivi*, Act. III. sc. 5, vs. 3, says metaphorically,

"Sator sartorque scelerum et messor optume."

As is shewn by the reply of Tyndarus,

"Non occatorem dicere audebas prius?
Nam semper occant prius quam sarriunt rustici."

Unadvisedly, therefore, is the authority of Plautus assigned for "sartor," as the equivalent for the English "tailor," in the English-Latin Dictionary of Arnold and Riddle, 1847. Old Ainsworth also had given "sartor, vestiarius, sarcinator:" the two former of which were by Morell banished to the convict settlement of the "Index vocum vitandarum;" while Noltenius, by an inadvertency with him unusual, has, in his *Lexic. Antibarbar.* ed. 3. 1780, t. I. p. 1794, recognized "sartor," as if in that sense legitimate. For "vestiarius," as for the specious term "vestificus," which are found in inscriptions, the classical date of the authority is not apparent; see Facciol. in voce. In order, then, to clothe in good Latinity that notable vocation, we must have recourse to a periphrasis. We would accordingly suggest

"Modo me vocavit ad se vestium artifex,"

or, (to omit "me," which is here unemphatic and superfluous,) "Dudum vocavit ad se v. a."

It hardly need be remarked, that the phrase "ad se," so frequently employed to signify "in domum suam," may here very well serve instead of the specific term "in tabernam," or "officinam."

Vs. 9.—"And, therewithal, took measure of my body."
"Exinde formam corporis dimensus est."

We would prefer "modulum corporis;" although Ainsworth and Noltenius (ubi supra,) both of them have "formam." See, as quoted by Facciolati, Horace, *Sat.* III. 2, vs. 309; *Epist.* VII. lib. 1, vs. 98.—Suetonius *in Nerone*, c. 49, "Scrobem," (a grave,) "dimensus est ad corporis sui modulum."

But what, in the last place, shall we say to the false quantity of pŏl for pōl?

Vs. 10.—" Per pōl inanes insidiæ sunt hæ, puto.
Velim, pŏl, inquis: at, pōl, ecce villicus."
Catull. *Carm.* xx. vs. 19.
" Equidem pŏl in eam partem accipioque et volo."
Terent. *Eun.*, Act. v. sc. 2. vs. 27.
" Non pŏl homō quisquam faciēt impune animatus."
Ennius, *appol. Facciol.* voc. pol.

These, then, (to-wit, tam familiariter, dudum vocat, sartor, pōl,) are at least four flaws in that "internal evidence," on the strength of which the Reviewer has too hastily pronounced that Mr. Jones's lines might be mistaken for an undoubted relic of Terence.

At the same time, it is at first sight far more plausible in its general aspect than was that memorable literary fraud, in imitation of the ancient Latin comic poet Trabea, (of which the curious reader will find a detailed account in Bayle *art. Trabéa*,) with which the erudite and elegant Muretus imposed upon the judgment of a critic so sagacious, and a scholar so profound, as was, in his own esteem, no less than in that of others, the famous Joseph Scaliger. The lines are these:—

——— " Afflicta Trabeæ.
Here, si querellis, ejulatu, fletibus
Medecina fieret miseriis mortalium,
Auro parandæ lacrumæ contra forent:
Nunc hæc ad minuenda mala non magis valent,
Quam nænia preficæ ad excitandos mortuos.
Res turbidæ consilium, non fletum expetunt."
Mureti Poemata. Ed. Ald. 1575, p. 57.—Mur. opp. Ed. Ruhnk. T. 1. p. 775–76.

This is avowedly a version of the following fragment of the *Sardius* of Philemon, preserved by Plutarch and by Athenæus:

" εἰ τὰ δάκρυ' ἡμῖν τῶν κακῶν ἦν φάρμακον,
ἀεί θ' ὁ κλαύσας τοῦ πονεῖν ἐπαύετο,
ἠλλαττόμεσθ' ἂν δάκρυα δόντες χρυσίον·
νῦν δ' οὐ προσέχει τὰ πράγματ' οὐδ' ἀποβλέπει
εἰν ταῦτα, δέσποτ', ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν,
ἐάν τε κλάῃς ἄν τε μὴ, πορεύεται.
τί οὖν ποιεῖς πλέον; οὐδέν· ἡ λύπη δ' ἔχει,
ὥσπερ τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο καρπὸν, τὸ δάκρυον."
Meineke, *Fragmenta Comicor. Græcor.* Vol. IV. p. 23.

As *a translation* of the Greek original, certainly, and indeed as to sustained propriety of comic diction, the subjoined performance of Andrew Navagero, (*Poemata*, Venet. 1530,) to which Muret is himself clearly, though without acknowledgment, indebted in vs. 3, is justly, we think, preferred by John Checozzi, editor of Mureti opp. Selectt. Patav. 1740; who in his preface, T. I. pp. 66—67, Opp. Ed. Ruhnk. T. I. pp. 97—98, judiciously points out in that of Muret an incongruous deviation into tragic stateliness of march and language.

"Si quid remedii lacrumæ adferrent malis,
Minorque semper fieret lugenti dolor,
Auro parandæ lacrumæ contra forent.
Sed nil, here, istæc prosunt; res ipsæ nihil
Juvantur istis; sive tu semper fleas,
Seu nunquam, eandem pergere insistent viam.
Quid his juvamur ergo? nil certe: at dolor,
Ut ipsa fructus arbor, sic lacrumas habet."

Here, had but "ipsa" been "ista," meaning "quævis," which is in this place the sense of τοῦτο, there would have been nothing left to desire.

Page 104. In Mr. Goldwin Smith's version of Bishop King's poem, (*Anth. Oxon.* pp. 162—163,) the Reviewer seems to have misapprehended the construction intended by the author, in his translation of the lines—

"E'en such is man, whose borrowed light
Is straight called in and paid to-night."
"Sic importunis hominum lux credita fatis
Vespere debetur, nocte redacta perit."

He remarks, that here the case and government of "fatis" are ambiguous. To us the case of "fatis" is clearly the dative, after debetur, as in Virgil, *Æn.* XI. vs. 759; the sense itself precluding its being governed by "credita." As an ablative, fatis could only be absolute, "importunis fatis, *under a rigorous or inexorable destiny*; like "lymphis iratis exstructa," and "iratis Diis natus," Hor. *Sat.* v. 1. vss. 97—98, *Sat.* III., 2, vs. 8; which, however, would not here well suit the passage: While the Reviewer's correction, "lux tua talis, Homo, est; ab avaris credita fatis;" leads to the conclusion, that he conceived Mr. Smith to have meant in the *ablative* "[ab] importunis fatis;" liable, in absence of the preposition, to be mistaken for the dative after "credita," against the sense. And

here we would, en passant, glance at a quotation in page 99, from an oration occurring in one of the old Repositories of Oxonian effusions, prose and metrical, elaborated of yore in honour of public and political events. "Neque sera posteritas ullos nisi PRINCIPES STEWARTIADUM (*sic*) sempiternæ celebritatis æmulos, Britannicæ insidentes solio conspiciat."

Here, "Stewartiadum," whether the syncopated poetic gen. pl. of the masculine patronymic Stewartiades, or rather the regular one of the feminine Stewartias, (meaning the late queen, Mary, and her reigning sister, Anne,) is not, we conceive, an error, instead of the accusative Stewartiadas, as the Reviewer seems to suppose; the construction, we apprehend, being "Principes æmulos sempiternæ celebritatis Stewartiadum."

But, to return to the poem in hand. To us the real imperfection seems to lie in this, that "lux credita," employed to represent the "borrowed light" of the original, would in Latin, without a case governed by "credita," (even though here assisted by the verb "debetur," to which it is the nominative,) be subject to misapprehension. In good Latin, "hominum lux credita," would signify *the light accounted* or reputed *to be man's*; as in "Herculis uxor credar," Ovid, *Epist.* IX. vss. 149—150. So "natus credor," *Fasti*, lib. III. vs. 74. Whereas the author meant "credita," in the sense of "lent," which comes to the same as "borrowed." This, however, requires a dative of the borrower, either expressed, as in Horace, lib. I. od. 3. vs. 5. "Quæ *tibi creditum* debes Virgilium,—reddas," &c.; or to be inferred from the nominative to a verb in the active voice, as in lib. I. od. 24, vs. 11, "creditum poscis;" "tu," which is there necessarily implied, at once suggesting "tibi." So Ovid, *Art. Amand.* lib. II. vs. 351, "ager credita" [scil. sibi,] "reddit." But in the words "hominum lux credita" we have, less naturally, to supply "ipsis."

For this imperfection, an obvious remedy is, instead of "hominum," to read "homini," in the dative, usual, in the generic sense, as equivalent to hominibus; as in Hor. lib. I. od. 3. vs. 35, "Pennis non homini datis;" Ovid, *Met.* I. vs. 85, "os homini sublime dedit."

In the Reviewer's alteration,

"Lux tua talis, Homo, est;—ab avaris credita fatis;"

to say nothing of the cacophony of "tua talis," and of the unrhythmical effect of the caesura falling on the monosyllable "est," after the preceding "Homo" in the *vocative* case, intercepted by a comma, and with its final vowel under *these* circumstances elided,—"talis" is surely no proper apodosis to the invariable "ut" with its verb, no less than six times repeated with the several preceding objects of comparison. Besides, "debetur," in the next line, thus left without a case, is in the *abstract* made emphatic: Hence arises *a false antithesis;* first, as to the *sense* between "debetur" and "redacta," "is owing," and "called in;" then as to *collocation*, between the *verb* "debetur" and the participle "redacta," instead of between "debetur" and the *other verb* ("perit,") in the close.

Mr. Smith's own version, however, is, in other respects than the one already noticed, open to animadversion, both as redundant and as defective.

In the words of the original, "is straight," (*i. e.* εὐθὺς, forthwith,) "called in and paid to-night," nothing is said of "*the importunate fates*" as creditors; nothing of the *evening* of human life, contrasted (as in the Latin) with the night of death, in a progressive climax; nothing of the debt of nature, already at the former period owing, and at the latter required to be paid. And were it so, "*perit*," meaning "is lost" or "disappears," cannot, surely, express "*is paid;*" and the word "called in" is alone represented by "redacta."

We would therefore suggest—

> "Non aliter brevis hæc, homini quæ credita lux est,
> Protinus exigitur, reddita nocte cadit."
>
> Catull. *Carm.* v. vss. 5—6.
>
> "Nobis, cum semel *occidit brevis lux*,
> *Nox* est perpetua una dormienda."

Here "exigitur" and "*reddita*" express "is called in," and "*paid;*" while "cadit," *i. e.* occidit, in connection with "lux," serves as an illustration of "nocte."

In vs. 6. for the Reviewer's correction,

> "Ut tumet in summa spumeus orbis aqua,"

where "summa," as being compatible, and "spumeus," as specific and descriptive, are the former a necessary emendation of the author's incongruous epithet "placida," the latter a happy one of his vague term "lucidus;" we should, instead of "tu-

met," prefer, as here closer to the original, "or bubbles which on water stood," the author's word "natat;" though aware of Martial's (lib. VIII. *Epigr.* XXXIII. vs. 18,) "offensæ bulla *tumescit* aquæ:" and for "summa," we would read the more graphic "trepida," *i. e.* "disturbed, ruffled, chafed, fretting." In vs. 9. instead of the Reviewer's "collabitur," there introduced to avoid the repeated "fŭgit" of that line, and "fŭgit" in the 12th, while it is itself, in so short a poem, too like the previous "delabitur" in vs. 1, we would read,

"Ilicet exspirat ventus, perit orbis in unda;"
"The wind blows out, the bubble dies."

In vs. 11. for the Reviewer's line,

"In præceps abiit sidus, ros aruit æstu;"
"The dew dries up, the star is shot;"

where, in like manner, "præceps" too nearly resembles "præcipitatur" in vs. 2, and "præpete" in the 12th, we would propose "corruit in tenebras sidus, ros aruit æstu." For "corruit" we might read "vanuit," as, perhaps, with "aruit," more euphonious; but "corruit" seems better to suit the rapid motion implied in the English, "*is shot.*"

The alteration in p. 108 of Mr. Booth's last couplet from—

"Tam mihi sic animo, Medi quæ littus inumbrant,
Usque nitent, oculis quam nituere, rosæ,"
"Thus bright to my soul, as 'twas then to my eyes,
Is that bower on the banks of the calm Bendemeer,"

To

"Quamque oculis olim, tam menti nunc quoque fulgent,
Quas placido Medus præfluit amne, rosæ,"

is exceedingly neat and felicitous; especially as, like the original, it alludes to a preceding passage,

Vss. 9—10, "Num mihi qui fulsit solitus manet ille roseto
Quod placido Medus præfluit amne, rubor?"
Vs. 8, "Are the roses still bright by the calm Bendemeer."

We should, perhaps, on account of the "mens memor" in vss. 17—18, which aptly expresses "memory," have in this place preferred Mr. Booth's word "animus;" and also in as much as it is the more usual equivalent of the English "*soul*," considered as the seat of *the affections*; although it is at the

true, that while Catullus, *Carm.* LXV. vs. 4, in the phrase "mens animi," designates by "mens," the intellectual, as distinguished from the sensitive portion of the whole; still, the indifferent use of both words by Virgil, in the parallel instances, *Æn.* IX. 294, and *Æn.* X. 824,

"Atque animum, } patriæ strinxit pietatis imago,"
Et mentem, }

is of itself sufficient to *sanction* the application of "menti" to *emotions of the heart.*

P. 111. We cannot entirely acquiesce in the Reviewer's approbation of Mr. Jones's Greek version of Shakspeare's song, (from the *Merchant of Venice*, Act III. sc. 2.) The metre indeed is not ill chosen, on the model of Theocritus, *Epigr.* XIX.; but, in the first stanza, there is in the Greek a vapid expansion, not to say tautology of language:

"Tell me, where is fancy *bred*,
Or in the heart or in the head?
How *begot*, how nourished?

"πᾶ πόκα μοι γενναὸς Ἔρως, πόθεν ἔρχεται πότ' ἄμμε;
ἐκ τεῦ δ' ἔβλαστε, κρατὸς αἴ τε καρδίας;
πόθεν τεκνωθεὶς, πῶς τραφεὶς πεφύκη;"

Here, besides the requisite πᾶ γενναὸς and πόθεν τεκνωθεὶς, we have also πόθεν ἔρχεται, ἐκ τεῦ δ' ἔβλαστε, and πεφύκη, all employed to convey two ideas, nearly identical, of the original.

The preposition ποτὶ, by the way, should after elision have been left unaccented, πότ'—as in Theocritus, *Idyll.* XI. vs. 42, ἀφίκεν τὸ ποτ' ἄμμε.

Πεφύκη, we are quite aware, is a legitimate Doric form for the 3d per. sing. plusq. perf. med. ἐπεφύκει, as in Theocr. *Id.* V. vss. 33, 93, XI. vs. 1, XIII. vs. 40. So ὀπώπη, *Id.* IV. vs. 7, πεποίθη, *Id.* V. vs. 28, ἐλελήθη, *Id.* X. vs. 38. And in the 2d pers. πεπόνθης, *Id.* VII. vs. 83. Nor are we ignorant that this tense may stand for the imperfect or the aorist, (see Matthiae, *Grk. gr.* vol. I. § 188, obs. 1, § 198, obs. 4, and vol. II. § 504, IV.) We are, nevertheless, decidedly of opinion, that here the *present* tense of the original should in the Greek be uniformly retained throughout, in consistency with ἔρχεται, vs. 1, θάπτεται, vs. 5. If in vs. 4, the imperfect, ἐβωκολῇτο, were in point of tense unexceptionable, we should be disposed to doubt the propriety of its form, perhaps even of its application; the received

acceptation, in reference to ἔρως, being rather that of cheating and beguiling the torment of that passion, than that, which is here required, of feeding and cherishing its influence. See the late learned J. Wordsworth's note, in his brother's Theocritus, *Id.* XI. vs. 30.

As to the form; true as it may be, that the Dorians do in certain instances turn ει into η, (Matth. Vol. I. § 14, § 202, numb. 11, § 217,) it does not appear that they did this in the 3d pers. sing. of the imperfect middle of contract verbs in -εω. On the contrary, we find in Theocritus, *Id.* II. v. 152, ἐπεχεῖτο; *Id.* XI. vs. 11, ἀγεῖτο; *Id.* XVII. v. 40, ἀντεφιλεῖτο; *Id.* XXII. vs. 51, ᾐωρεῖτο; *Id.* XXII. vs. 127, δαλεῖτο. Pseudotheocr. *Id.* XXX. vs. 16, φοβεῖτο. In *Idyll.* XXV. vss. 62 and 108, ἠγεῖτο—θηεῖτο are Ionic.

In *Idyll.* VI. vs. 30, we have, it is true, ἐκνυζῆτο from κνυζεόμαι, like κνυζεῦνται, *Id.* II. vs. 109. If, however, Elmsley ad Œd. Colon. vs. 1571,—where Codd. B, et T, (suprascripta ει) Brunckii; Codd. Vat. et Farnes. Elmsleii; Schaefer, Reisig, Martin, Hermann, Matthiæ, Dindorf, all read κνυζᾶσθαι,—is right in considering κνυζέομαι to be *more Attic* than κνυζάομαι; (as in Aristoph. *Vesp.* vs. 377, the Cod. Ravennas, teste Invernizzio ad loc.; Cod. A. Brunck B. Dindorf, Cod. B. Brk. C. Dindf. Edd. Ald. and Junt. II. 1525, have all κνυζούμενα; and Sophocles κνυζούμενον, or κνυζούμενοι, in a fragment of *The Phryxus*, num. 646, Dindorf, ap. *Etymol. Gudian.* p. 330, 43, corrected by Blomfield in 1812, ad Æsch. *Sept. adv. Theb.* p. 135. See *Camb. Mus. Crit.* T. I. No. 2, p. 149:) *then* is κνυζάομαι probably the *more Doric* of the two, as would also appear from a fragment of Sophron. ap. Blomf. *Mus. Crit.* Vol. II. No. 7, p. 353, num. 58, and p. 340.

We should, accordingly, in Theocrit. *Id.* VI. 30. read ἐκνυζᾶτο, like ὠργνᾶτο; *Id.* XXIV. vs. 44, περιλιχμᾶτο; *Id.* XXV. vs. 226, not ἐκνυζῆτο—; and in *Id.* II. vs. 109, κνυζῶνται.

In page 103, while the Reviewer strenuously objects in vs. 14. of Mr. Bode's version of Lewis's *Alonzo and Imogene*, to the locution "amplius haud," and that justly, (though "non amplius, nec amplius," are legitimate.—See Ovid. *Met.* IV. 257; *Tristt.* lib. I.; *El.* VIII. vs. 25; [illegible] Virgil, *Georg.* IV. 502—503; *Æn.* [illegible]6, 518—19; XI. 807; XII. [illegible]
he leaves untouched, in

gentleman, the no less tolerated barbarism "*ergone*," as bad or worse than the repudiated "amplius haud." That ergō was the quantity usually recognized by the Augustan poets, appears from Virgil, *Ecl.* I. vs. 47, Hor. lib. I. Ode 24, vs. 5; *Epod.* XVII. vs. 27; Tibull. lib. III. *El.* II. vs. 9; Ovid, *Tristt.* lib. II. vs. 543; lib. III. *El.* X. vs. 77. Ovid, indeed, has for once ergŏ, *Epist.* V. vs. 59, Œnones Paridi, where the MSS. do not vary; and so Lucan, lib. IX. vs. 256; Juvenal, *Sat.* I. vs. 3; XIII. vs. 204; Martial frequently; and Statius, *Silv.* II. lib. 1, vs. 24. But "*ergone*" is quite ἄκυρον.

Page 107—in the original poem by the late Honourable and Rev. William Herbert, lines 15, 16—

"Te fulgentia lucidi
Præstringunt oculi fulgura;"

"Præstringunt te" for oculos, aciem tuam, is very unusual, countenanced only by Statius, *Theb.* vs. 666,—

"Ac juvenem multo præstringunt lumine."

Not less uncommon is the nominative "ratis" in line 10th of Mr. Lonsdale's verses, p. 110. Besides the authority of Varro and of Plautus in Facciolati, we know of no more certain warrant for its *poetical* use, than the dubious one of Manilius.

P. 102, ls. 5–10.—Besides the passage of Ovid's *Ibis*, vss. 145–46, 155–60, alluded to as authority for the classical belief in the vindictive visitation of ghosts, a more familiar one occurs in Virgil, *Æn.* IV. vss. 385–86.

And here we cannot resist a rising inclination to relieve this dry discussion of merely verbal matters, by the mention of a literary blunder, as extraordinary as it is amusing. Of this we are reminded à-propôs of the Athenian Theognis, whose unenviable sobriquet of "Snow" the reviewer incidentally notices in p. 99. It is grounded, as is well known, on certain passages of Aristophanes, *Acharn.* vss. 11 and 140; *Thesmoph.* vs. 170.

On *Ach.* 11. the scholiast remarks, Θέογνις δὲ οὗτος ποιητὴς πάνυ ψυχρὸς, ἐκ τῶν τριάκοντα, ὃς καὶ Χιὼν ἐλέγετο —; meaning, obviously enough, one would have thought, that the said frigid poetaster was one of the thirty tyrants at Athens in 404 B.C., and was also called "Snow." Would it be believed, that one "C. A. Wheelwright, M.A., formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge, author of a New Version of Pindar," (London, Valpy, *1830?*) "&c.," and translator of the "Comedies of Aristopha-

nes in English verse," published in 1837, could gravely inform us—vol. II. p. 105, note c.—that "The Scholiast, after Chion, calls him one of the 'Thirty Tyrants!'" as if the words had been ὡς καὶ Χίων ἔλεξεν. It is possible, indeed, that this notable interpreter may have been misled by the accentuation Χίων in the Aldine edition of the Scholia, and in Bekker's, 1829; which is that of a proper name. Yet Dindorf had already, as long ago as in 1826, in the Annotatio to his Leipsic edition of the Scholia, 1822–23, restored from Suidas the oxytone appellative Χιών, which he has since printed in the text of his Oxford edition in 1838.

Be this as it may, in the ear of *such* a workman as Mr. Wheelwright, one is tempted to whisper the monitory caution, "tractent *fabrilia* fabri."

Now that we are for a moment in the comic vein, we cannot help wondering how the very learned Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, should he chance to cast an eye upon the following passage in p. 97, would relish the tingling reminiscence of his own ancient editorial denomination. "But we are particularly amused by the rich variety of appellation under which the defunct 'hero' (Monk, Duke of Albemarle, temp. Cha. II.,) figures in Latin. Monkus, Monkius, Monkæus; eminently ludicrous in the vocatives Monke, Monki, Monkæe."

To the justice of the general verdict which the reviewer, in his preamble, p. 95, respectively passes upon the *Arundines Cami* and the *Anthologia Oxoniensis*, we cannot but assent.

"If in the *Arundines* we find more of airiness and variety, the *Anthologia* is not inferior in poetical spirit, while in classical purity it has perhaps a slight advantage."

We also gladly hail the presage of the following encouraging vaticination. "We venture, however, to prophesy," he proceeds to say, "that, when the *Anthologia* shall have reached a third edition," (as the *Arundines* has done,) "it will be freed from the only defect now imputable to it: having enlisted a larger corps of contributors in various departments of classical composition:" alluding, we presume, to the too fastidious exclusion of merely ludicrous, but not downright silly and vulgar trifles, such as are, in particular, a few of our old Nursery Rhymes: which, some of them of far too broad and coarse a style of humour, are on the other hand dispersed, in strange

association, among the rational and graver strains of the *Arundines*.

We also readily admit the force of the next succeeding observation, and of its sequel in p. 99, in which the general inferiority, with rare exceptions, of the Academic Prize-poem, written on a set subject, and fettered by conventional restrictions to the spontaneous efforts of an unbidden muse, is ably stated and developed.

Nor is there less weight in the opinion, so well laid down in p. 100, that to *translate* well into Latin or Greek verse, from a modern original, is more difficult than to *compose* well. "A translator," he says, "must, in the first place, choose a good subject; that is, he must select a passage capable of being classically rendered into Latin or Greek; and he must adopt a suitable rhythm for the purpose. And then, if he means to translate, and not merely to paraphrase, he must so translate as to represent the spirit, the whole spirit, and nothing but the spirit of his original; yet his work, when completed, must be so pure and perspicuous, so classical in short, that scholars unacquainted with the passage in its native form, might easily mistake the version for an original. When this ideal is not attained, it is either because the subject is ill chosen, or because the translation is badly executed."

We will only further extract at length, and that in hearty sympathy, the Reviewer's closing aspiration of "an earnest hope that Latin and Greek versification may never cease to flourish in our English Schools and Colleges."

"We know," he continues, "no better method of training the youthful mind to that sense of grace and beauty, the developement of which we hold to be one of the great purposes of education. The theoretical arguments by which this opinion may be supported are too large for our present limits. But we believe that few if any of our readers will be disposed to question the value and efficiency of those intellectual exercises which powerfully assisted in training to their full grandeur such minds as those of Milton and Gray, Barrow, Johnson, and Hallam, Grenville, Wellesley, and Canning."

We shall, we trust, be pardoned if, in connection with one of the illustrious statesmen here named, as both in youth the blithe and buoyant, and in later life the soothed and grateful votaries of a long-loved Latin muse, we add the short preface

of the late Sir Henry Halford, Bart., President of the Royal College of Physicians, with which he, in the year 1842, ushered into the world his *Nugæ Metricæ*.

"Most of the following trifles were written in the carriage, and served to beguile the tedium of many a long day spent in my professional pursuits.

"The resource was suggested in a conversation with the late Lord Grenville;" (he died in 1834,) "who, after having been occupied incessantly in politics for nearly thirty years, was seized by illness, and confined to his arm-chair a great part of the remainder of his life.

"In this state I always found him not tranquil and cheerful only, as I might have expected from his habitual piety, but amused: and on my asking him the secret of this happy peculiarity, he answered, 'I go to my classics, Sir.'

"The next day he sent me a copy of *his* 'Nugæ Metricæ,' printed (Oxford, 4to. 1824,) but not published, containing original exercises and translations, which bespeak a happy facility of composition, and a correct taste.

"I thought I could not do better than imitate such an example, *and provide myself with a similar resource*, connected with reminiscences of those early delightful studies, *whenever my own power of further exertion should be terminated by age, or interrupted by such disease as might leave me in possession of my faculties.*"

X.

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## XX.

## MISCELLANIES.

### 1. On the Law of Concord.

It is not uncommon to hear it laid down as an obvious and natural propriety, to put a plural verb with a plural nominative, a masculine adjective to a masculine substantive; and so on: and a person who violates the received grammatical rules of concord is treated as offending, not merely against the conventions of speech, but against logical and accurate thought. Whether this is the case, may become clearer by farther discussion.

The remarkable Greek anomaly, of using a singular verb with a plural neuter nominative, gives the first shock to the teacher who has been inculcating the doctrine, that concord is inherent in all accurate language. A less observed, yet equally real difficulty, is involved in the question, whether the relative is to agree with the *case* of its antecedent; as so frequently in the Attic Greek. A mere Hebrew composing in Greek, as the author of the Apocalypse, carries anomalies much farther, and finds no impropriety in writing,—Ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς: or, τὴν γυναῖκα ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτήν. It seems evident, therefore, that foreigners in general find the Greek and Latin rules not to suggest themselves as intrinsically reasonable and necessary. But perhaps the nature of concord cannot be fully cleared up, except by referring to languages which wholly abjure the principle. Of these, the nearest to Europe, and the best known, is the *Turkish*.

The Turkish, with only moderate distinctions of dialect, is spoken from Rumelia eastward to the central regions of High Asia, where it meets with Mongol languages. Dr. Schott was first to show that the Turkish, Mongolian, and Tungusian tongues constitute a groupe in themselves, co-ordinate to that which we denominate the Indo-European; and these have in recent times been characterized as employing *agglutinated* formations of words. It is doubtful whether certain inflections of the nouns are better called case-endings or postpositions; whether they are parts of words, or complete words. They are in the condition of the syllable *ful* in the English words *spoonful*, *pailful*; in which our countrymen often hesitate whether to say *two spoonsful*, or *two spoonfuls*. The Greek terminations θεν, θι, are remarked to be nearly similar to the Turkish case-endings *den*, *de*, which mean *from*, *in*, but are not repeated with the adjective. Instead of ἄλλοθέν ποθεν, a Turk who spoke Greek after his own idiom, would say ἄλλο ποθέν, on the same principle as we say, "from this place," not "from this from place." So when two nouns are joined by a copula, as πατέρος καὶ μήτερος, the Turkish idiom would give πατὲρ-καὶ-μήτερον. Thus, there is *no concord of case*; and what appears to be a case-ending in Turkish, is perhaps always a postposition. The syllables appear to take, each of them, a slight accent; but (except in verbal tenses) there is no dominating accent to combine dependent syllables into a single word. On the same ground is all other concord neglected, although the order of sentences is inverted and complicated beyond that of Latin and Greek; and participles or gerunds abound, where we should use finite verbs. This is stated, lest the reader should think the languages to be barbarous and neglected; whereas that of the Ottoman Turks is highly cultivated and strikingly regular.

Thus, where an English schoolmaster is apt to declare abstractedly, "If the nominative to the verb is plural, of course the verb must be

plural;" a Turk would reason, "If the plural termination has been added to the nominative, of course it need *not* be added to the verb." Perhaps even in Latin and Greek, a sense of redundance would have destroyed concord, if the same uniform ending had denoted plurality in verbs and in nouns. But the terminations *-nt*, *-οντι*, or *-ουσι*, cannot be explained from these languages themselves; and "homines spect*ant*," does not pall on the ear as "adam*lar* baqar*lar*, in Turkish. Yet it must be granted that *multi boni et strenui viri*, and other such rhymings, are unpleasing.

Perhaps this may guide us to a belief, that the establishment of concord, as a principle of Syntax, indicates the passage of a language from the *agglutinated* to the *inflectional* state. The change is facilitated by any cause which destroys a distinct feeling of the isolated power of annexed syllables. Such are—strong musical tendencies which clip and corrupt the sounds, and mould many syllables by accent into one word;—a confusion of tribes and dialects, which brings in irregularities, so that different sets of words are inflected by different methods. Perhaps we may add, that in the common progress of language, the inflectional state seems to be naturally that which should succeed the agglutinated; although we very imperfectly understand the causes which arrest or promote this farther development. The Indo-Germanic and even the Syro-Arabian tongues appear, in this respect, as having run through a more complete course than those of High Asia.

And now, possibly, it may farther be thought likely, that the "neuter plural to a verb singular" in Greek, is a remnant of the primitive and less organized state of the language, in which it possessed as yet no distinction of gender, (just as every Turkish noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb, is neuter,) and formed the plural of nouns by uniformly adding *α*, which was in that state an agglutinated particle similar to the Turkish *lar*, needing therefore no repetition with the verb. It is true, that to carry the principle out, the Greeks ought to have said, *ἰσχυρὸ σώματα* for *ἰσχυρὰ σώματα*; but the crude form was repelled by the whole genius of the language.

In English, we have an instance of a case-ending, which has relapsed into the state of a postposition in the *'s* which marks our possessive. The test of this is, the total loss of concord. We do not say, "Queen's Victoria's palace," as, "Reginæ Victoriæ palatium;" but "Queen Victoria's," just as *of* is found but once in "The palace of Queen Victoria." Yet it has long been certainly ascertained that this *'s* is the historical representative of the *is* in *rēgis*, *lapidis*.

In fact, we do not observe strict concord in regard to the plural of proper names. The Latins say, *Marcus et Decimus Bruti*; but our idiom is, "Charles and James Stuart," not *Stuarts*. In familiar

speech, we form plurals such as "The Miss Grants," which is just as in the agglutinated languages, the first *s* affecting all that has preceded. Some, who think to be more accurate, change the formula to "The Misses Grant," which, however, does not so well suit popular feeling. No one says, "The Misses Grants," which would agree with the classical principle of concord. The same remarks will apply to compound words formed by apposition, as Queen-mother, Queen-bee, He-goat, Boy-bishop; yet if the union is not long established in the language, we feel some hesitation as to the plural. Thus we say without reserve, "The making of *boy-bishops*;" but such plurals as "The lady-patronesses," and even "The lord-bishops," are used with some misgiving.

The German language has suffered far less disintegration than our own; yet even in it the compound words indicate the principle of agglutination, when two nouns are joined by the copula *and*, with the latter only inflected.[1] In the formation of long compounds, our northern tongues appear peculiarly rude and destitute of organization. Thus if we compare our phrase, "The Fire and Life Insurance Society," with the analogous Greek, *ἡ πυρὸς καὶ θανάτου βεβαιωτικὴ* or *βοηθητικὴ ἑταιρεία*, we are at once made sensible of the crude nature of our grammar. Here an agglutinated tongue, as the Turkish, if it possessed the article, would say, *τὸ πῦρ-καὶ-θανάτου βεβαιωτικ ἑταιρεία*; which falls between the perfect concord of the Greek and the rudeness of the English.

On the whole, it appears that neither a neuter plural with a verb singular, as in Greek, nor a plural masculine with a verb feminine singular, as in Arabic, ought to startle us as an absurdity. When such things oppose the analogy of a language, they are phænomena which wait for explanation; but concord—as the very existence of gender, case, number—is only an accident of language, and not to be enforced upon abstract principles of necessity and right.

F. W. Newman.

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## 2. On the Voyage from Tyre to Gades.

The current doctrine concerning the course taken by the Phœnician traders, whether on their way to their African or their Spanish co-

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[1] In the language of ordinary life the Germans frequently drop the termination of adjectives before neuter substantives, as *gut Kind*, *herrlich Wetter*, instead of *gutes Kind*, *herrliches Wetter*.—Ed.

lonies, is, that they coasted along the northern shore of Africa. Such is certainly the view of Mr. Grote, who remarks, that "probably all the remarkable headlands of these seas received their names from the Phœnicians."

Now, I think that the common tract was *not* that of a coasting voyage to the extent thus indicated; on the contrary, it is more probable that the usual route, as far as the Zeugitanian settlements, was by Greece, Italy, and Sicily; and that the African shore was coasted only from the Zeugitania to the Atlantic.

My grounds are these:—Geographical names which we have reason to consider Phœnician, occur only on the parts of the coast west of Carthage.

There can be little doubt that, in the name of a headland, or promontory beginning with the syllables *ras* or *rus*, the meaning was the same as in the Semitic languages generally; and its particular geographical application the same as in the modern Arabic. It meant, and means, *head*, and is particularly applied to denote the headlands or promontories of those countries where the Arabic is spoken, *e. g.* —*Ras el Had, Ras el Shakaa, Ras el Cesaroun, Ras Sem*, &c.

Now, in Arrowsmith's map of ancient Northern Africa, we find between the isthmus of Suez and Cape Bon, the most northern extremity of Tunis, only one compound of the root in question—*Ruspœ*, in the Byzacene; although, for the modern geography of the same tract, there are several Arabic names of the same kind,—*Ras al Kanais, Ras al Harzeit, Ras al Kunat, Rasatin, Ras al Ouya, Ras al Hamra, Ras al Sciarra, Ras al Zarziss*, &c. On the other hand, between Carthage and the Straits, we have the old Phœnician names of *Rus*-ippisir, *Rus*-ucurum, *Rus*-ibricari, *Rus*-gunia, *Rus*-azus, *Rus*-adir; whilst on the Atlantic there are *Rus*-ubis, and *Rhyss*-adium.

This contrast between the absence of Phœnician names on the one side of Zeugitania, with their comparative frequency on the other, is not accidental. The coasts of Ægypt, Marmarica, Cyrene, and the Tripolitana, were equally uncolonised by the Phœnicians, and out of their line of voyage; facts which account for the great intercourse between Phœnicia and Greece, and the little intercourse between Phœnicia and Eastern Libya.

It may be said, however, that, in order to establish the fact of the Tyrian voyages to Carthage, being *via* Greece, Italy, and Sicily, it should be shewn that the headlands on those coasts were Phœnician compounds of the root *ras*. This cannot be done, and ought not to be expected. Phœnician names can never be supposed to have supplanted the vernacular names in countries like Greece, Italy, and Sicily, any more than English names can be sup harbours and headlands of France and Germ like

Barbary, they may have done so;—just as French names are applied to parts of Canada, English ones to Australia, and Dutch to the coast of New Guinea.

As a distinction in form between these compounds in the modern Arabic, and in the old Phœnician, it may be noticed that, in the latter language, the root *ras* always comes in immediate contact with the second element of the name; whilst in the former it is often followed by the article *el* intervening, as *Ras el had.* This is just the difference between the Arabic and Syriac branches of the Semitic group of languages.

R. G. L.

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### 3. Remarks on Thucydides, II. 65.

The chapter concludes with the following words, *τοσοῦτον τῷ Περικλεῖ ἐπερίσσευσε τότε ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸν προέγνω καὶ πάνυ ἂν ῥᾳδίως περιγενέσθαι τῶν Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ.* "This remarkable phrase," as Bloomfield rightly calls it, has met with a *charming* reception (since "variety is charming") at the hands of the critics. I. Gottleber says, "Tantum præstabat reliquis tunc temporis ingenio Pericles, quo adjutus res futuras ante capiebat. Tantum tum Pericles cæteros superabat, *ob id quod* ipse prævidebat facile civitatem Peloponnesiis solis superiorem bello fore."

II. Göller says, "Tantum superabat (virium) Pericli ad Peloponnesios solos iis quæ ipse præviderat atque facillime quidem in hoc bello devincendos." III. Gail favours us with "Tant s'etait montré superieur dans ses calculs le génie de Pericles, qui avait prévu que dans cette guerre du Peloponnèse la république se soutiendrait même sans effort." IV. Bloomfield himself quotes Portus and Hobbes for rendering it, "Such was the depth of judgment displayed by Pericles, whereby he foresaw that they might easily frustrate all the efforts of the Peloponnesians in the war." And he further proposes to supply the ellipse by the abundant (*sagacity*) of Pericles (*respecting those measures*) by which he foresaw," &c. V. Arnold gives, "Such a superabundance of means did Pericles then possess, from which he of himself foresaw (or judged beforehand) that with the utmost ease he could triumph over the mere unaided force of the Peloponnesians. So much *more* than enough had he to encounter the Peloponnesians, since there was almost enough to contend successfully with the united force of the Peloponnesians, Sicily, and Persia. . . . Cæteraque gravissime.

It is needless to enter minutely into the respective merits of these

various readings. Some of them treat τότε, αὐτὸν, and αὐτῶν as insignificant little words. One refers ἐπερίσσευσε to the superiority of Pericles' genius; another to the resources of the Republic in his days; ἀφ' ὧν, is by one supposed to mean the "measures by which;" by another, the "means from which," the Peloponnesians were to be conquered; by a third, "the sagacity" by which Pericles foresaw their easy conquest; and one boldly translates it "*ob id quod*;" not to mention Göller's still more daring flight.

I strongly suspect the poor little truth has escaped amid the confusion; and that the superabundance alluded to by Thucydides was not an excess of wit, of means, or of measures, but of *data* or *grounds* for Pericles' opinion. If so, the meaning will be, "So ample, nay *more* than ample, were, at that time, the grounds on which the master-mind of Pericles predicted the easy conquest of the Peloponnesians singlehanded." More literally, "So much was-there-over-and-above then to Pericles (of grounds) from which he (of) himself prejudged that they would even easily conquer the Peloponnesians (by) themselves." Pericles had *more* than sufficient data for his inference, had the Peloponnesians been the *sole* opponents, since he was not so very wrong even when they had so many auxiliaries. He must have been *super*abundantly furnished with correct premises at first, (τότε) seeing that, even with so serious an alteration of those premises afterwards, yet his prediction was not falsified for three years.

If I do not mistake, Dr. Arnold *alone* has given the true sense of ἐπερίσσευσε, whilst *he* too has erred in supposing the antecedent of ἀφ' ὧν, to be the *physical* resources of the republic for conquering the Peloponnesians, instead of the *mental* resources (i. e. data, premises, or grounds,) of Pericles for inferring their easy conquest. Syntactically, the question is whether ἀφ' ὧν belongs to προέγνω, or to περιγενέσθαι; my proposal of course supposes it connected with προέγνω.

JOHN PRICE.

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## 4. DR. ANTHON AND THE CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

*To the Editor of the Classical Museum.*

SIR,—I have in my possession a letter from my friend Professor Anthon, relating to the notice of his *abridged* edition of Horace, in No. XII. of the *Classical Museum*. It was not written for publication, but as no vindication of him from the charges therein made has yet appeared, I beg the favour of your inserting an extract from it in the forthcoming Number. The chief ground of attack was, that "he

had taken his notes without acknowledgment from the Commentary of Döring." To this charge the Professor gives the following reply:—

"In the Latin Preface to the larger edition it was expressly stated, that the materials for the work had been obtained from every possible quarter, and the phrase employed by me for this purpose, 'huc undique gazam contuli,' seemed comprehensive enough. Not content, however, with this, I appended to the Preface a list of the editions from which aid had been procured, arranged in chronological order, and among these made distinct mention of that of Döring. Still farther, in the historical sketch which was also given of the principal editions of Horace, Döring's is spoken of in terms of high and well-merited eulogy. So little indeed did the idea of concealing any obligations that I might owe to Döring enter into my head, that I actually recommended to the New York publishers to adopt the frontispiece and engraved title-page of Priestley's edition of Döring's work, as ornamental appendages for our own book, which was accordingly done. The large edition remained before the American public for more than five years, during all which time no charge was ever made against me of having availed myself without due acknowledgment of the labours of others; on the contrary, I was found fault with, in a periodical of high standing, for having made *an ostentatious parade of editions*, with the view of *showing off my private collection!* An abridgment of the larger Horace having been called for, about five years after the publication of the main work, I prepared one accordingly, and thinking that every thing by this time was sufficiently well understood with regard to the larger work, I contented myself in the preface to the abridgment with paying off a few old scores to some of my literary brethren in this quarter. Here again I may remark, that had there been any real foundation for the charge recently made against me in England, the individuals whom I had in view in my preface to the abridged work, and they were by no means few in number, would long before this have availed themselves of such an opportunity of replying to my remarks. Nothing, however, appeared in this country on the subject, and that too for the best of reasons, because every one knew how the case really stood. This circumstance, coupled with the fact of the work's having long since passed out of my hands, rendered me, I confess, somewhat careless with regard to its future fortunes, until very recently, a liberal offer was made me with reference to a new edition, and I was engaged on this at the very time when the attack from your country appeared. Had I apprehended any thing of the kind, it would have been the easiest thing in the world to have appended a brief note to the preface of the abridged Horace, and have referred in it to the preface of the larger edition. But what makes the matter more unjust is, that in Priestley's London reprint of the

Horace, the first that ever appeared in England, an express reference is made to Döring's commentary; and when the London editor paid me a visit not long after, and our conversation turned upon this subject, we both agreed that the announcement in the London preface would be amply sufficient for all purposes abroad, while none whatever would be needed at home.

"My work is not a mere compilation from Döring's, but contains as many and as valuable contributions from other sources as from the commentary of that edition, and this the critic, whoever he was, must certainly have known. As regards the merits or demerits of the work itself, I have only to say that it was prepared expressly for the schools of our own country, and I never dreamt of its being adopted abroad."

To this plain statement, I feel it unnecessary to make any addition. I will, however, just observe, that the writer commences his notice with the following admission:—"We have not had the good fortune to see his larger edition of Horace, which contains, as we learn from the preface to the smaller edition, much critical apparatus." I *have* the good fortune, through the kindness of Professor Anthon, to possess a copy of the larger edition; and for the information of others who may be equally ignorant of its merits with the critic, I beg to state that it consists of more than 700 closely printed pages, and that a full list is given in the commencement of the work, of the sources from which the materials have been collected; and acknowledgment made throughout the notes, with fairness and honesty, to those authors of whose labours and researches he has availed himself. So that the reiterated charges of "spoliation, appropriation, non-acknowledgment," &c. are founded on the smaller *school* edition. But surely a parade of names and authorities would have been out of place in a publication of this nature, of no use to the learner, and wholly inconsistent with the limits within which it was necessary to compress an elementary work. Leaving to the public to confirm or reverse their decision upon the merits of Professor Anthon as an editor of the Classics, and again requesting you to insert this defence of his character, which has been too long delayed,—I subscribe myself, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

London, Sept. 1847.

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The charges brought against Professor Anthon in our Number for July 1846, resolve themselves into two—an unscholarlike use of the labours of other men, and direct plagiarism. To latter, a number of proofs was given, amongst whi garding the appropriation of Döring's labours, I

Anthon's edition of Horace. This was founded on two facts: one, not denied, that Döring's notes are unscrupulously employed by the American editor; the other, now answered in the foregoing letter, that no acknowledgment was made by Anthon of his obligations to Döring.

The following sentence occurs in the Preface to Anthon's abridged edition:—"The most marked omission, however, is in the case of the critical notes on the Various Readings. Their insertion in the larger edition was a mere matter of experiment; and, unfortunately for the cause of classical scholarship in our country, the experiment proved an unsuccessful one." This must mean, or at all events its apparent meaning is, that the large edition was a failure. Those who rejected so foolishly the Various Readings, must have rejected the book of which they formed a part. In an abridged edition, containing this confession, no one could have expected that there should have been omitted what was so essential to the character of its author, as an acknowledgment of the assistance which he professed to owe to others. This, it would seem, had occurred so forcibly to the first English editor of the abridgment, that, in terms of Professor Anthon's own letter, he felt himself constrained to make an "express reference" to the assistance derived from Döring. This proves that some such acknowledgment was seen to be necessary in this country. And we humbly submit that it was necessary in America, the allegation of the opposite fact that the notice in the large edition had done enough, being neutralized by the admitted fact that the large edition had failed.

Granting, however, that Professor Anthon and his friend have made out a successful case, all that is done is to remove the use of Döring from the category of plagiarism, and to add one more to the illustrations of the lavish use which Anthon makes of other men's labours. We shall examine immediately whether they have made out such a case.

In the meantime, we would not be misunderstood as to the import of our first charge. We have very many valuable editions of the classics, where scholars of high name have done little more than bring together all that has been written by others in the way of illustration and commentary. Do we find fault with these men? No more than we should do with an annotator on Shakspeare for reproducing all the Prefaces and Illustrations of the great poet's works, or a commentator on Adam Smith for giving the objections or opinions of subsequent political economists. What we do find fault with, is the want of fairness and openness with which Anthon deals with his authorities, even when partially acknowledging them—a spirit so forcibly contrasted with the manly feelings of the true scholar. Of this there is abundant proof in our July number.

But we are sorry that we cannot agree with the critical doctrine pro-

mulgated by the American Professor and his English supporter, having at last before us the New York edition. In the *Proœmium*, Anthon says, "Sed quid dicam de Annotationibus Exegeticis? Causam suam agant. Pro semetipsis loquantur. Huc undique gazam contuli; in hac parte laborum meorum, flagranti studio, summoque conatu, contendi, sudavi, omnem operam atque opes collocavi." . . . . Then follows, "Elenchus Editionum, etc. e quibus huic operi subsidia varii generis comparata sunt." Thirty-three sources of assistance are enumerated, in which occurs "Horatii Opera, ed. Döring: Glasgow, 1826." In another place we have an account of the "principal editions of Horace." Among the other *subsidia*—many of which meet with various degrees of commendation—Döring's edition is thus mentioned:—"The merits of this edition entitle it to a very high rank. The text is settled after no particular edition, but combines the excellencies of all, and is occasionally improved by the learned and felicitous emendations of the editor himself. The commentary is concise, but learned and satisfactory." These are the materials on which we are to found our judgment of the honesty of Anthon in this case.

According to the plain import of Professor Anthon's letter, he is entitled, without further acknowledgment, to appropriate Döring's labours, because he has acknowledged assistance *undique*, and because he has mentioned Döring's labours in terms of high eulogy. But surely this is not a sufficient defence. There are, it is true, cases where, common principles of criticism being handled, or facts patent to all being stated, all commentators on the same subject may, without any undue use of the labours of those that have gone before them, make statements the same in substance. But there are peculiarities of view, of statement, or of reference, the merit of which it is unfair to appropriate. An honest commentator will be most careful in such cases to give honour where honour is due, by particularizing his authority. Had Professor Anthon stated—"The translations are my own. Almost all the rest is taken from others; and I do not claim the merit of original scholarship, but of a useful compilation"—this would have been honest, though still not so satisfactory as a distinct reference to his authorities. But, in reality, he has not given a single hint any where of his work being any thing but original. Every man understands the phrase *undique gazam contuli*, to mean that the writer brings together, from all quarters, materials, from which he shall, by his own labour, elucidate his author—not, that he shall without acknowledgment, appropriate the labours of others.

If it means more—and it is clear that with Professor Anthon it does so—we have this critical canon. It is a sufficient discharge of all obligation to an author, whose assistance we employ, to mention the fact that we have derived assistance from him. We are then entitled to

his labours entirely as if they were our own. His literary stores are *ipso dicto* transferred wholesale to our unrestricted use.

Moreover, this additional critical canon must be added. To mention that we have received assistance *undique*, authorizes us, as a necessary consequence of the first rule, to lay our hands on every man's literary possessions, without acknowledgment.

One thing to be said in favour of Professor Anthon is, that no man ever enforced precept by practice more perseveringly than he has done.

The pages of the *Penny Cyclopædia* bear testimony to this. For months they conveyed to the booksellers and the world, warning against the spoliations of the American Professor; and the scholars of America blushed at learning that among their number there was one who, for gain, was bringing foul reproach upon their common name, by selling under a false name, what he had transferred from an expensive and riskful work, still unfinished.

We shall not fatigue our readers with lengthened proof; we give them the power of consulting for themselves. Let them collate Anthon's *Index Nominum Propriorum* with Döring's, and compare the words in which the former, evidently and substantially Döring's, is spoken of in the *Proœmium*,—"Agmen claudit Nominum propriorum parvus quidem, sed, ut spero, utilissimus"—with the handsome acknowledgments made by Döring, in the preface to his second edition, to the youths who had drawn up this very Index. Let them compare Anthon's Historical and Geographical Indexes to Cæsar, with Dymock's *Index Historicus et Geographicus* to the same work, and he will find many startling coincidences. Then let them compare Anthon's Archæological Index to Cæsar, and Anthon's legal Index to Cicero, with Adam's Antiquities, and they will agree with us that Professor Anthon's claim to literary honesty is settled for ever. His scholarship is a matter for separate consideration.

As one other example, in conclusion, we give the following, that our readers may more specifically understand the peculiar tactics of the American Professor:

| ANTHON. | ADAM. |
|---|---|
| *Lex Papia-Poppæa*, Legal Index to *his edition* of *Cicero*. | *Lex Papia Poppæa*, in the Roman Antiquities, under *Laws of the Romans*. |
| LEX PAPIA-POPPÆA, (*de maritandis ordinibus*,) proposed by the consuls Papius and Poppæus, at the desire of Augustus, A. U. C. 762. Its object was to enforce and enlarge the Julian law, and to promote population, and repair the desolation occasioned by the civil wars. This statute, like the Julian ordinance, proposed certain rewards for marriage, | LEX PAPIA POPPÆA, *de maritandis ordinibus*, proposed by the consuls Papius and Poppæus at the desire of Augustus, A. 762, enforcing and enlarging the *Julian* law, *Tacit. Ann.* III. 25. 28. The end of it was to promote population, and repair the desolation occasioned by the civil wars. It met with great opposition from the nobility, and |

and penalties against celibacy. Whoever in the city had three children, in the other parts of Italy four, and in the provinces five, was entitled to certain privileges and immunities. Hence the famous *jus trium liberorum*, so often mentioned by Pliny, Martial, and other ancient writers. The privileges of having three children were, an exemption from the trouble of guardianship, a priority in bearing offices, and a treble proportion of corn. Those who lived in celibacy could not succeed to an inheritance, except of their nearest relations, unless they married within 100 days after the death of the testator, nor receive an entire legacy. And what they were thus deprived of fell as an escheat to the exchequer, or prince's private purse. (*Heinecc. Antiq. Rom.* I. 25, 7, *seqq.*)

consisted of several distinct particulars (LEX SATURA.) It proposed certain rewards to marriage, and penalties against celibacy, which had always been much discouraged in the Roman state,—*Val. Max.* II. 9. *Liv.* XLV. 15. *Epit.* 59. *Suet. Aug.* 54 et 89. *Dio.* LVI. 3, 4. *Gell.* I. 6. v. 19., and yet greatly prevailed, *ibid.* et *Plin.* XIV. *Proœm. Senec. Consol. ad Marc.* 19., for reasons enumerated. *Plaut. Mil.* III. 185, 333., &c. Whoever in the city had three children, in the other parts of Italy four, and in the provinces five, was entitled to certain privileges and immunities. Hence the famous *jus trium liberorum*, so often mentioned by Pliny, Martial, &c., which used to be granted also to those who had no children, but by the senate, and afterwards by the emperor, *Plin. Ep.* II. 13. X. 2. 96. *Martial* II. 91, 92., not only to men, but also to women, *Dio.* LV. 2. *Suet. Claud.* 19. *Plin. Epist.* II. 13. VII. 16. X. 2. 95. 96. The privileges of having three children were an exemption from the trouble of guardianship, a priority in bearing offices, *Plin.* VIII. 16., and a triple proportion of corn. Those who lived in celibacy could not succeed to an inheritance, except of their nearest relations, unless they married within 100 days after the death of the testator, nor receive an entire legacy, (*legatum omne* vel *solidum capere.*) And what they were thus deprived of in certain cases fell as an escheat (*caducum*) to the exchequer (*fisco*) or prince's private purse, *Juvenal* IX. 88, &c.

Here not only is Adam robbed of the honour which is his due, but it is transferred to Heineccius, who has no title to it whatever, except that in the passage referred to, he is treating of the same subject. We leave our readers to conjecture what Professor Anthon's design was, in substituting the rarer Heineccius for the more accessible Adam? Was it to exhibit a false show of learning? Whatever was the motive, the enquirer will find it to be his regular habit—and here we leave him.

# XX.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. Flavii Philostrati quæ supersunt. Philostrati Junioris Imagines, Callistrati Descriptiones. Edidit C. L. Kayser. Turici, Sumptibus C. Meyeri et Zelleri, 1844. 4to.

We have much pleasure in introducing to the scholars of this country, this edition of Philostratus, which is undoubtedly the best that has hitherto appeared. It forms a handsome volume, and is clearly, as well as elegantly printed. Of its critical merits, we shall treat briefly hereafter.

It is a significant proof of the neglect which Philostratus has met at the hands of English scholars, that no edition of any part of his works has, so far as we know, ever appeared in this country. He is known to a few, principally from the use that was attempted to be made of him by the infidel school of the seventeenth century. We have before us a translation of "the two first Books of Philostratus, concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus." The translation and notes are said to be executed by "Charles Blount, gent." But of the notes, Bayle, (*s. v.* Apollonius Tyaneus,) says that he borrowed them, "for the most part, from the manuscript of Lord Herbert, a great Deist, if we may believe many persons." The great proportion of the notes exhibits a spirit of rancorous hostility to the Christian faith. The date of this translation is 1680. There was lately published in London, a translation of the whole work, by an English clergyman, we believe; but this we have not seen.

It is difficult to judge what precise object Philostratus could have had in writing the strange narrative which he gives us in this Life. No doubt the enemies of Christianity afterwards drew from it a disparaging comparison between the founder of our faith and Apollonius. But the references to Christianity in the work of Philostratus, that can be pointed out, are too doubtful to give much probability to the opinion that this was the design of Philostratus himself. Kayser's opinion is, that Philostratus composed this fabulous narrative, with a tacit reference to Christ, it is true, but mainly from the example of one man to show the excellence of the Brahminical and Pythagorean philosophy. Dr. Scheibe of Neustrelitz, (in a learned review of this edition, in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenchaft* of May 1847, pp. 421, &c.,) is of opinion that this laudation of the philosophy of India, and of Pythagoras, was but a means to an end. This end

he conceives to be the rescuing of the Pagan religion from utter ruin, by so constructing an eclectic philosophy and religious system, that a purer morality being inculcated, and men of all religious temperaments being soothed or excited—the indifferent propelled by wonderful tales, and the sceptical being reconciled by the ethical tendency of the fables and by the natural philosophy involved in it—a stronger front might be shown against the growing Christianity of the age. It must be confessed that it is impossible to prove or disprove these positions. Whatever may have been the intention of Julia Domna, the wife of Severus, who suggested the history, (*Vit. Ap.* I. 3,) no settled design is apparent in Philostratus,—save to exhibit his own powers as a rhetorical writer. To what extent the documents on which (*loc. cit.*) he states that he relies furnished him with materials, it is impossible to determine. But he gives, more than once, significant hints that he embellished and invented, to please his patroness, and accomplish a consecutive and full life, giving minuteness to the main incidents, with no regard to the question whether the filling up were marvellous or not. Let us give an example. He narrates, (VI. 27,) how, on one occasion, in Æthiopia, when the villagers, in whose neighbourhood Apollonius was spending the night, complained of the serious annoyance occasioned them by a Satyr, the philosopher devised a plan to intoxicate the Satyr, after which he became quite harmless. His concluding words are instructive: Κἂν ἐντύχῃ τις ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἣν πρὸς μειράκιον ὑβρίζον γράφων, καὶ σάτυρον δαίμονα σωφρονίσαι φησὶν ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, μεμνῆσθαι χρὴ τοῦ λόγου τούτου. It is not unfair to conclude from this, that having found, in the letters, real or supposititious, of Apollonius, a simple allusion, he accounted for it by a fictitious incident. Indeed, this inventiveness is, throughout, so apparent, that it is freely admitted by Dr. Scheibe himself, (*ibid.* p. 425.)

The other works of Philostratus are his Βίοι Σοφιστῶν, in which he gives brief notices of distinguished sophists, and sophistic philosophers, with many of whom he had enjoyed personal intercourse; Ἡρωικός, a mythological dialogue, chiefly regarding Palamedes; Ἐπιστολαί, rhetorical letters, principally amatory; and Εἰκόνες, a description of certain paintings. Of all his works, we like the latter the best, and his Ἡρωικὸς the least. But his whole works are well worthy of perusal, both for his own sake—as his style is sweet and graceful, several of his epistles being entitled to rank high as prose epigrams—and also as the finest specimen of the school of rhetorical writers of his age.

Without having regard to minute details, (such as the number of the Ἐπιστολαί, which is greater in the later than in the early editions), there have been three editions of the collected writings of Philostratus, containing much the same matter,—that of Morell—

Paris, 1608, fol.; that of Olearius, Leipzig, 1709, 2 vols. folio; and the one now noticed. Along with these works of Philostratus, have been always printed Eusebius *contra Hieroclem*, (to meet the supposed danger arising from the life of Apollonius,) a work entitled Εἰκόνες, attributed, we have little doubt falsely, to a kinsman of Philostratus bearing the same name, and the Ἐκφράσεις of Callimachus. To these, both Olearius and Kayser add sundry letters attributed to Apollonius. Of all the separate works of Philostratus, there have been recent editions, excepting of the life of Apollonius, of which the only separate publication is that of Aldus, (1502, fol.) of course, with Eusebius *contra Hieroclem*. Among the editors or illustrators of Philostratus, are honourably distinguished Vigenere, our own Bentley, Heyne, Jahn, Welcker, Müller, Passow, with the veteran Jacobs and Boissonade. In the list of his illustrators, we may also add the names of two distinguished painters. "Contra tales reprehensiones valet quodammodo opera recentiorum pictorum, qui argumenta Philostratea expresserunt, Julium Romanum dico, et nuperrime M. de Schwind, qui musei Caroliruhani parietes multis illinc petitis imaginibus exornavit."—(Kayser, *Proœmium ad Imagines*, p. IV.)

Of all the editors or illustrators, Kayser is entitled to claim Philostratus as his own. He first broke ground in 1831, publishing at Heidelberg, *Notas Criticas in Philostrati vitas Sophistarum*. Then, in 1838, also at Heidelberg, he published an edition of the same work with notes, edited and unedited; to which he added the treatise περὶ ἀρίστης διδασκαλίας, generally attributed to Lucian, but assigned by him to Galen; and another treatise generally given to Lucian, which he claimed for Philostratus—that entitled Νέρων. Then appeared at Heidelberg, in 1840, Φιλοστράτου περὶ Γυμναστικῆς. Philostratei Libri de gymnastica quae supersunt, nunc primum edidit et interpretatus est *Car. Ludov. Kayser*. Acced. Marci Eugenici imagines et epistolae nondum editae. This we have not seen, nor has Kayser inserted this treatise (though he has the Νέρων) among the writings of Philostratus in this edition of his works. And, lastly, in 1844, appeared the publication now under review.

Regarding the treatise, Νέρων, we may state at once, that Kayser has certainly made out a strong case for Philostratus as the author. We have not space to dwell upon this,—after all, a matter of no great importance. But we cannot help thinking that it would have been better to have omitted proofs derived from the similarity between such expressions as, παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἀγωνιάν, (*Nero.* Lucian, p. 642, ed. Reiz.) and παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ τεχνιτῶν βουλευτήριον, (*V. S.* Philostrat. II. 8, 2,) which similarity has been adduced by Kayser, (p. 374,) to prove his position.

It only remains for us to notice the grounds on which we recom-

mend to British scholars, this edition as *the* edition of Philostratus. The text is carefully and critically elaborated, and is founded throughout on the authority of the best MSS. We need not speak of the merits of the Aldine edition or that of Morellus. It is much to be regretted that Bentley did not execute his design of editing the works of this author. He had exhibited proofs of the extraordinary acumen which he brought to bear on other works, in the criticisms made by him on Philostratus, the sagacity of which—confirmed as they have been by the more minute inspection of the MSS.—Kayser has not failed to acknowledge. (*Proœmium ad V. A.* p. xv.) Olearius has produced a work pleasing to the eye, the explanatory notes of which, especially, are worthy of great praise. But he was unequal to the labour of rectifying the text, nor perhaps did he possess the requisite skill. We may mention one circumstance that will illustrate his claims to critical regard. Decidedly the best M.S. (marked $\pi$ by Kayser,) of the life of Apollonius had been put into the hands of Morellus by Casaubon, (see Morellus's *Address to the Reader*,) but only after he had printed off a portion of the work. Morellus remedied this so far, by inserting in his preliminary *Address* sundry emendations taken from the M.S. These emendations are silently adopted by Olearius. In the course of the work, Morellus, while following the Aldine edition generally, gives occasionally on the margin the reading of the M.S. $\pi$, adding the letters $\gamma\rho$, and sometimes he reverses the process, adopting in his text, the reading of the M.S., and placing, still with the letters $\gamma\rho$, the Aldine lection—on the margin. As Orelli did not know the quarter whence Morellus drew these various readings, and took no pains to know, he is quite unable to distinguish between these readings and Morellus's conjectures which were also appended to the margin, bearing the letters $\check{\iota}\sigma$.

We give two specimens of the blundering of Olearius in opposite ways, for the latter of which we are indebted to Kayser. The Indians are represented (*V. A.* II. 19,) as sacrificing to the king at certain seasons black animals. "For," says Philostratus, according to the Aldine reading,—*τὸ γὰρ λευκὸν ἀτιμότερον Ἰνδοὶ τίθενται τοῦ μέλανος, τιμιότερον δὲ, οἶμαι, τὸ ἑαυτῶν χρῶμα.* Morellus changes this in the text to *τιμιώτερον*. But on the margin he gives *δι', οἶμαι*, instead of *τιμιώτερον δὲ οἶμαι*. This evidently is the correct reading, and is that of the M.S. $\pi$, from which he derived it. Yet Olearius, evidently ignorant of the source of Morellus's $\gamma\rho$, keeps the Aldine reading with Morellus's correction, adding simply enough "omnes nostri codices habent *δι', οἶμαι, quod et Morellus invenerat:* utrumque ferri potest." In some cases, even where Morellus incorporates the $\pi$ reading in the text, and gives the Aldine reading on the ma[illegible]nt looking at his own Aldine copy, believes t[illegible]

reading. Thus (VI. 3,) a young man named Timasion, wants to join Apollonius and his companions while sailing on the Nile. The Aldine reads, *ἱκέτευε προσδοῦναί οἱ τῆς τοῦ πλάτωνος κοινωνίας.* Morellus, from the *π.* MS. reads *πλοῦ*, placing *πλάτωνος* on the margin. With inexcusable carelessness, Olearius, having Aldus before him, says, *τοῦ πλοῦ.* Probabilior lectio quam quæ est in codice Vaticano, Palatino, et Vratislaviensi, qui habent *τοῦ πλάτωνος*, quod *Morello etiam in quibusdam repertum!* Yet, with all this, we should not depreciate Olearius. His work is a great improvement on that of Morellus; and his explanations and notes—whence derived we need not enquire—are often of great service for the understanding of our author, especially when he exhibits the rhetorical graces of his calling.

We shall here give a few specimens of the improvements effected by the care of Kayser. The scholar will perceive that they are of all kinds, from a mere emendation of accent to a change of the sense. They abound in every page, and are taken at random.

| Olearius, p. 95. | Kayser, p. 44. |
|---|---|
| *δένδρα δέ οἱ προσόμοια φύει περὶ τὰς ὄχθας, καί τι καὶ μῦρον ἐνδίδοται τῶν δένδρων.* | *δένδρα δέ οἱ προσόμοια φύει παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας, καί τι καὶ μύρον ἐκδίδοται τῶν δένδρων.* |
| O., p. 121. | K., p. 56. |
| *εἰ δέ γε ἀριστίνδην τε καὶ κατὰ ψῆφον ἥροῦντο τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἡμάρτανον παραπλησίως.* | *εἰ δέ γε ἀριστίνδην ἢ καὶ κατὰ ψῆφον ἥροῦντο τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐκ ἂν ἡμάρτανον; παραπλησίως.* |
| O., p. 138. | K., p. 64. |
| *κήποις δὲ ὁπόσοι τρωκτοὶ, καὶ ὁπόσοι ἀνθέων κῆποι, [φασὶ] βρύειν αὐτὸ.* | *κῆποι δὲ ὁπόσοι κ. τ. λ.* |
| O., p. 141. | K., p. 65. |
| *φιλοσοφίας μόνης ξυμβουλεύων.* | *φιλοσοφίᾳ μόνῃ ξυμβουλεύων προσέχειν.* |
| O., p. 142. | K., p. 66. |
| *Λοιμοῦ δὲ ὑφέρποντος τὴν Ἔφεσον, καὶ δοῦτως ἀνοιδούσης τῆς νόσου, . . . ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος . . . . προὔλεγε* | *Λοιμοῦ δὲ ὑφέρποντος τὴν Ἔφεσον, καὶ οὔπω. κ. τ. ε.* |
| O., p. 165. | K., p. 75. |
| *πάλλουσι τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις.* | *παλεύουσι τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις.* |

The same minute attention is paid throughout even in the case of Eusebius, which one would have deemed liable to the editor's neglect.

Kayser seems to have met with the aid of scholars in most parts of Europe in collating MSS., and lending him assistance of various kinds. We find named Jacobs, Schneider, Bekker, Miller, Fr. de Furia, Cobet, Gersdorf, Boissonade, Roulet, Schönemann, Scholefield, Grabham, and others. In return for this, excellent as the present edition is, and much superior to any that has gone before, he owes Europe a better edition still. There remains much to be amended in the text. The typographical errata are much more numerous than we had anticipated from the minute scholarship of the editor. The notes are capable of useful extension; and we should have *all* the works attributed by him to Philostratus. The volume is somewhat difficult of reference, as there are no marginal references to the number of the books. Above all—the punctuation! Every editor certainly must be allowed his own system of punctuating. But there are extremes; and our editor is extreme. Let us give a specimen both in Latin and Greek. First, for Latin, let the following serve as a sample: "Atque restitutæ verioris lectionis exempla vide potissimum ea, quæ infra posui, quod explicationem attinet, Notæ ad calcem adjectæ nonnisi nova et erratorum retractationem habent, quæ adhuc probabilia visa sunt, in priore editione reliqui, citationes tantum ex antiquis scriptoribus, quos Philostratus passim respicit, illinc transtuli." (*Procem. ad Vit. Soph.* p. v.) Next, for Greek, read this: "*καὶ πλαστικῆς μὲν πολλὰ εἴδη, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ πλάττειν καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ μίμησις καὶ οἱ ξέοντες τὴν λυγδίνην ἢ τὴν Παρίαν λίθον καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας, καί, νὴ Δία, ἡ γλυφικὴ πλαστικὴ, ζωγραφία δὲ ξυμβέβληται μὲν ἐκ χρωμάτων, πράττει δὲ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείω σοφίζεται ἀπὸ τούτου γε ἑνὸς ὄντος ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἡ ἑτέρα τέχνη, σκιάν τε γὰρ ἀποφαίνει καὶ βλέμμα γιγνώσκει ἄλλο μὲν τοῦ μεμηνότος, ἄλλο δὲ τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος ἢ τοῦ χαίροντος καὶ αὐγὰς ὀμμάτων, ὁποῖαί εἰσιν, ὧ πλαστικὸς μέν τις ἥκιστα ἐργάζεται, χαροπὸν δὲ ὄμμα καὶ γλαυκὸν καὶ μέλαν γραφικὴ οἶδε, καὶ ζανθὴν κόμην οἶδε καὶ πυρσὴν καὶ ἡλιῶσαν καὶ ἐσθῆτος χρῶμα καὶ ὅπλων θαλάμους τε καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἄλση καὶ ὄρη καὶ πηγὰς καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα.* (*Imagines*, p. 379.)

It is proper to add, in conclusion, that the worth of the work is much enhanced by Indices, by valuable preliminary remarks on each treatise, (excepting the letters of Apollonius, and the tractate of Eusebius,) and especially by the Preface, where the editor gives a brief but instructive view of the training by which the rhetorician of ancient times acquired mastery in his art.

2. Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates: from the Text of Kühner. With copious English Explanatory Notes, Life, Chronology, Examination Questions, and Indexes. By D. B. Hickie, LL.D. London: Longman, 1847.

A good school edition of Xenophon's *Memorabilia of Socrates* was still a desideratum, even after the excellent edition of Bornemann, which appeared at Leipzig in 1829. The task of supplying such an edition was undertaken by Dr. Kühner, at the request of V. C. F. Rost, one of the conductors of the *Bibliotheca Græca*. It appeared in 1841. Like all Kühner's works, it shows an intimate acquaintance with the subject he takes in hand, and we can safely say that it is one of the best edited works in the whole collection of which it forms a part. Dr. Hickie's edition is based upon that of Kühner, though Dr. H. has not always adopted the reading of Kühner, as we might be led to believe from the title-page. As the work is without a preface, and the editor does not inform us what he has done for his author, we shall give an account of what the book contains. After the dedication, there follows a chronological table of the History of Greece, from the earliest times down to the year B. C. 360, (from p. v. to xxviii.) We cannot see any reason for inserting such a table in an edition of the Memorabilia. Surely all that can be desired would have been to give the chronological facts connected with the life of Xenophon or Socrates, so far as they are known; but Dr. Hickie has given us a great deal more than is known, the chronology from B. C. 1570 being stated as though it were as well established as that of any period about which we have contemporary authorities. Even when he comes to the historical times, the statements in regard to Xenophon are only calculated to mislead the student. Xenophon, without any remark or comment, is stated to have been born in B. C. 450, and to have died in B. C. 360. Where is the authority for this? No ancient writer mentions the date either of his birth or of his death. All that can be said upon these points is merely conjectural. According to Lucian, Xenophon lived to the age of upwards of ninety; at the battle of Delium, in B. C. 424, his life was saved by Socrates; and he must have been alive at the time of the assassination of Alexander of Pheræ in B.C. 357. As therefore Xenophon served as a soldier in B. C. 424, we may suppose him to have then been a young man of about twenty, which would bring his birth back to the year B. C. 444; and as we know that he attained the age of upwards of ninety, he may have died about B. C. 354. But all this is a calculation by mere approximation; and why is the student not informed of this? Why is he made to believe that all is established beyond a doubt? Dr. Hickie might have satisfied him-

self upon all these points by consulting Krüger's excellent *Quæstiones Criticæ de Xenophontis Vita*, (Halle, 1822.) It would have been far better if, instead of such a chronological table, Dr. Hickie had given us the valuable Prolegomena of Kühner, which embrace interesting essays on the plan and purpose of the Memorabilia; on the character of Socrates, as delineated by Xenophon; on the Dæmon of Socrates; on the time when the Memorabilia were composed; on the various editions and MSS. of the work, &c. The text occupies 104 pages, and then follows a very closely printed commentary, from p. 105 to 207. To judge from the title-page, we might believe that the commentary was entirely Dr. Hickie's; but a comparison with Kühner's notes shows that the whole is essentially the commentary of the German editor, whose notes are sometimes translated into English without acknowledgment, and sometimes quoted as Kühner's in the original Latin. Now and then, the English editor has enlarged the notes or added a few remarks of his own, which however are not always of the most accurate kind. In the very first page, for example, we find the statement that "ὡς is sometimes used in the signification of ὅτι," with a reference to Viger, VIII. 10, 8, which, by the way, should be VIII. 10, 7. Both Dr. Hickie and Viger are wrong in their explanation, at least as far as the passage in question is concerned On the whole, however, the commentary is very useful, and one of the best that we have in our language. We should not have much reason to quarrel, if that which is Kühner's had been distinctly assigned to him, and had thus been distinguished from the additions of the English editor.

After the commentary, there follow nearly six pages of examination questions. The practice of drawing up sets of such questions in school-books, seems to us to be ruinous to all solid education; for, in the first place, they are not only a tacit acknowledgment of a large number of teachers so utterly unfit for their office, that after having gone through a chapter, they are not even able to put appropriate questions to their pupils; but support and encouragement is given to such teachers, by placing before them the questions they have to put to their pupils. In the second place, such questions naturally lead the pupil to disregard every thing not noticed in them, and therefore strengthen and confirm him in the vicious habit of cramming, merely for the purpose of satisfying the examiner. The last portion of the book consists of three very complete and useful indexes, from p. 214 to 244. Notwithstanding the strictures which we have felt compelled to make, the book will be found of the greatest utility to students, for Kühn notes are very valuable; and we should indeed have great reaso gratitude, if Dr. Hickie had always told his reader what be himself and what to Kühner.

3. Ancient Art and its Remains; or, a Manual of the Archæology of Art. By C. O. Müller. Translated from the German by John Leitch, London, 1847. 8vo.

It has been often and justly remarked as a matter of surprise, that the study of ancient art is not pursued among us with that vigour, earnestness, and comprehensiveness, which might be expected from a country that possesses greater treasures of ancient art than any other in Europe, if we except Italy. German scholars have in this, as in many other branches of antiquarian knowledge, far outstripped us, and the time has come when we should endeavour to make good our past neglect. The best that could be done under these circumstances, was, to translate the admirable work of the illustrious Müller, which is a history of the fine arts among all the nations of antiquity, and which has long been so well known to those English scholars who are conversant with German, that it is needless here to dwell upon its great usefulness and excellencies. We shall therefore confine our remarks to the translation, congratulating in the outset those who have now the means of acquiring a complete and systematic knowledge of the artistic genius of the ancients. The translation is executed with great accuracy and fidelity; but we must repeat here what on a former occasion we said about Mr. Leitch's translation of Müller's *Prolegomena*: he keeps too closely to the German idiom, whereby his translation is often unintelligible to the mere English reader. A translator from the German must first digest the sentiments of his author, and convert them into his own *succum et sanguinem*, and after having gone through this process, he should ask himself, how should we express the same thought or idea in plain English? for the modes of expressing the same thing are often quite different in the two languages, and a form of expression may be quite familiar to the ear and mind of a German, but appears to us confused and strange. The second edition of the German original, from which the present translation is made, appeared in 1835, and there is probably no period in which the knowledge of ancient art has made greater and more important acquisitions than within the last ten or twelve years. The British Museum alone has within that period acquired some of its choicest relics, and the valuable dissertations on particular works of art which have been published, are almost innumerable. Now, it would certainly not have been unreasonable to expect that Mr. L. should, in their proper places, have noticed at least all the more important works of art, and especially those which have been deposited in the British Museum since the publication of the German original. The labour, which would not have been very great, would have greatly enhanced

the value of his book; but as it is, the reader may peruse the work from beginning to end without hearing a word, to mention one example, of the beautiful Lycian marbles, or of the vast literature on ancient art that has accumulated within the last twelve years. We hope this deficiency will be remedied, if there should be a demand for a new edition.

As a pleasing sign that the study of ancient art is making some progress in this country, we may mention, that we have just seen an announcement of a History of Painting, ancient and modern, by the accomplished artist Ralph Wornum, who is already well known as a writer on ancient art.

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4. On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre. With a Plan of Jerusalem. By George Finlay, Esq. K. R. G. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

There has, especially since the publication of Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, been a strong opinion on the part of many, that the site generally shown as that of the Holy Sepulchre, not only has not been authenticated, but that it is not authentic. The ground for the former opinion, is the untrustworthiness of tradition; that of the other, the position of the city walls. It is certain that the actual site was *without* the gate, (Heb. xiii. 12; John, xix. 20.) Now, Dr. Robinson has endeavoured to show that the site, as at present pointed out, must have been *within* the city walls. The Reverend George Williams, in his *Holy City*, and Lord Nugent, in his *Lands, Classical and Sacred*, maintain the truth of the tradition, and meet Dr. Robinson's topography by a counter topography.

Mr. Finlay, the able author of *Greece under the Romans*, gives up tradition, and all reliance on a counter topography, but maintains the authenticity of the site. He does not enter into the consideration of the question of the walls, alleging, that after this point is established *aliunde*, the proved position of the site will furnish certain ground for ascertaining other doubted localities. The position of the walls, he argues, is too uncertain to constitute any proof in the question of the site; but the site question settled, we shall be prepared to enter into the consideration of other localities.

His peculiar ground rests partly on the narrative of Eusebius, in the Third Book of his *Life of Constantine*, and partly on the accuracy of the Roman registers. "The census was so perfect, that throughout the wide extent of the Roman empire, every private estate was surveyed; maps were constructed, indicating not only every locality possessing a name, but so detailed that every field was measured." These maps were "engraved on brass, and deposited in the imperial

register office; while copies, taken on linen, were placed in the hands of the local administrations, and in the provincial archives." And so, when Constantine determined to discover the exact site of the tomb of our Saviour, he had only to consult the archives. This discovery was all the easier, as a temple to Venus had been built over the tomb.

There is much ingenuity in this; and it is supported by proofs, evidently the result of much labour. But after examining the passage of Eusebius in which the narrative of the discovery is given, we must confess that we see nothing that would lead us to suppose any search into archives. Nor can we believe, as our author does, (p. 35,) that the very circumstance of Constantine's having ascertained the site by consulting the archives, prevented the ecclesiastical historians from stating so important a fact.

Still this pamphlet adds to our means of getting at the truth. Tradition, and the position of the walls, and the archives, may lead us, at last, to certainty regarding a point so interesting to every Christian scholar.

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5. Some Remarks on the Alpine Passes of Strabo, by William John Law, Esq. London. J. Rodwell, 1844.

Strabo (lib. iv. p. 209, *Ed. Cas.*) has these words, while speaking of the account of the Alps as given by Polybius:—*τέτταρας δ' ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον · διὰ Λιγύων μὲν, τὴν ἐγγύτατα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει · εἶτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν · εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν · τετάρτην δὲ τὴν διὰ Ῥαιτῶν · ἁπάσας κρημνώδεις.* Two questions arise from these words. Does Strabo mean to give only the substance, or the *ipsissima verba* of the statement of Polybius? Supposing it is the substance only, is the meaning of the elder historian accurately reported by Strabo?

There is certainly nothing in the passage to oblige us to conclude that Strabo is quoting the language of Polybius; though this is the opinion of M. Letronne, (*Journal des Savans*, December 1819, p. 754, in Law, p. 47.) And there is so much to lead us to believe the contrary, that we may conclude that it is a mere report.

But even as to the substance itself, it is doubtful whether the words, *ἣν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν*, are intended by Strabo to ascribe the statement involved in them to Polybius, or proceed directly from the geographer, as an explanatory averment of his own. We agree with Mr. Law, that the former is the more probable from the whole scope of the passage. And then comes the great enquiry,—what weight is

this passage entitled to have in the question of Hannibal's passage over the Alps?

Whitaker, long ago, in his *Course of Hannibal over the Alps*, (vol. I. p. 364,) treated the statement of Strabo with great contempt, when he speaks of him as "noting incidentally, and as from Polybius only, whom we are sure he has most grossly misrepresented, that Hannibal marched over Mont Genévre." The author of this pamphlet, after a searching disquisition, comes to the same conclusion. This he does on various grounds: Strabo's mistakes in reporting Cæsar; the probability that he wrote vaguely on this subject, as Hannibal's passage over the Alps was not a matter of interest to him; the improbability that Polybius made a catalogue of passages over the Alps, and especially that he should have mentioned only one Salassian pass, and the great unlikelihood of his having known the Taurini pass at all, or any part of the Alps in that neighbourhood. This leads to an instructive enquiry into the knowledge possessed both by Polybius and Strabo, of the upper parts of the Po. Finally,—after coming to the conclusion, that if the passage be genuine, it is "altogether an expression by Strabo in his own words of his own confused and erroneous recollections," he intimates that the three words ἦν Ἀννίβας ἐλήλυθεν, have not been found by Gustavus Cramer in his examination of a manuscript of the highest authority, not previously examined, the *Epitome Vaticana*, No. 482.

We do not concur in all the details through which the writer conducts his argument; but, in his main conclusion, the worthlessness of the passage, we, with Whitaker and others, cordially agree; and we recommend the Treatise to all interested in the Ancient Geography of the Alps, as possessed of both scholarship and ingenuity.

We would recommend Mr. Law to look better after the accentuation of his Greek. Such errors as ἔστα, ὧτος, ἵμερεν, are unimportant; but they offend the eye, and so far arrest the current of thought.

## XXII.

## WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND, AND THE UNITED STATES.

Æschyli Persæ. Brevi Commentario instruxit Franciscus Paley, A. M. 8vo. Cambridge.

Arnold, T. K., Selections from Cicero; with English Notes. Part I. 12mo. cloth. London.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology; edited by Dr. Wm. Smith. Part 22d. Vol. 3. Taylor & Walton

Euripides, Hecuba, ad fidem manuscriptorum, emendata et brevibus notis emendationum potissimum notiones reddentibus instructa. Editio nova. Ed. Ricardo Porson, A.M. 8vo.

Findlay's Classical Atlas of Ancient Geography; containing 25 maps. Royal 8vo. London.

Gray, Mrs. Hamilton, History of Rome for Young Persons. 2 vols. 12mo. London.

Homer, Odyssey, according to the text of Wolf; with Notes for the use of Schools and Colleges, by J. J. Owen. Fifth Edition. New York, 1847. 8vo.

Knowles, George, Ground Plan of the actual state of the Temple of Minerva at Athens. London. Folio.

Living Latin; an Essay in verse and prose on the pronunciation of Latin, in which the genuine powers of the Roman letters are proved from ancient authorities. Foolscap 8vo.

Müller, C. O., Ancient Art and its Remains, or a Manual of the Archæology of Art; Translated from the German by John Leitch. London. 8vo.

Pillans, Professor, a Discourse on the Latin Authors read, and the order of reading them in the earlier stages of Classical Discipline. Edinburgh, 1847. Post 8vo.

Sallust, from the text of Cortius and Kritzius; with copious English Notes; by John Carbery. 12mo., roan.

Sophocles, Philoctetes; with Notes. 8vo. Parker's Classics.

Tate, First Classical Maps; with Chronological Tables of Grecian and Roman History. New Edition. Imp. 8vo. London.

Thirlwall, Bp., History of Greece. Vol. IV. 8vo. edition, with Maps and Plans. London.

Thucydides; the History of the Peloponnesian War; illustrated by Maps; with Notes, by T. Arnold, D.D. 3d Edition. Vol. I. Oxford.

Virgil; the School and College Virgil, with Notes, by Richard Galbraith; new Edition, 12mo. Dublin.

Virgil's Æneid, translated into English Verse by the Rev. J. M. King. 2 vols. 12mo. Cloth.

Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics, with English Notes, &c.; by Charles Anthon. 12mo. New Edition.

Walford, Rev. E., a Series of Progressive Exercises in Latin Elegiac Verse. London. Post 8vo.

Wornum, N. R., a Sketch of the History of Painting, Ancient and Modern. 8vo. London.

Xenophon, Anabasis; with Notes for the use of Schools and Colleges, by J. J. Owen. Sixth Edition, 8vo. New York, 1847.

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THE

# CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

## XXIII.

### ON THE DITHYRAMB.[1]

PLATO, Euripides, and Pindar, with one accord, refer the name Dithyrambus to the birth of the god Dionysus. The first (*Legg.* p. 700, A.) paraphrases it by Διονύσου γένεσις; Euripides (*Bacch.* vs. 526,) makes Zeus exclaim at the burning of Semele, "Come Dithyrambus, enter my womb of man;" and Pindar, in his first Dithyramb, in which he took a survey of the history of the Dithyramb, (Strab. x. 3, p. 323,) derived the name from λῦθι ῥάμμα, words supposed to be uttered by Zeus when he brought the god forth: *Frag.* 55, 56. ed. Bergk. Later, probably Alexandrian litterati made out an allusion to the cave with two entrances, (δίθυρος,) in which the god was reared, and to the two openings at his double birth; but in so doing, the quantity of the first syllable escaped their notice.

As is commonly the case, the grounds which gave rise to this etymology are of more importance than the etymology itself. Whether the legend of the sewing up in the thigh grew out of this etymology, or the etymology out of the legend, the derivation of ραμβος from ῥάφω must be abandoned, as the syllables διθυ would thus admit of none but a forced interpretation. If, on the other hand, with some moderns,[2] we derive διθύραμβος,

[1] Translated from the German by C. Knight Watson, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

[2] W. M. Schmidt, *Diatr. in Dithyrambum.* This interesting essay has met with a very just and learned critique by Schneidewin in the *Jen. lit. Zeit.* n. 274. 1845, to whose views I give all but entire assent.

as if it were τιτυρίαμβος, from τίτυρος or σάτυρος, "a goat," we are in the first place destitute of all authority for the fusion of the three T— sounds into one another; and secondly, we have no means of explaining how the ἴαμβος could have anything to do with the dithyramb.

The first syllable of the word διθύραμβος, like that of Διόνυσος, contains the name of Zeus, inasmuch as it is contracted from *Δι*: compare *Δι*πέτης, *Δι*πόλια, and Jupiter for Diupiter. In θυραμβος, we must look upon the μ as a euphonic insertion. Compare ἐρεμβοί and ἔρεβος, κόρυμβος and κορυφή, limpidus and liquidus, στρόμβος from στρέφω, κύμβη from κύπτω; and θυραβος we consider to be a cognate form of θόρυβος and τύρβη, turba.[3] Τύρβη was the name of the festival of Dionysus at Argos, (Pausan. II. 24, 7.); τυρβασία was the dithyrambic dance;[4] συρβηνὴς χορός, a turbulent chorus.[5]

Another cognate of θύραμβος presents itself in θρίαμβος, triumphus. θριαμβεῦσαι · θορυβῆσαι, βοῆσαι, says Hesychius. Θρίαμβος was in its signification distinguished from διθύραμβος; for it denoted a hymn to the god, (Διονυσιακὸς ὕμνος,) as well as the god himself. See Suidas, ἀναρύτειν, and *Etym. Mag.* A late dithyrambic poet has combined both words in one, θριαμβοδιθύραμβος. The stem is to be found in θόρω, θόρνυμι, from which also are to be derived θύρσος and θρίαι, *i. e.* μάντεις καὶ νύμφαι; and lastly, θρίασις, ἡ τῶν ποιητῶν μανία. See Suidas.

Διθύραμβος then, as it were Διὸς θόρυβος, signifies the "*turbulent* disorder of a storm, a tempest." So that those ancient writers were not in error who affirmed that the name alluded to the birth, *i. e.* the being of the god. For the being of Dionysus does actually consist in the disturbed state of the weather, in the variations of atmosphere by dampness, cloudiness, rain, storms, and tempests; while Apollo, on the other hand, denotes all that is orderly and unchanged (νόμος,) as the course of the sun and stars. Dionysus further implies vegetable moisture, and is on that account more especially the parent of the intoxicating juice which gives rise to great disorder in the mind. It was no erroneous conception, then, which was enter-

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[3] Hesych.—*τύρβη · θόρυβος, ἀγωγή, τάραχος.*

[4] *Pollux*, IV. 16.—*τυρβασία δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο ἔρχημα διθυραμβικόν.* Hesych. *τυρβασία · χορῶν ἀγωγή τις διθυραμβικῶν.*

[5] Suidas.—*σύρβη, τάραχος · συρβηνὸς ὁ ταραχώδης ἀπὸ τῶν αὐλεόντων μουσικὸς ἀκόρβου · καὶ συρβηνίων χορὸς ὁ συνηγμένος κ. τ. λ. διὸ τάττεται ἡ συρφορὰ συρβηνὸς χορὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀτάκτων χορῶν.*

tained as to the nature of both gods by those ancient inquirers whose views we find in Plutarch, (*De* EI *ap. Delph.* p. 389.) "We hear inquirers (θεολόγων,) both in poems and in prose singing and saying that God is Eternal and Imperishable, but that, in pursuance of some predetermined counsels, he undergoes transformations, and at one time assimilates all things, one to another, by conflagration, at another makes manifold manifestations of himself in various forms, conditions, and powers, such as the creation which now is. He is called by the most familiar of names; but the learned, wishing to conceal him from the vulgar, call his transformation into fire Ἀπόλλων, on account of its desolating, and Φοῖβος, from its purifying qualities. In his transmutation and dispersion into air, fire, water, earth, stars, and the vegetable and animal kingdom, they speak obscurely of the condition and change, as a rending asunder and dismembering, and give it the name of Διόνυσος and Ζαγρεύς and Νυκτέλιος and Ἰσοδαίτης, and speak of annihilations and disappearances, of departures from and restorations to life, of obscure sayings and stories corresponding to the above-named transformations; to the one they sing *dithyrambic songs, impassioned and varied, of a rambling and intricate character*; (for, says Æschylus, μεξοβόαν πρέπει διθύραμβον δμαρτεῖν σύγκοινον Διονύσῳ,) to the other the paean, an orderly and sober hymn. The one, too, is represented in drawings and figures as young and never waxing old, the other in multiform varieties of shape and person. In a word, to the one they attribute symmetry, order, and unmixed earnestness of purpose, to the other *a sort of uneven compound of sportive drollery and wanton outrage, of earnestness and frenzy*, (hailing him as εὔϊον δρσιγύναικα μανομέναις Διόνυσον ἀνθέοντα τμαῖς, in which the peculiar features of either transformation are cleverly comprised). But whereas the time of the cycles in these transformations is not the same, that of the so-called cycle of completion being greater than that of the cycle of destruction, they preserve the analogy in this point by using the paean at sacrifices for all the rest of the year, but at the commencement of winter they awake the dithyramb to life, and abandon the paean, for three months offering up invocations to the one god instead of the other: three to one being the proportion which is supposed to exist between the time of the world's consistence and that of its conflagration."

This passage also furnishes us with evidence as to the design

and character of the most ancient dithyramb, as it was constituted previously to the changes wrought in it by Arion, and which it continued to wear at sacrifices and banquets. For on these occasions there prevailed an analogous alternation between the paean and the dithyramb, as we are told by Philochorus in Athen. p. 628, F. "At the first libation, they sang paeans to Apollo with becoming calmness, and later on, when excited with wine, dithyrambs to Dionysus." The dithyramb was originally nothing but a paean to Dionysus, and hence assuredly of an equally ancient date in Greece with the god himself. Ἰὼ βάκχε was shouted out instead of ἰὴ παιάν, and from this exclamation arose the name ἰόβακχος, which may have been peculiar to this original extempore dithyramb: comp. *Procl.* p. 384, ᾖδετο δὲ ὁ ἰόβακχος ἐν ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις Διονύσου βεβαπτισμένος πολλῷ φρυάγματι. If, as the dithyrambic poet Telestes (frag. 6.) assures us, the Phrygian companions of Pelops sang at drinking bouts, to the sound of the flute, in honour of the mother of the gods, it is very possible, if we take into consideration the internal connection between her worship and that of Dionysus, (comp. Pind. fr. 49, Bergk. and Eurip. *Bacch.*) that the songs here spoken of were dithyrambs. As soon as lyric poetry came into existence, it enlisted such subjects into its service. Thus we hear Archilochus boasting, "that when his mind is inflamed with wine, he is able to lead off the dithyramb, the fair strain of king Dionysus." To him were also attributed the old ἰόβακχοι which had been handed down. Hephæst. p. 94, ἐν τοῖς ἀναφερομένοις εἰς Ἀρχίλοχον ἰοβάκχοις. In like manner, the poet Epicharmus says in his *Philoctetes*, "No dithyramb will be thine, if thou drinkest water." Consequently W. M. Schmidt (*Diatribe in Dithyr.* Berlin, 1845,) is very wrong in denying the existence of the dithyramb before the time of Arion, and in trying to make out of the poet Archilochus an Antilochus, of whom next to nothing is known. It is true that Herodotus, I. 23, and Pindar, (apud *Proclum*,) assert that Arion first invented the dithyramb: but we can easily ascertain, from numerous examples, what signification was attached to the word *invent* (ποιεῖν) by the Greeks. Besides, the dithyramb of Arion was an entirely new creation, possessing, however, in common with the earlier dithyramb, a humorous mixture of the grave and the gay, and a frantic wantonness. For the one was composed to suit regular choruses of fifty persons, while the other

was sung by those who assisted at drinking bouts and sacrifices. The more ancient dithyramb, according to Pindar, (*Dithyr.* I.) originated at Thebes; and again, in one of his hyporchemes, he mentions Naxos as its birth-place, (see Schol. Pind. *Ol.* XIII. 25;) while, on the other hand, he agrees with Herodotus in assigning the origin of the later dithyramb to Corinth, (*Ol.* 13.) The more ancient dithyramb he calls a homely and simple strain (σχοινοτένεια ἀοιδά), free from all the artifice which Lasus employed to avoid the letter σ, (see Aristoxenus ap. *Athen.* XI. p. 467, A.; VIII. 455, C.) as being ill suited to the flute music: Pind. fr. 48, Bergk. Arion was moreover equally celebrated as the creator of the later *nome*, as in the character of inventor of the dithyramb. It was by the *nome* that he, as virtuoso and cithara player, procured for himself so much respect in the towns of Magna Græcia, earned so much wealth, and lastly, gave a handle to the fable of the dolphin, which may be best interpreted by a comparison with the impression made by the songs of Orpheus on the brute creation. Schmidt has fallen into error on this subject, and suffered himself to be led astray into fruitless investigations on a supposed connection between the dolphin and the Dionysiac worship, in order to shew, in direct contradiction with the above named important testimonies, that it was from Tarentum, as from its original home, that the dithyramb found its way to the mother country.

The innovation made by Arion consisted in the introduction of the so-called κύκλιος χορός;[6] and here a question more specially presents itself, what kind of chorus must we suppose the κύκλιος χορός to mean? On this point we ought to pay no attention to Tzetzes, and his more immediate predecessors, who very ignorantly (*Proleg. ad Lycophr.*) changes the expression κυκλίους στῆσαι χορούς, where στῆσαι signifies "to introduce," into

[6] The proofs are to be found in Proclus *Chrest.* p. 419. εὑρεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν διθύραμβον Πίνδαρος ἐν Κορίνθῳ λέγει· τὸν δὲ ἀρξάμενον τῆς ᾠδῆς Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει Ἀρίονα, ὃς πρῶτος τὸν κύκλιον ἤγαγε χορόν; and in the Schol. on Pindar, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ᾠκήθη ὁ χορὸς ἐρχόμενος· ἵστησι δὲ αὐτὸν πρῶτος Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος, εἶτα Λᾶσος ὁ Ἑρμιονεύς — συνίστησι γάρ, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐν Κορίνθῳ διθύραμβος ᾠσήχθη, ὃς ἦν κύκλιος χορὸς, Ἀρίωνος τοῦ Μηθυμναίου συστήσαντος αὐτόν — ὁ δὲ διθύραμβος χορὸς ἦν κύκλιος περὶ Διόνυσον κ. τ. λ.; and in the Schol. on Aristoph. *Av.* 1403, Ἀντίσπαστος δὲ καὶ Εὐφρόνιος ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασί φασι τοὺς κυκλίους χορεύειν στῆσαι πρῶτον Λᾶσον τὸν Ἑρμιονέα· οἱ δὲ ἐρχαιότερον Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον, Διπαίσχος μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δασκυλάπους δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κα

χορὸς ἑστὼς κυκλικῶς, and accordingly asserts that a chorus standing in a circle round the altar is what is meant, in contradistinction to the drama, where the chorus, he says, stood in a quadrangular form. There is however a vast difference between χορὸς κύκλιος and χορὸς ἑστὼς κυκλικῶς. It must also be borne in mind that neither would the poems themselves have received the name of ἐγκύκλια, or of κύκλια μέλη, nor the poets that of κυκλιοδιδάσκαλοι,[7] if the peculiarity in question had merely affected the position of the chorus, instead of the composition and character of the poems themselves. Κύκλος denotes generally "a round," "a ring," or a circular movement revolving back again into itself: compare ἐγκύκλιος λειτουργία, ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, and the phrase, ἐγκύκλιον ἦν αὐτῷ, "he made it a rule," (Dionys. Hal. p. 659, 32; Eunapius ap. Suid. s. v.) In speaking of poems which have a regular succession of strophes, antistrophes, epodes, &c. or a reciprocal interchange of parts, Hephæstion makes use of the expression ἀνακύκλησιν ἔχουσιν, which is of the same signification as ἀνταποδόσει δουλεύουσιν. The dithyrambs of Arion, Lasos, and Simonides, possessed this regularity in the most beautiful manner, (Aristot. *Probl.* XIX. 15; Dionys. Hal. *de Comp.* c. 19,) and might on that account, at all events, be termed roundelays (Rundgesänge), especially since the name was of a totally opposite character. If, however, we take a glance at the composition of the dithyrambic chorus, we shall not fail to find another and far more evident cause for this appellation. This chorus consisted of fifty persons, as Simonides tells us in one of his epigrams, fr. 203, Schneid., 148, Bergk. So also Tzetzes, *Prol. ad Lycophr.* and the Schol. *Æschin. Ctesiph.* p. 721, Reiske.[8]

It is impossible that all these should always have sung together: they must necessarily have been divided into several choruses. A glance at tragedy and comedy, which took their origin from the dithyramb, makes it probable that these fifty, if they did not form four choruses of twelve each, were at any rate divided into two choruses of twenty-four, with two leaders, or chief singers, who afterwards merged into two actors. For the

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[7] Aristoph. *Aor.* 1403, 917, 333, with the Schol.

[8] The Schol. on Pindar, XII. 39, had likewise heard of the fact, but makes an erroneous application of it. τοὺς δὲ πολυκέφαλον (φασὶν) ἐκ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας ἐξ ὧν ὁ χορὸς συνίστατο, περιπατεχομένου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ, τὰ μέλη περιφέρειν.

tragic poet had also fifty men at his disposal, (*Pollux*, IV. 15. p. 199, 32,) that is, twelve to each of his four tragedies, and two actors. Sophocles is stated to have raised this number to fifteen, *i. e.* he required one leader more for each of the two semi-choruses, and a separate choragus for the entire chorus, (see Suidas, Σοφοκλῆς.) Without counting this choragus, the chorus would consist of fourteen men, the number mentioned by the anonymous writer of the Life of Æschylus, and by the Schol. Dionys. Hirac. *Anec. Villoison*, II. p. 178.[9] Four times fifteen makes sixty: this number was perhaps not uncommon with the dithyramb, as we may gather from Athen. V. p. 199, A. and Eustath. *Od.* p. 276, 46, where in the description of a bacchic procession, we meet with a waggon loaded with grapes, which were trodden by sixty satyrs to the sound of flutes and "wine-press songs," (πρὸς αὐλὸν ᾄδοντες μέλος ἐπιλήνιον.) We are therefore justified in concluding, from the analogy which exists throughout in the tragic tetralogies (the entire composition of which would admit of no explanation, were it not for the information handed down to us on their parent, the dithyramb,) that the dithyrambic chorus was divided into four parts of twelve each, or into two parts of twenty-four, the number employed in comedy. These were placed, not in a ring, but in a quadrangle. That there were leaders in addition, is evident from Aristotle, *Poet.* 4, 6, (ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον.)[10] The chorus being divided into parts, separated from each other by the different places assigned to them, it is but natural to suppose that these parts did not all represent the same characters, nor wear the same costume. It is true that satyrs, at the commencement at least, were always introduced, as Suidas says of Arion: σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας. For it was from them that the poetry received the name σατυρικὴ ποίησις τραγῳδία, comp. Athen. p. 630. C. But the very titles of numerous dithyrambs compel us, as Schmidt remarks, p. 239, to lay aside all idea of choruses of satyrs, as, for instance, the Centaurs of Lasus, and the Danaids of Melanippides. Again, we learn from the well-known testimony of Zenobius, *Prov.* V. 40, that from an early period poets abandoned the uniform sub-

[9] Comp. Schmidt. l. c. p. 230, sq.

[10] Comp. Schmidt, p. 235, who, from the plural, concludes that Aristotle meant to intimate that there was more than one leader; which Schneidewin, not without reason, disputes.

ject of Dionysiac myths for others of a different character; whence was developed, on the one hand, the satyric drama, whose heroes were giants, centaurs, polyphemus's, and other monsters of the same kind; and, on the other hand, lyrical tragedy. Between this and the dithyramb, as Schmidt, p. 184, correctly observes, there existed little or no difference. It is true that its rise at Sicyon was anterior to that of the Arionic dithyramb, according to the well-known testimony of Herodotus, (v. 67); but there is no doubt that at a subsequent period it became one with the dithyramb, where the latter substituted other subjects, in lieu of those connected with Dionysus; ancient authors, too, are in the habit at one time of confounding, at another of distinguishing the satyric poetry and the lyric tragedy, a fact which may probably be accounted for by both being in their composition and execution one with the dithyramb, but distinguished from one another in their subject-matter. So, for example, Suidas enumerates, among Pindar's works, seventeen δράματα τραγικὰ along with the dithyrambs, while other accounts speak of dithyrambs alone. The same Suidas, however, tells us of Arion: Δέγεται καὶ τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὑρέτης γενέσθαι καὶ πρῶτος χορὸν στῆσαι καὶ διθύραμβον ᾆσαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ διθύραμβον καὶ σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας. In speaking of Simonides he merely mentions τραγῳδίας, instead of dithyrambs.—To this we may add Athenæus, p. 630, C.: συνέστηκε δὲ καὶ σατυρικὴ πᾶσα ποίησις τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκ χορῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡ τότε τραγῳδία· διόπερ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὰς εἶχον. So the proverb οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον may just as well have originated with Epigenes, who at Sicyon substituted the sufferings of Adrastus for the myths of Dionysus,[11] as with those who substituted giants and centaurs, and thus created the satyric drama.

Let us return from this digression to the interpretation of the phrase κύκλιοι χοροί. But proof yet remains to be adduced to shew that the divisions of the dithyrambic chorus did not all represent the same individuals. This is to be met with in Xenoph. *Œconom.* 8, 20, where Xenophon is shewing how, in a well-ordered household, all implements of house-gear should have a fixed place assigned to them; and how articles of cognate uses should always be laid together,—shoes, clothes, cover-

[11] That it was he who made the innovation mentioned by Herodotus, follows from the circumstance that he is called the first tragedian in Sicyon.

lets, copper vessels, earthenware pots, &c. &c.; he compares this arrangement with a cyclic chorus, as one which not only in itself presents a pretty aspect, but has also spaces between in beautiful symmetry. This remark, too, furnishes testimony to the correctness of our assertion, that the chorus was in a quadrangular position,—for how else could there possibly have been symmetrical intervals?—A chorus, then, divided into four, or even two choruses, symmetrically placed, and representing different characters, could not but have delivered, in regular alternation and fixed succession, songs strophically connected with each other: and it is this which the name κύκλια μέλη, κύκλιοι χοροὶ, &c. is meant to imply. The dithyrambic poets, says Tzetzes, had this advantage over the lyric poets, that their songs were a tissue of many strophes, (πολυστρόφους πλέκειν τοὺς ὕμνους.) This idea is borrowed from the κυκλίων τε χορῶν ἁρματοκάμπτας of Aristophanes (*Nub.* 333,) to explain which Suidas, among other things, says as follows:—"The dithyrambic poets are called "song-twisters," because their poems, not being subject to harmony, have more turns in them, which musicians call strophes, antistrophes, and epodes, (ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἁρμονίᾳ μὴ ὑποπίπτειν αὐτῶν τὰ συγγράμματα καμπὰς ἔχουσι πλείονας, ἃς οἱ μουσικοὶ καλοῦσι στροφὰς καὶ ἀντιστρόφους καὶ ἐπῳδούς.)

As regards the contents of the dithyramb, it was probably of a serio-comic character, the grave and the gay being mixed together, as in the satyric drama. This we may gather from the passage above quoted from Plutarch.—Proclus, *Chrest.* p. 523, speaks merely of fun and merriment: "The dithyramb," says he, "arose out of rustic jokes and revelry at drinking bouts; it is very animated, and is fraught with much excitement, accompanied with dancing, giving rise to sensations suitable to the character of the god." Its serious tendency, on the other hand, is intimated in what Aristophanes (*Nub.* 967, 985, *Av.* 917,) says of the old dithyrambic poets Ceceides (see Schmidt, p. 130,) and Lamprocles, as he not only praises their quaint simplicity, but also informs us that their songs were sung in schools in the good old times, to which the ἄδικος λόγος replies that it was all antiquated stuff, bringing to mind the days of the Dipolia and of cicades in the hair. To these old masters must be added Pratinas, the contemporary of Lasus, who, on the one hand, complains of innovations, while on the other introduced them by developing the satyric drama by-

ramb. We have, in fact, a fragment of one of his hyporchemes, in which he laments that dancers and flute-players have the ascendancy in the orchestra; and that the flute is no longer, as once, subordinate to, but drowns the song. Plutarch, too, (*De Mus.* c. 31,) places him, as well as Pindar, among the lyric poets whose accompaniment (κρούματα,) was deserving of praise. The innovation, however, of which Pratinas complains, originated with Lasus, of whom Plutarch says, that by availing himself of the flexibility of tone of the flute, and by introducing more varied and more numerous musical sounds, he had wrought material changes in the style of music up to his time in use. His innovations (λασίσματα in Hesych.,) must, for this reason alone, be looked upon as very important, as some ancient writers have ascribed to him the invention of the dithyramb. So much did he devote himself to the study of music, that he actually wrote a special treatise upon it, (Suidas.) The λόγοι ἐριστικοί, which, according to Suidas, he introduced, we must not suppose to be any wranglings in prose, but must couple them with the δίκαιος and ἄδικος λόγος of Aristophanes, where λόγος means much the same as "causa." It must, therefore, have been a contest among the choruses or their leaders. This was a very important step towards the drama. For up to the latest Attic school the dithyramb wore the same character as Pindar's ἆθλα, i. e. the poet always spoke in his own person (δι' ἀπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ,) as not only Aristotle avers (*Probl.* XIX. 15,) but also Plato, *Rep.* p. 394, C., and the Schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 917. Plato, while dividing practical compositions into dramatic, legendary, and both these combined, (among which last he includes the epos,) observes that the legendary class found its first representative in the dithyrambs: εὕροις δ' ἂν αὐτὴν μάλιστα ἐν διθυράμβοις. The words of the Scholiast run as follows:—κύκλια δὲ καλοῦνται μέλη τὰ ἐπεκτεταμένα· ἔστι δὲ διηγηματικόν. To these may be added Plutarch, *De Mus.* c. 10., who says that the paeans of Xenocritus had been occasionally taken for dithyrambs, from their handling heroic subjects and historical events: ἡρωικῶν γὰρ ὑποθέσεων πράγματα ἐχουσῶν ποιητὴν φασιν εἶναι. That other subjects were already substituted for the myths of Dionysus, may be gathered from various sources. It is true that the fragments of the Pindaric dithyrambs seem for the most part to be taken from mere hymns to the god. With this agrees the history of the development of the dithyramb, beginning with the birth of

the god, and the derivation of the name; with this also the praises of spring coupled with those of Athens, for it was there in spring that the dithyrambs were represented. Still we also find the contest of Hercules with Geryon handled by him in fr. 50, Bergk., and Lasus wrote the history of Niobe, fr. 3, Praxilla an Achilles, fr. 2, Bacchylides sang of Philoctetes, fr. 17, a dithyramb of Simonides was named Memnon, fr. 35 (see Schmidt, p. 131, &c.,) one of Cleomenes, Meleager (Athen. IX. p. 402, A.,) not to mention that Melanippides, through whom the dithyramb again underwent a material change, wrote a Marsyas, a Persephone, and the Danaids.

The dithyrambs were represented at Athens at the festivals of Dionysus, the Lenæa and the great Dionysia, see Schmidt, p. 201, and Schneidewin's *Review*, p. 1097. The prize was an ox for the first, an amphora and a goat smeared with wine-lees for the second,—Schol. Plat. *Rep.* p. 122, 8. Hence Pindar calls the dithyramb "oxen-driving," βοηλάτας, *Ol.* XIII. 25; and in the riddle of Simonides in Athen. p. 456, Chamaeleon referred the "ox-slaying" companion of Dionysus (βουφόνον θεράποντα,) to the dithyramb. The tripod, also, was among the prizes, which the epitomator of Athen. II. p. 37, terms τὸ νικητήριον τοῦ Διονύσου. For all this we have evidence in the epigrams of Simonides, of which we subjoin a translation.[12] A tripod, too, was chosen by the orator Andocides, when he won a victory with a Cyclian chorus,—Plut. *Vit. Oratt.* p. 229.

The above named festivals of Dionysus occurred in the three successive months, Gamelion, Anthesterion, and Elaphebolion.

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[12] 1. n. 205. Schneid., 150. Bergk.—"Right often in the choruses of the phyle of Acamantis have the *Dionysiac Horæ* raised their voices aloud in the ivy-wreathed dithyramb, and with chaplets and choicest roses o'ershadowed the shining locks of cunning bards, who have won for themselves this *tripod*, a witness of their *Bacchic contests*. Antigenes of Sicynna (demus of the phyle of Acamantis,) was teacher of the chorus, and right well were their luscious voices tended by Ariston of Argos, whose sweet breath streams through pure Doric *flutes*. Their honied roundelay defrayed Hipponicus, the son of Strouthon, born in the Graces' cars."—2. n. 203. (148.) "Adeimantus was archon of the Athenians, where the phyle of Antiochis (Olymp. 75, 1,) won the cunningly-wrought tripod; Aristides, son of Xenophilus, led the chorus of fifty men—(right sweet the things they learned!)—and for the teaching, glory was awarded to Simonides, the octogenarian son of Leoprepes."—3. n. 202. (147.) "Six and fifty *oxen and tripods* didst thou win, O Simonides, before thou didst erect this tablet,—as often after teaching the delightsome chorus of men, hast thou set thy foot upon the stately car of honoured victory."

These three months, reaching from the middle of January to the middle of April, are no doubt the same as those which Plutarch designates as the spring months, in which the dithyramb was sung at sacrifices in lieu of the paean. The festivals were identical with those at which tragedies and comedies were represented; for between them and the dithyramb together, with the ithyphalli, &c. there was originally no distinction,—Schol. Arist. *Nub.* 341. Schmidt (p. 205,) is therefore wrong in distinguishing winter and spring dithyrambs, and in assigning to the one a melancholy, to the other a gay character. Had this distinction existed, tragedies would in like manner have been acted only in winter, and comedies only in spring. But mention is nowhere made of winter dithyrambs, but solely of spring dithyrambs, which may have been entitled spring paeans, like those above mentioned of the Locrian Xenocritus (Plut. *De Mus.* 10,) which were connected with the oracle delivered to the Locrians, charging them to sing spring paeans, in order to cure the madness of their wives, (Schmidt, p. 205, n. 102.) The dithyrambs celebrated the birth of Dionysus (Plat. *Legg.* III. p. 700,) that is, the prelude made to the return of a better season of the year, by storms and capricious changes of weather. This March and April weather, in which, with us, "the devil bleaches his grandmother" (i. e. visits her with showers and sunshine alternately,) falls much earlier in southern regions. With these manifestations of the god corresponds the purport of the dithyrambs to which Aristophanes alludes, (*Clouds*, 335:)

Ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐποίουν ὑγρᾶν Νεφελᾶν στρεπταιγλᾶν δαῖον ὁρμὰν,
πλοκάμους θ' ἑκατογκεφάλα Τυφῶ πρημαινούσας τε θυέλλας,
εἶτ' ἀερίας, διερὰς, γαμψοὺς οἰωνοὺς ἀερονηχεῖς,
ὄμβρους θ' ὑδάτων δροσερᾶν Νεφελᾶν· ἔιτ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν κατέπινον
κεστρᾶν τεμάχη μεγαλᾶν ἀγαθᾶν, κρέα τ' ὀρνίθεια καχηλᾶν.

We now pass on to the second change effected in the dithyramb, which was mainly brought about by the poets engaged in the employ of the Attic phylae.[13] This innovation consisted in abandoning the symmetry of strophes, and in developing the dithyramb into a formal melodrama. The most important

[13] Κυκλιοδιδάσκαλος, ὃς ταῖσι φυλαῖς στρεμμάχηταί ἰσ' ἀὶ, Arist. *Av.* 1392. with the Schol. ἰκάστη γὰς φυλὴ Διονυσίοις τρίφυ διθυραμβοποιόν. s. Bernhardy, *Gr. Litt. Gesch.* II. p. 445.

evidence on this subject is furnished us by Aristotle, *Probl.* XIX. 15, where he observes, that the dithyramb, since the time it became dramatic, had no more strophes and antistrophes as heretofore; the reason being, that formerly the chorus was executed by freemen themselves. Now, it was not very feasible for a very large number to combine dramatic contests with song, (ἀγωνιστικῶς ᾄδειν,) for which reason unharmonic melodies were more generally sung. An individual could more easily make transitions of all kinds than a number of persons; and an actor than a chorus, who would have to preserve the ethos: consequently, songs of a more simple character were composed for them; now the antistrophic form is simple, as it admits of counting, and is of single measure. For the same reason was it that, on the other hand, "the songs on the stage" (τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς) were not antistrophic, while those of the chorus were so. For the person who gave them utterance was an actor, while the chorus was less dramatic. This is as much confirmed as explained by the observations of Dionyius, (*De Comp.* c. 19.) on strophic systems. "Whereas, in prose," says he, "the tone (ἁρμονία) may undergo continual changes, this arbitrariness is excluded from *melos;* for the melos of the strophe and antistrophe must harmonise, and whether unharmonic or harmonic, or diatonic melody, the same sequence (ἀγωγή,) must be preserved through all the strophes and antistrophes; and equally as little can the *time* prevailing be varied, as it is not till in the epode that melody and *time* can both be altered. It is only in those members which compose the periods that manifold variety is admissible; so that their extent and metrical formation may incessantly vary, till the strophe is brought in, for then the same measures and the same numbers must succeed one another. Now, the ancient poets, such as Alcæus and Sappho, composed short strophes, so that, in the few numbers they had to deal with, they did not introduce many variations; and epodes they used but very rarely. Stesichorus, however, and Pindar, and their immediate successors, composed more extensive periods, and thus divided them into numerous measures, from no other motive than a love of variety. The dithyrambic poets again varied the *modes* also (τρόπους), employing Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian, in one and the same piece. They also varied the melodies, using at one time enharmonic, at another chromatic, at another diatonic·

and as to *time*, they took the most unbounded licenses: so at least did Philoxenus, Timotheus, and Telestes; for, among the ancients, the dithyramb was full of order and regularity (τεταγμένος)."

This last does not run counter to what Plutarch (*De Mus.* c. 29) states of Lasus, that he had already introduced a reformation into ancient music, by giving to his rythms a dithyrambic turn, and by availing himself of the flexibility of the flute, and using more numerous and more varied musical sounds. As regards Pindar, the fragments of the first dithyramb, already more than once cited, give evidence of strophic composition; see Bergk., p. 229. The larger fragment preserved by Dionysius has certainly the appearance of being incapable of division into strophes and antistrophes: but what is there to hinder our taking the whole as a single strophe? Again, on the severe and manly character of his dithyrambs, we have the testimony of Aristides.[14] This external and internal arrangement underwent a change, and that, as it would seem, from the time of Simonides, with whom Aristophanes is but indifferently satisfied. For, first, in the place of the strophes were substituted pieces called ἀναβολαί (Germ. *Absaetze.*) What these were, may be gathered clearly enough from Aristotle, *Rhet.* III. 9, B.; so that there was no occasion to have spoken so vaguely of "certain runs by way of prelude:" (see Müller, *Hist. of Lit. of Anc. Greece*, ch. XXX. § 3.); for he says, in speaking of the construction of periods, that a too extended one leaves the hearers in the lurch, as when a man rambles on beyond his destination, leaving his fellow way-farers behind: in like manner a too extended period becomes quite prosy, (λόγος γίγνεται) and like the anabole, so that the same ridicule might be applied to the one which Democritus aimed at the other. For the musician Democritus of Chios, (*Diog. Laert.* IX. 7, 49.) was very indignant at the ἀναβολαί, which Melanippides had brought into vogue, and applied to them a verse of Hesiod, (*Op. et D.* 274.) Οἵ τ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνήρ, ἄλλῳ κακὰ τεύχων· Ἡ δὲ μακρ' ἀναβολὴ τῷ ποιήσαντι κακίστη. If, now, the *anabolae* were analogous to pe-

[14] T. II. p. 295. Οἶδὰ μὲν οἶδὰ τῶν Πινδάρου διθυράμβων ὅτι χρὴ καταγνῶναι τοιοῦτον οἷον Πλάτων ἐπητιάσατο ἴσως ἔχω, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοὺς διθυράμβους στασιῶν, ἀνδρειότερον δέσποιν ἔχοντας καὶ στερεώτερον ἢ ὡς ἐκείνων, τῷ δακτυλοστασίαστιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν κ. τ. λ.

riods, and supplied the place of strophes and antistrophes, (Arist. *Rhet.* III. 9, B,) they could not have been mere preludes. It is certainly true that ἀναβολή is used as synonymous with προοίμιον, an introduction, (Eustath. *Od.* α. p. 38, 25; Suidas.) But every strophe, which has been preceded by another, and every anabole, is as it were a fresh opening. So Dionys. Hal. π. Δημοσθ. δειν. p. 190. 2, and *Isocr.* p. 100, 6, uses the word ἀναβεβλημένος as synonymous with διεστώς and ὄπτιος, of periods which are not closely united, but stand aloof from one another in paragraphs. In one word, then, ἀναβολαί are the same as what the strophes were, but had no uniformity of time, tone, or measure, and were very long, just like the stage songs (τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς) in tragedy. They also served the same purpose as these, namely, that of forming monodies which the leaders alone delivered, as the dithyramb had now been converted into a melodrama. We must here bear in mind what Plato tells us (*Legg.* p. 700, D.) of the poets of that day, how, from a wild extravagance, and an undue indulgence of their own fancies, they mixed up themes, and hymns, and paeans, with the dithyramb, and imitated the sounds of the flute on the cithara. By composing such poems as these, he continues, and attempting to justify their summary proceedings by argument, they have brought to pass, that even the theatrical public have found themselves a voice, and set themselves up as connoisseurs of the beautiful, and that thus a wretched *mobocracy* had taken the place of the aristocracy. All the complaints about the mixture of rhythms, harmonies, and melodies,—about bold licenses in language, and the degenerate state of music, would seem to be solely directed against these ἀναβολαὶ, which Aristophanes (*Pac.* 830, *Av.* 1385) calls "the air-tossed," "snow-beaten," representing them as chased after by the souls of poets which rove about through the heavens. These later dithyrambs, however, were in no wise composed of such ἀναβολαί alone; for then, how could the co-operation of the choruses have been secured, which were invariably retained? Comp. Aristoph. *Av.* 1379, Gerytad. fr. 1, Bergk. p. 117, (a passage which Ælian, X. 6. had in view,) Æschin. *Ctesiph.* p. 625, (232,) Plut. *Vit. Lyc. Orat.* p. 252, Hesych. and *Etym. Magn.* s. v. κύκλιοι χοροὶ. When Aristophanes in Plutarch *de Mus.* c. 20. asserts, that Philoxenus inserted songs among the cyclic choruses, (μέλη εἰσηνέγκατο,) it is impossible that anything else can be meant by it except monodies (cantica.) For the

notion of some commentators, that Plutarch, by sheer misconception, had gathered this statement merely from Aristophanes, *Plut.* 290, is of no value, as the passage in question furnishes no handle for such a misinterpretation. It is also of the ἀναβολαὶ that we must understand what Theophrastus observes of the rhythm of the dithyramb in Cicero *de Orat.* III. 48, 184. "A polished and highly finished piece of prose, says he, should not be shackled, but loose and easy in its cadences. For he conjectures, that out of those measures of which the ordinary anapæstic verse[15] is composed, there grew up a somewhat more protracted rhythm; out of this again flowed the bold and copious dithyramb, whose feet and measures are scattered over every piece of rich prose." The protracted rhythm which Theophrastus believed to have arisen from the anapæst, is the bacchius, in which the dithyrambs were mostly composed.[16] In consequence of the expansions and contractions of which it is susceptible, it is a rhythm very difficult to recognise; and as to these there were added the transitions and alternations mentioned above, these loose compositions (ἀπολελυμένα) seemed to bear no inconsiderable resemblance to rhythmic prose. This looseness of metre was rendered necessary by the ascendancy which music had acquired, as we learn from Plutarch, *De Mus.* c. 12. After reviewing the changes made in rhythm by Terpander, and with them, those of Polymnestus, Thaletas, Sacadas, Alcman, and Stesichorus, to all of which he gives his approval, he goes on as follows:—"Krexus, however, and Timotheus, and Philoxenus, and the contemporary poets, were more violent in their love of innovation, as they cherished the so-called φιλάνθρωπον and the θεματικόν. A weak accompaniment, and the stern simplicity of music was now looked upon as altogether antiquated." The same writer tells us, c. 30, Melanippides, and Philoxenus, and Timotheus, abandoned what had hitherto been the standard in music, the latter dividing the seven-stringed lyre into several more strings: flute-music, too, had lost its simple style for one of an intricate and complicated character. In old times, indeed, previous to the dithyrambic poet Melanip-

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[15] The word *anapaestus* must change places with the preposition *post*, in order that the sense may be correct.

[16] Comp. Schol. Hephæst., p. 159. Gaisf. ἐπλάθη δὲ οὗτος (βάκχιος) ἐκ τῶν διυαμβοποιῶν περὶ Διόνυσον ὕμνου ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέτρῳ ᾄσαν.

pides, the musicians were hired by the poets, and the poetry held the first place, the musicians being looked upon as subordinate to the poets; but after him, things degenerated."[17] These, and other complaints, do but re-echo the prattle of the comic poets, among whom Pherecrates, for instance, introduced a personification of music with a body wretchedly mangled, and put into her mouth an answer to the question of justice, as to who it was who had handled her thus roughly.[17] All these charges, together with the scoffs and jibes of Aristophanes, (comp. *Nub.* 970, 333,) and the disapprobation of the romantic Plato, and the aversion of the narrow-minded Spartans, (see Plutarch, *Lac. Apophth.* p. 142, *Agis.* 10; Athen. p. 636, E.) sound exactly like the complaints of elderly gentlemen and hypochondriacs, on the degeneracy of the world. For what can we say, seeing that Pratinas had already expressed himself in a similar strain (see above,) on the innovations of Lasus?[18] Is it not clear from this, that it was the inevitable destiny of the dithyramb to follow this direction? Assuredly, modern writers ought to feel some compunction at repeating these opinions so thoughtlessly, as they must know it to be a palpable truth, that music must of necessity have won for itself this supremacy. And there are not wanting important authorities among the ancients, who confirm our

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[17] "Melanippides commenced my ill-treatment, by putting me out of joint with his twelve chords. Still, he was moderate enough, compared with the injustice I now endure. Cinesias, however, that cursed Athenian, ruined me completely with those discordant bends of his in the strophe, so that in dithyrambic poetry, as in shields, the right now seems to be the left. Still, this was tolerable. But Phrynnis introduced a peculiar kind of whirl of sound, and quite annihilated me with his turnings and twistings, for he had twelve modes on five strings. Yet he contented himself with this, and what he spoiled in one way, he made amends for in another. But Timotheus, my dear, has pulled and knocked me about in the most infamous manner. 'Who is this Timotheus?' A certain red head (Πυῤῥίας) of Miletus has done me this mischief. He surpassed all whom I have mentioned by his singular ant's crawl, (comp. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 100, μύρμηκος ἀτραπιτός, ἢ τί διαμινύρεται; Transl.) and when he gets hold of me, he makes mince-meat of me with his twelve strings."

[18] "What uproar is that? What mean these dances? What outrage has been committed on the well-trodden thymele of Dionysus? Mine, mine is Bromius! I must lift up my voice; I must raise a shout, rushing along the mountains with the Naiads, and leading off the song, like a swan with varied wing. It is to *song* that the muse gave the sovereignty,—the flute must yield its place; for it is an underling, &c." s. Bergk, P. G. C. p. 842.

judgment. To transcribe their words, does not lie within the compass of our design. We merely refer the reader to Aristotle, *Metaph.* c. 1.; Phanias in Athen. p. 638, C., Euripides in Plutarch, *An Seni sit ger. resp.* p. 305. Bas.; Alexander the Great in Suidas, s. v.; Τιμόθεος. Harpalus in *Plut. Vit. Alexand.* c. 8.; the Arcadians in Athen. XIV. p. 625; and Polyb. IV. 20. As regards the language of these dithyrambic poets, what we find in Aristoph. *Nub.* 335. sqq. might make us believe that it was extremely extravagant and preposterous. But how does this tally with what Antiphanes, for instance, says of Philoxenus, (Athen. p. 643. D.)?

Does not Proclus expressly remark, that the dithyramb in its rhythm and movements is violent, but in its language simple; while, in the nomos, (which bears the same relation to the dithyramb that epos does to tragedy,) the reverse is the case. We must, however, take into account the characteristic distinctions of poets. For Horace says of Pindar, "per audaces nova dithyrambos verba devolvit," (*Od.* IV. 2, 10.); and Aristotle, (*Rhet.* III. 3.) finds compound expressions suited to dithyrambs.

It is now time to pass on to the other innovation in the dithyramb, by which it came to wear a dramatic character. This we shall best be able to understand if we fix before our mind the *Cyclops* of Philoxenus, concerning which, considerable information with some fragments has reached us. The poet came forward in it as a love-sick Polyphemus, with a napsack on his shoulder and a cithara in his hand, for the purpose of serenading Galatea, (καθαρίζων τὴν Γαλάτειαν,) and was accompanied by a chorus of goats and rams, whom he urged to be assiduous in bleating to his song.

ἀλλ' εἶα, τέκεα, θαμίν' ἐπαναβοῶντες.

Under the character of the Cyclops was meant the weak-sighted tyrant Dionysius, and the nymph Galatea represented his mistress, who bore the same name, while the poet himself was denoted by Odysseus. The fact was, that out of jealousy he had been confined by the tyrant to the stone-quarries, and in revenge composed this dithyramb, when he had escaped from his confinement to his home at Cythera. (Phanias, in Athen. I. p. 7, Schol. *Aristoph. Plut.* 290, Duris of Samos in Schol. *Theocr.* V. 7, does not contradict this statement.) Before, however, the poet introduced these characters on the stage, he

spoke in his own person words which were placed in the mouth of the chorus, if Bergk is right in concluding that frag. 6. is the commencement of the dithyramb:—

συμβαλοῦμαί τι μέλος εἰς ἔρωτα,

which has, however been disputed by Schneidewin, p. 1100. In the tale of love with which the Cyclops then makes his debût, the tamed monster extols the charms of his adored one, piece by piece; on the eyes alone does he keep silence, (Athen. XIII. p. 564. E., Eustath. *Od.* ζ. 167.) This was accompanied by lively dancing, and the chorus chimed in with a pretty bleating of goats' songs, (αἰγῶν μέλη,) accompanied with capers. Aristoph. *Plut.* 291; Schol. *Hor.* II. 2, 125. This is also to be gathered from the fragments,

ὦ καλλιπρόσωπε
χρυσεοβόστρυχε Γαλάτεια χαριτόφωνε, κάλλος Ἐρώτων
. . . . . .
ὦ λευκοτέρα καὶ γάλακτος.[19]

The Cyclops very poetically calls upon the dolphins to hearken, and bids them say to Galatea, how he is soothing the pangs of love with music and with song.

Μούσαισιν εὐφώνοις ἰώμενος τὸν Ἔρωτα.

Schol. *Theocr.* XI. 1, Plut. *Erot.* c. 18, *Quæst. Symp.* I. 5.

After this the Cyclops finds Odysseus and his companions (who naturally would form the second half of the chorus,) in the cavern, and the sight of him rouses his appetite for human flesh. By way of a pretext he taxes him with having slaughtered some of his sheep, and says he should therefore, in all justice, be himself slaughtered in return.

ἔθυσας, ἀντιθύσῃ.—*Suidas*, s. v.

He is then made intoxicated by Odysseus, and, with the aid of his companions, blinded, not, however, it would seem, without the concurrence of the goats, whom Euripides has transformed

[19] This fragment was derived by W. M. Schmidt from Himer. I. 19, ed. Wernsd.; he, however, reads λευκότατος, whereas in Himerius there stands λευκότητος. Theocr. XI. 19, and Gregor. *on Hermog.* p. 914, which Schmidt himself quotes, shew what ought to be the reading. Schneidewin, p. 1100, reads, ὦ λευκότατος καὶ γάλακτος λευκερίας.

into Satyrs. This we learn from an allusion in Aristoph. *Plut.* 290, &c., with the commentators. To the intoxication must be referred two fragments which Schmidt has quoted,

εὑρείτας οἶνος πάμφωνος—ἀρχεσίγυιος.

While the Cyclops slept, there is no doubt that Odysseus, as he was summoning courage for his task, sang the plaintive words,

οἴῳ μ' ὁ δαίμων τέρατι συγκαθεῖρξεν!

This dithyrambus, which by Zenobius is called a drama, (in the same way that the poet himself is termed at one time διθυραμβοποίος, at another, διθυραμβοδιδάσκαλος,) differed from the drama of Euripides by the fact that it had two choruses, (in two halves of twelve each,) whose leaders acted parts singly and together, parts which were not very different from those of their choruses, excepting that both the monologues and dialogues were in lyric metre, being sung like "stage-songs" (τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς). The fame of this piece is attested not only by numerous citations and allusions, but also by the imitations of it, of which the most celebrated is that by Theocritus, and the criticisms which have reached us, e. g. that of Ælian, *V. H.* XII. 44, and of Hermesianax, (Athen. XIII. 598, E.,) and also by a statue of Polyphemus preserved to this day. (Schmidt, p. 67.)

The manner in which Aristotle, *Poet.* 2, 4, brings forward this *Cyclops* of Philoxenus as an instance of a comic dithyrambus, proves to us that the dithyrambs of that period were not by any means all of the same character. Of the remaining twenty-four dithyrambs of Philoxenus, the titles of three or four have been discovered, namely, Μυσοί, (Aristot. *Pol.* VIII. 7,) Σύρος, (Suidas, s. v. μεσαύχενες,) Κωμαστής, (Suidas, s. v. Ἀντιγενίδας,) and Φαέθων.[20] In the Mysiaus, he endeavoured, as Aristotle says, to apply the Doric measure, but was unable to execute his design, falling involuntarily into the Phrygian, as the nature of the piece required. Whether the description of the banquet, of which Athenæus has handed down to us such enigmatical fragments, was an independent poem, I much doubt. It might very well form part of a dithyramb, as these poems were of considerable extent.

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[20] The last named dithyramb Schmidt infers from Plin. *H. N.* XXXVII. 11. 1, with Schneidewin's concurrence.

Such a humorous description of a carouse, delivered with such laughable solemnity, would be admirably suited for a dithyramb. It would then be an instance of the *narrative* parts of the later dithyramb, which remained with the chorus; and we should have further to inquire whether it was not divisible into strophes and antistrophes, as seems probable from the trochees inserted between the dactyls. (Schmid. p. 52.)

Philoxenus flourished about the 95th Olympiad, and was a pupil of Melanippides,[21] who lived before and during the Peloponnesian war, was a friend of the Macedonian king Perdiccas, (Thuc. I. 57,) at whose court he died, and past for the first master in the dithyramb, as Homer in epos, Sophocles in tragedy, and Polycletes in the plastic art. Xenoph. *Mem.* I. 4, 3. It was from him that the idea originated of composing "anaboles" instead of strophes. He was the grandson of a poet of the same name, who would also appear to have composed dithyrambs, but which, if they really existed, were no doubt as much thrown into the shade by the works of his grandson, as the tragedies of the celebrated Euripides eclipsed those of the grandfather and son. Schmidt then acts very inconsiderately in assigning half of the fragments to the grandfather, for reasons which are absolutely null.[22] As the titles of his dithyrambs, there have been handed down to us the names Μαρσύας, Δαναΐδες, Περσεφόνη. The Marsyas contained, as fr. 2. shews, (p. 848, Bergk.) a contest on the flute with a stringed instrument. It is probable that on the one side Apollo appeared as choragus of the Muses, and on the other, Marsyas as that of the Satyrs; and the one probably acted a part of dignified solemnity, the other of laughter and merriment. The Danaids, in the Dithyramb which bore their name, did not come on as a chorus; the story of them was narrated as of unwomanly Amazons, (οὐδὲ παρθένων φόρεον μορφᾶεν εἶδος, Schneidewin), &c.

Two other great masters were Phrynnis and Timotheus, whose relation to one another, Aristotle (*Metaph.* I. p. 393, B.) points out in the following terms: "Had there been no Timotheus, we should have missed many compositions (μελοποιΐαν), and had there been no Phrynnis, no Timotheus would have

[21] This connection is doubted by Schneidewin, p. 1099; his reasons, however, I cannot clearly see.

[22] Schneidewin, p. 1100, agrees with my opinion. He adds Bernhardy and Emperius.

started up." Timotheus thinks himself blessed in having gained a victory over Phrynnis: μακάριος ἦσθα, Τιμόθεε, ὅτε κήρυξ εἶπε · νικᾷ Τιμόθεος ὁ Μιλήσιος τὸν Κάμωνος τὸν ἰωνοκάμπταν. The expression ἰωνοκάμπτας, may probably imply the same as the words of Aristophanes, δυσκολοκάμπτους κάμπας, and of Pollux, κλάσαι τὴν ᾠδὴν ἐπὶ τὸ μαλθακώτερον. It redounds highly to the honour of Phrynnis that he is so often derided by Aristophanes, and scarcely less so, that the ephors wished to cut off two of his nine strings. (Schmidt, 89-95.)

Timotheus, however, the contemporary of Euripides, probably occupied the most important place of all, and distinguished himself in many branches of lyric poetry, boasting with justice of the innovations he had made, fr. 8. Bergk. Of his eighteen dithyrambs, we know first of all the Cyclops, the fragments of which betray a dramatic formation. Thus Odysseus boasts of the wine given him by Maron, almost in Homer's words, (*Od.* IX. 209).

ἔπλησε δ' ἓν μὲν δέπας κίσσινον μέλαινας
σταγόνος ἐμβρότας ἀφρῷ βρύαζον
εἴκοσιν δ' ὕδατος μέτρ' ἀνέχευεν, ἔμισγε δ'
αἷμα Βακχίου νεορρύτοις δακρύοισι Νυμφᾶν.

Polyphemus lying drunk upon the ground, seems to be indicated in the following words,

τεταμένον ὀρίγανα διὰ μυελοτρεφῆ.

The blind Cyclops, when he is hunting for Odysseus and cannot find him, comforts himself with the reflection that he cannot escape him.

οὗτοι τόν γ' ὑπεραμπέχοντ' οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβήσει.

See "Bippart, *Phil., Tim., Telestis, &c. Reliquiae*, Leipz. 1843." A second dithyramb, entitled Ὠδίν, seems to have brought Semele on the stage, while perishing in the pangs of labour.—Athen. VIII. 352.

Telestes is coupled by Diodorus, XIV. 46, and Dionysius, *Comp. Verb.* c. 19, with the first masters, Philoxenus and Timotheus, with whom he flourished almost contemporaneously, about Ol. XCV., and Harpalus sent his dithyrambs with Alexander to Asia. Of this poet Athenæus has furnished us with some

fragments having reference to music, together with the titles Ἀργώ, Ἀσκληπιός, and Ὑμέναιος. But to have conquered Timotheus, is the boast of Polyidus; Philotas, however, a pupil of the former, asserts that his performances bore the same relation to those of Timotheus, that decrees do to laws.—Athen. VIII. p. 532, B. We are acquainted with a dithyramb of his called Ἄτλας, in which Atlas bore the character of a herdsman, probably a monster like Polyphemus, and like him too, attended by a chorus either of herdsmen or of mere animals. For he made a resistance to Perseus and stopped his passage, asking him who he was, and whence he came. Perseus endeavoured to win his favour, but ultimately found himself compelled to turn him into stone by means of the Gorgo.—*Etym. M.* p. 104, 20. Schmidt. p. 123. Here again their dramatic action is not to be mistaken.

Cinesias too, ought not to be lightly valued, and that for the very fact that Aristophanes has made him so conspicuous. By means of these masters, the dithyramb reached a high reputation, insomuch that, next to tragedy, it was recognised as the most important branch of poetry.—Comp. Plat. *Apol.* c. 7. Aristot. *Poet.* c. 1. On this account, the orator Lycurgus, in taking measures to gi e lustre to the three first tragedians, and to preserve their works in an unadulterated form, did not at the same time lose sight of the dithyramb, but enacted that regular contests should be held in the Piræeus with cyclic choruses, and that the first prize should not be less than ten minæ, the second than eight, the third than six.

Thus, I hope, I have refuted those singular notions which the moderns have formed of the Dithyramb, and which have received partial confirmation by foolish imitations. They are founded on a misapprehension of what ancient writers state concerning the frenzy of enthusiasm, which this class of poetry is said to have shown, but which means nothing more than a disposition and a placing into various situations, which it was their object to imitate.

J. A. HARTUNG.

SCHLEUSINGEN.

## XXIV.

## EXPLANATION OF THE GROUPS IN THE WESTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

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"Ohne das richtige Verständniss des Mythos ist keine vollständige Erklärung eines mythischen Bildwerks möglich."

FORCHHAMMER, *Die Geburt der Athene.*

THE principal mythological and historical questions that have been debated respecting the sculptured groups of the pediments of the Parthenon, have had reference to—

*First*, The determination of the precise incident that formed the subject of either composition: the point of time selected by the sculptor as for his purpose the most significant among the succession of events that make up every single mythological incident.

*Secondly*, The assignment of names to the various figures of the groups as they are preserved to us in the fragments, and in the drawings of Carrey, and the nature of their concern and participation in the principal action.

*Thirdly*, The conjectural restoration of the compositions, as regards the divinities or heroes that may probably be supposed to have occupied the spaces, for which we have neither drawings nor assignable fragments to guide us, their names, attitudes, costume, occupation, &c.

*Fourthly*, The assignment of places to various minor fragments, and the identification of those that really have claim to a position.

The settlement of these questions would help us far on our way towards the appreciation of the genius of Pheidias, as exerted in probably the most important and extensive production he ever executed of the kind; it would acquaint us with his conception of a composition as a whole which otherwise lies before us in ruins, and add to the contemplation of these remains the same enhancement that would be conferred on a single figure, by collecting broken members scattered through different museums, each a wonder, and admired in itself as unrivalled when apart, and combining them into a restored and

THE WESTE

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Poseidon | — | — | — | Colonus | — |
| Zeus | — | Vesta | — | Ares | Aphrodite |
| Poseidon | — | — | — | Dionusos | Libera |
| — | — | Demeter | — | Halirrhotius | Euryte |
| — | Hippocampæ | Galene | — | Cephisus | Praxithoe or Callirhoe |
| — | — | Thetis or Nereid | — | Ares or Cephisus | Vesta or Callirhoe |
| — | — | — | — | — | — |
| — | — | Euryte | Cephisus | Ilissus | Callirhoe |
| — | — | Peitho | — | Theseus | Callirhoe |
| Poseidon | Hippocampæ | Tethys | — | Ilissus | Callirhoe |

6. *Ancient Mar*
7. *Annali dell'*
8. *The Topogra*
9. *On the Scul*
*Classical*

perfect statue. It would do more,—only by such a settlement can we escape from the humiliating thought, that in the remains of these grand compositions, chief works of the wisest age and master of plastic art, we can arrive at no more than the appreciation of their technical excellence as models of detail and execution; and that in respect of poetical or religious import, and of art also as poetical and religious, they are to us, after all our study, meaningless and dumb.

A better result, however, does not appear very immediately in prospect; the differences of opinion that are current upon the subject in almost every point among men learned, sagacious, and not deficient in fine sympathy with Attic art, are so extreme, that great errors must necessarily have been committed, and in no field of criticism, it is probable, are errors so great to be associated with such great names.

Of all the critics who have bestowed attention on the subject, not one perhaps has been more entitled by his accomplishments to command assent to an opinion deliberately adopted than the last, Professor F. G. Welcker; none certainly have better stated the æsthetical conditions that a satisfactory elucidation of the subject must fulfil; yet I believe that, from whatever cause, his own commentary on many, and even capital points on which he speaks most decidedly, is at least as far from satisfactory as any that have gone before.

Such comparative failures might well deter from a renewed attempt, were it not that in these enquiries a sort of exhaustive principle seems frequently to come into play; foregone errors are knowledge and experience to those who come after, in archæology as in north-west passage explorations: truth is coy, and does not come forth and declare herself until she has been searched for "in every cranny but the right," and then she sometimes yields herself a prize to the investigator, whose chief merit is, that he is the last comer,—that when better men had failed, and were weary, he had still the zeal,—I prefer to call it, to look again: genius has vainly searched for the treasure in the etherial products of its fine distillation, and commonplace perseverance finds it a residual phenomenon, neglected as a *caput mortuum* at the bottom of the pot.

At any rate, whatever may be the value of Professor Welcker's explanation, he himself furnishes apol[illegible] encouragement for further enquiry, declaring, "[illegible]tances

no one ought to keep back his thoughts who has reason to believe that he has arrived at a higher degree of certainty in understanding the ideas of a Pheidias, as expressed in one of his greatest, and in many respects undoubtedly his greatest works."

With this sincere and respectful acknowledgment, which applies equally to the eloquent and profound comments of Professor Gerhard, I must take leave for a time of the consciousness of my temerity; if my opinions have any worth in any points, it will be for the ease of my readers no less than the advantage of the subject, that I should in the sequel disembarrass myself of any considerations extraneous to the argument, and state the opinions I entertain, with the degree of positiveness with which I entertain them.

Pausanias states the subjects of the compositions in either pediment of the Parthenon with the same conciseness that pervades his entire description of the Attic Acropolis; numerous and elaborate works descriptive of this great centre of Hellenic art and religion were extant in his time, and he could not anticipate that the world would ever permit them to perish, or having done so, would recover interest in their subject, and have his work to look to, to supply the loss.

Brief, however, as his words are, they afford most important information as to the missing sculptures, and are entitled to high authority by their exact agreement with what remain, and as notes on the spot of an experienced observer of approved accuracy. His notice of the subject of the eastern front has spared a world of discussion that otherwise must have arisen in consequence of the loss of the entire central group, and in what discussion there is still room for, as to the exact point of view or moment of time selected in each case by the artist, his evidence comes in to confirm the conclusion that is most strongly supported by other considerations.

His words are,—"As one enters the temple that they call the Parthenon, the sculpture in the pediment all has reference to the birth of Athènè; that at the back is the quarrel of Poseidon with Athènè about the country."[1]

Thus, for the chief exterior embellishments of the greatest

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[1] Ἐς δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὃν Παρθενῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς τοῦτον ἰσιοῦσιν, ἐτέα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κεῖται, πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν. τὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ἡ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστιν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς.—*Paus.* i. 24, 5.

temple of the Attic goddess, the artist chose, first, the incident which was the most striking and glorious among the legends of the daughter of ægis-bearing Zeus, as regarded herself; and secondly, that which reflected her glory most peculiarly on the land of Attica; the first incident appropriated to the principal front was essentially cosmical, and at least, of common interest to all who owned the godhead; the second as peculiarly mundane, or even national. The first, by its nature, embodies the admiration of the Man, of the wondrous and divine origin of the Virgin Power; the second typifies and acknowledges the pride and gratitude of the Athenian for special favour and protection. The egotism of the dedicator is unapparent in the first subject in the blaze of supernatural splendour; in the second, egotism is admitted as the necessary spring of all individual action, and the root of sympathy, but in the ennobled form of gratitude and reliance. We shall see hereafter how the artist succeeded in giving an Attic colour to the more peculiarly cosmical subject of his Attic temple, and communicated cosmical meaning and interest to the mythus more immediately mundane and local.

Still, the general subjects being chosen, and their general scope a necessary result, considerable range was open to the artist among the various moments of time and modes of treatment available for each; and from the little correspondence that has yet been traced between the sculptures and mythus, it is clear that the limitation of this range becomes the grand problem; till this is effected, the subjects can scarcely be said to be definitely identified: what, we must enquire, on comparison of all the evidence, was the selection made by Pheidias, and by what considerations of appropriateness and preferableness does he appear to have been influenced?

The testimony of Pausanias, if we attend carefully and strictly to his words, an attention to which on every account they are entitled, is to the effect, that the sculptures of the eastern front formed an entire and single subject, and that this had reference to the birth of Athènè; that is, they did not represent the actual birth from the cleft head of the thunderer, as we see it painted on vases, and as it was even sculptured as a distinct group on the Acropolis, (*Paus.* I. 24, 4.) but some moment either before or after, having direct relation to it. That some moment

e birth, would follow independently, if

only from the improbability that the goddess was absent from her own pediment, and the figures and groups that remain, if carefully studied, will be found to confirm the conclusion.

With regard to the western front, to which we must at present restrict ourselves, the same witness speaks with equal clearness, to the effect, that the main action was at its height. The sculptures here are not spoken of as having *reference* to the dispute of the divinities, they *are* the dispute itself; they represent the contest waged, not the provocation of it, not its conclusion;—not specially the victory of Athene, not emphatically the discomfiture of Poseidon.

Such a definition of the subject, however, by the laws of extensive historical compositions, does not exclude from the represented present, the intimation of the moment, or event immediately preceding or ensuing. Thus, the representation of Athene as the new-born goddess, would naturally combine indications of the circumstances of her birth, and we may expect to find in the group of quarreling gods, and its concomitants, indications at least of the assignment of victory.

The encounter, it is to be farther observed, is a quarrel, not a simple contention, ἐρις not δίκη, an occasion for the exhibition of petulance and temper, not a submission to arbitration or dictation, by mutual consent or superior compulsion.

The characters of the two incidents, a quarrel in progress and a quarrel concluded, are in fact so distinct, that we are entitled to expect that the style and expression of the composition, even apart from the identification of the names and occupations of subordinate figures, declared unmistakeably which of the two was represented, and prompted and justified the decided words of Pausanias. This was much more likely to have been the case when the groups were in their original positions and preservation, than now when we have but mutilated fragments, and indifferent copies of a bad drawing, to assist us in realizing their effect. Nevertheless, even these materials may enable us, if we give them fair play, to recognise the character of the action, in the restoration of the positions and gestures of the two divinities who form the central group.

According to the restoration given by Müller in his engraving, and apparently adopted by Welcker, the face of Athene was seen in profile, and turned away from Poseidon, and in the direction of the horses; she was therefore, according to this view,

decidedly moving in this direction,—hastening to her chariot, according to Welcker, after her victory over Poseidon in the quarrel; or if we accept the interpretation of Müller, restraining the horses by a second bridle, or thong, and by this act asserting her superiority to the god regarded as the creator of them.

With respect to the first view of her action, it is not easy to understand how the sculptor could have succeeded in imparting the expression of victory and triumph to a figure quitting the field of contest with such precipitancy in the face of a powerful antagonist; and such a departure is inconsistent with the collocation of the figures on any plan of restoration. Athene cannot be hastening with such energy to ascend her chariot in a direction where, from her relative position and vehement movement, her next step must either bring her into collision with the fore legs of the outer horse that extend in front of her, or carry her between the pair.

There are equal objections to the view of Müller; from the gestures of the charioteer, it is clear that the horses, although rearing, are sufficiently under control, without the assistance of the goddess; or the goddess, at least, should be equal to the task of restraining them without such an amount of assistance from the charioteer, as would signally detract from the brilliancy of her achievement. It is, however, simply impossible to restore the arm of the goddess as restraining the horses, without a most unhappy confusion of lines and masses from the interference of the arm with the composition of the heads of the animals.

The symmetrical opposition of the two figures is alone sufficient to convince me that the looks of Athene, like those of Poseidon, were directed towards the rival power; and that their attention was mutually engaged with each other. Her right arm is raised easily in the direction of her movement with almost exulting vivacity, and its indicated position is alone sufficient to prove that her face was turned the other way. Her left leg and foot are behind the right of the god, but her right knee approaches more nearly than his position to the edge of the cornice; and from the vie n of the fracture, or stump, of her left arm, before him, and outwards from the p e thus in a manner interlaced, th

and it is by this arrangement, together with contrasted yet symmetrical gesture, that the ideas of contention and rivalry are so perfectly expressed. The manner in which the exact tone of this rivalry—the tenor of the contention—are embodied, requires more exact elucidation.

The two divinities divide the centre of the pediment between them, and we easily recognize, in the groups of figures of less imposing proportions on either side, their several adherents or followers; but we do not see in the adjustment of movements and masses, indications of consternation or dejection on the side of Poseidon, nor unequivocal triumph in the party of Athene. And so with the gods themselves; the action of Poseidon is a start, a recoil, ἰδὼν παλίνορσος ἀπέστη; and Athene rushes forth and forward, and takes her position in the space he must a moment before have been on the point of occupying, and thus appears as crossing his path; his attitude, however, retains indication of the vigour of a previous advancing movement, and of his still indignant spirit, although the predominant expression of the figure is that of surprise and disappointment at a sudden and powerful check.

His right foot, leg, and arm, are advanced beyond the central line of the pediment, and encroach on the half that, as indicated by the symmetrical plan, pertains to Athene, and the turn of his head expresses unabated resolution: at the same time his entire trunk falls within the central line, it is inclined downwards, and in the opposite direction, and its entire weight is thrown on the left—the at once weakest and retiring leg and foot. It is thus that the effect of the power and strength of the mighty figure is corrected; and that its position, while retaining the expression of a vigorous preceding exertion, is at the moment of the scene essentially weak and disadvantageous for a combatant. That Pheidias represented the two powers as coming to blows, is not pretended or supposed; but sculpture obtains its effects by the exhibition of visible signs, and the personal expression of the disputants sympathizes with, and symbolizes their moral relations. The opposed front and extended arm of Athene carry the expression of warning back or barring a passage, and the counter declination of the god suggests as inevitably that he is sensible of opposition, and yields to an impression.

The intention of the figure of Poseidon is finely brought out

by the contrast of that of Athene. The movement of her body is to the right and forwards, in the direction of the limbs that are most efficient in an active contest; the difference that this circumstance makes in the expression of vigour is extraordinary. Again, her body is carried in the manner that least embarrasses the action of the limbs, and even contributes to their efficiency: it is upright, slightly inclined to the right and forward, and with its weight well balanced, while the trunk of Poseidon is thrown back far enough to convey the impression of such an effort of the muscles of the back, as to impede the free action and full force of those that assist the exertions of the limbs, and the weight of his body is thrown chiefly on the weakest side.

The difference of vigour and spirit of the two figures is considerably affected by the positions of their arms consequent on their several attitudes. Not only do the attitude and movement of Athene give full play to all the muscles that will assist the efficient action of her right arm, but her left is also at liberty and in action; while the left arm of Poseidon, from the position of his body, is necessarily declined and powerless, and his elevated right is weakened by the relative position of the lower extremity on the same side. We may venture to say that, had the right arm of Poseidon been lowered, and the left elevated, such would have been the gain in expression of physical power, from the muscles of the upper and lower extremities on opposite sides being then in the favourable condition of opposition in respect of tension and relaxation, that the entire balance of the group would have been destroyed, by the recovery by Poseidon of ascendance over the smaller and draped Athene.

It was by bringing the left arm of Athene, and not her right, into most immediate juxtaposition with her rival, as well as by making her immediate movement not towards him, but away from him, though still across his path, that the sculptor succeeded in avoiding the impression of a gymnic contest, while he still employed attitude and muscular opposition as the exponents of a quarrel or dispute. The action of the goddess is as decided as that of Poseidon, and equally characteristic of the point of time selected for representation. She is, as we have seen, certainly not retreating or retiring, and as little is she in the attitude most expressive of decisive victory; this would rather require her movement to be in the opposite direction, and to sugge[illegible]n, if not pursuit, of a dis-

comfited opponent, at least tranquil occupation of the field of contest.

Such, to the best of my powers of appreciation and analysis, are the art and skill with which Pheidias planned the group as a representation of the quarrel of the two powers, still with not ambiguous intimation of the superiority and final victory of Athene. An attempt to convey by description an idea of the exact intermediate point between contrasted or inconsistent expressions embodied in Sculpture, can scarcely be very successful;—it is an attempt to realize in words the effect of perfect intonation, and is apt to suggest little more than a jumble of incongruities. Even a critic so accomplished as the Prince of Denmark, in a similar essay, helps us no nearer to a definition of the perfection of impassioned declamation, than a compromise between inanity and rant.

He who can describe the exact balance of vigour and weakness, of impetuosity and repulse, suggested by the fragment and drawing of the Poseidon of the pediment, may hope to succeed in conveying by words the impression produced by the Farnese Hercules: the harmony of energy and repose: muscular masses most enormous, so managed that they contribute exclusively to realize the idea of power, and do not suggest a suspicion of embarrassing weight or bulk: a completeness of inaction which has yet not a shade of relaxed expression; the strongest contrast between the proportions of upper and lower extremities, yet appearing in most unimpeachable unity and harmony with each other: and all these difficulties mastered in the invention and execution of a figure for which nature can scarcely have furnished an adequate model for a single part.

Sculpture and drawing, therefore, bear out Pausanias as to the point of time and action chosen in the composition on this front: and looking back at the effect aimed at and realized, it is easily seen that wise motives guided to the selection. The moment represented admits of the superiority of Athene being distinctly intimated in treatment, while it allows and invites the display of the full vigour and dignity of her opponent. Her victory is decidedly suggested without being lowered by the weakness of her antagonist; on the other hand it is rendered [illegible] the exhibition of his strength. It is this the contest and its intimated conclusion [illegible]

as it is the mutual importance of the contending powers that renders it glorious to Attica,—the subject of contention.

The celebrity and importance of the mythus of the contest of Athene and Poseidon for Attica considered, the allusions to it that have come down to us are not numerous; as usual in Greek legend, the authorities are most widely divergent from each other in every point of detail, sequence of incidents, and persons engaged, and no single version is in this instance distinguished from the rest by its source or circumstances, as the authorized or most esteemed and accepted; and thus we are thrown again on the resources of analysis, to decide what was the type selected by Pheidias, and the appropriateness of his selection.

In what anecdotes we have, the sacred olive tree and salt spring of the Erechtheum, as the productions of the rival powers, are leading features, and of these there is not the slightest trace in the remains and records of the chief group of the western pediment. The fragment of marble that has been taken for the stump of the tree, certainly bears more resemblance to one than to anything else, but it rises from a slab between a pair of feet, that, as observed by Welcker, from their small size and direction of stride, cannot have belonged to either of the contending divinities, whose action again has no appearance of reference to such accessories either produced or about to be produced. Present in the composition I believe that they were, but as decidedly subordinate accessories, certainly not as central objects or marks of the leading incidents.

We have, therefore, to examine the authorities for a form of the mythus, and a point of time when the opposition of the two powers was at the height, yet without reference to the actual presence or immediate production of either spring or olive tree. Müller recognised this condition of the problem, and was tempted to propose an explanation at once without the direct support of literary evidence, and not too much in accordance with the sculptures themselves. He promulgated the theory that the chariot of the pediment is that presented by Athene to Erichthonius, the type of the Panathenaic chariots of the frieze, and that this is to be connected with the strife of the divinities, by reference t[illegible] thus not come down to us, (that forlorn resource of a[illegible] a mythus that would represent the victory of Ath[illegible]pleted by the taming of the horses

Poseidon had created. Apart from other considerations, this theory falls, from the subordinate position of the only figure that can stand for Erichthonius, in the back-ground of the composition, and out of relation to his protecting goddess, and from the impossibility of admitting his scheme of restoration of the figure and gestures of Athene, whether we have regard to the evidence of the drawing where it speaks most plainly, or to the most obvious necessities of sculptural composition and grouping. It must, however, be admitted, that if we adopt with Welcker the general correctness of this restoration, in the face of Athene being turned towards the horses and entirely away from Poseidon, as if she were "directing her thoughts to something quite different," it will be difficult to find her better occupation than is furnished by the conjecture of Müller.

According to Herodotus (VIII. 55,) the Athenian legend ran, that Poseidon and Athene made the olive tree and sea or brackish well, of the temple of Erechtheus, as their proofs or tokens in their dispute for the country; and the notices of Pausanias are to the same effect, (I. 26, 6. 27, 2.) Neither Herodotus, then, nor Pausanias help us to a special solution. Ovid relates the story, (*Metam.* VI. 70,) and represents the two wonders to have been wrought by the high contending powers on the hill of Ares, in the presence of twelve gods, who assign the victory according to their appreciation of the performances, but whether in respect of wondrousness, utility, or beauty, does not appear.

This story approaches one degree nearer to the sculptures, as implying a quarrel and collision between the claimants, when as yet the olive and well of sea-water were not. Still I am not satisfied to adopt it as the precise version that furnished the subject of Pheidias; this point of time and story, appears too remote from the decision of the quarrel; it leaves too long a train of incidents prospective before the conclusion of the dispute, for the superiority of Athene to be consistently intimated: the contesting divinities at this stage, are too much on a par for the sentiment dictated by the occasion, and for the sentiment expressed by the sculptor; the sudden check of Poseidon's position is unexplained, as well as the almost exulting energy of the figure of Athene.

Apollodorus gives fuller detail, and as an Athenian as as a professed mythologist, his authority is great on

mythus, on which he pronounces with positiveness and deliberation.

By his account (III. 14, 1,) the events and their series are on this wise:—

1. Cecrops was the first king of Attica, then called Cecropia, when the gods determined to assume for themselves peculiar seats of worship.
2. Poseidon was the first to come to Attica, where, by a stroke of his trident, he produced on the acropolis the thalassa, or salt well, Erechtheis.
3. It was after him that Athene arrived, and making Cecrops witness of her assumption, (or formal taking of possession,) produced the olive.
4. A dispute ensues between the two for the country, and Zeus appoints as judges of their quarrel the twelve gods; he does not, adds Apollodorus, as some would have it, appoint Cecrops and Cranaus, nor Erechtheus.
5. The country is adjudged to Athene, on the testimony of Cecrops that she was the first producer of the olive; and Athene gave her name to the city, thence called Athens.
6. Poseidon, enraged and indignant, inundated the Thriasian plain, and laid Attica under the sea (submerged the country).

This last notice is very remarkable, and requires and will reward examination; the Athenian legend, it will be seen, on the testimony of an Athenian, represented Poseidon as by no means acquiescing quietly in the decision of the court, but venting his anger in an attempt to reduce under his power, or at least to damage if not destroy, the most fertile district of the country; and this, I have little doubt, is the precise incident represented in the sculpture.

According to the mythologist, the quarrel (ἔρις) commenced immediately in consequence of the pretensions made by Athene in the production of the olive, after Poseidon had produced the salt well; and it appears scarcely probable, that Apollodorus would conceive this contention, disjoined from the scene and emblems that induced it, and hence he at least would not see in our pediment a representation of the quarrel as he had des-

[1] not notice that any opposition or

interruption was offered by the goddess to the last ebullition of temper on the part of her rival, but for this we have other witnesses in waiting, who may now be called into court. If the conjuncture can only be established in this form, it is evident how peculiarly suitable a subject it presents. It combines the exhibition of Poseidon at the height of his indignation and the head of his force, with that of Athene, secure in position, exulting in victory, and able to afford to be composed as well as energetic; the occasion is at once the climax and the close of the dispute.

The chief witness alluded to is the philosopher Proclus, to whom I am already indebted for good service in the elucidation of antiquities. He was as much an Athenian by adoption and affection for the city "native to famous wits or hospitable," as Apollodorus could have been by birth; he considered himself peculiarly under the protection of its goddess,[2] and witnessed and lamented the destruction of the chief ornament of this very temple,—the chryselephantine Athene of our sculptor.

The following passage occurs in his hymn to Athene Polymetis, and the version it contains of the contest of Athene for the country, is brought into such direct relation to the acropolis, and corresponds so closely with the sculptures, that I doubt not they were vividly present in the mind of the poet-philosopher when he composed the verses.

Ἦ λάχες ἀκροπόλητα καθ' ὑψιλόφοιο κολώνης,
Σύμβολον ἀκροτάτης μεγάλης σέο, πότνια, σειρῆς·
Ἦ χθόνα βωτιάνειραν ἐφίλαο, μητέρα βίβλων,
Πατροκασιγνήτοιο βιασαμένη πόθον ἱρὸν,
Οὔνομα δ' ἀστεϊ δῶκας ἔχειν σέο καὶ φρένας ἐσθλάς.
Ἔνθα μάχης ἀρίδηλον, ὑπὸ σφυρὸν οὔρεος ἄκρον,
Σῆμα καὶ ὀψιγόνοισιν ἀνεβλάστησας ἐλαίην,
Εὖτ' ἐπὶ Κεκροπίδῃσι Ποσειδάωνος ἀγωγῇ
Μυρίον ἐκ πόντοιο κυκώμενον ἦλυθε κῦμα,
Πάντα πολυφλοίσβοισιν ἐοῖς ῥεέθροισιν ἰμάσσον.

The series of incidents in this relation of them appears to be:

1. The sacred yearning of Poseidon for the country.
2. Athene, from her own affection for it, thwarts the feelings of

[2] Cf. *Vita Procli Marini*, and the hymn to Athene, ὅτι τιὸς εὐχαιτε εἶναι.

her uncle, gives her own name to the city, and inspires it with her own character.

3. Poseidon advances at the head of a threatening inundation on the family of Cecrops.
4. He is opposed by Athene, who creates the olive a token of the encounter to posterity.

Proclus, then, agrees with Apollodorus in the priority of the pretensions of Poseidon, the successful rivalry of Athene, and in the subsequent advance of the enraged god on the country with his waves. The points in which he differs are the omissions of all reference to the μαρτύρια and the litigation, and the peculiar reference of the olive of Athene to the conclusion instead of the commencement of the dispute—as the emblem of victory instead of the ground of claim.

And late as the authority for this simpler form of the mythus may be, I believe it to be in its leading points a genuine tradition of a form in which it prevailed anterior to, and concurrently with, the altered and extended version given by Apollodorus and Ovid, of which the originating influences are satisfactorily identifiable. The introduction of the court of Areopagus and a judicial process into the story, I believe to be of secondary origin, and traceable to the same motives that connected with this court, the myths of Orestes, and the quarrel of Poseidon with the homicide Ares.

This will be confirmed if we scrutinize the testimony of Cecrops, and the grounds of its conclusiveness: it was to the effect, not that Athene produced the olive before Poseidon produced the spring, which on the face of the record would have been sheer perjury, but simply that she was the first by whom an olive tree was ever produced.

The court that decides the dispute is a mythic antetype of the court of Areopagus; other myths, as that of Orestes, embody not only a mythic representation of its origin, but also of its principles of procedure, as in the instance of equality of ballots; and other Attic courts, as the Delphinium that took cognizance of *manslaughter*, had also their mythical histories, accounting for every peculiarity in their jurisdiction. Now, if we look at the relative position of the deities as litigants before a law court, it is clear that Athene has the advantage of her opponent in having a witness for the fact on which her claim is founded, to

set against an incorroborated assertion. Of facts proved according to the requisitions of judicial accuracy, the deed of Athene is the only one, and therefore, from a judicial point of view, necessarily both first and last,—a principle of quite sufficient relative importance to be dignified by a mythus.[3]

The prevalence of myths, accounting for the origin and procedures of various Attic courts, their number and variety,[4] almost favour the suspicion that the inventions were employed as instruments in such an active competition for business as figures in the history of our own tribunals.

The persevering connection of celebrated mythical quarrels with the great Athenian tribunal, betrays a motive to elevate its dignity, and found it among the deepest associations of popular feeling, which ever required an attachment to heroic legend.

However this may be, the framers of the episode more immediately in question, were evidently consulting the dignity of the Areopagus rather than that of Athene,—a disposition that cannot be supposed to have interfered at all, much less to have predominated, in the primæval tradition of the contention of two great divinities for the land of Attica.

The olive and brackish well of the Acropolis are just such natural characteristics as ever in Greece generated a local mythus, and ever most readily in a sacred precinct; there were, however, others connected with the country, which invited a mythus of a contention of divinities on a much bolder scale,—a scale that corresponds with the concluding incident of the narrative of Apollodorus, the magnificent group suggested by the poetry of Proclus, the actual group as sculptured by Pheidias.

Apollodorus, as we have seen, concludes his narrative by saying that Poseidon, indignant, inundated the Thriasian plain, and laid Attica under water. Attica, in the ordinary sense, comprised the Thriasian plain; but as it is here placed in opposition to it, we must confine it to the district west of M. Æ-

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[3] Hermes, an able advocate, although his own, cavils at his accuser's want of witnesses: Οὐδὲ θεῶν μαχάων ἴχνι μάρτυρας, οὐδὲ κατόπτας.—*Hymn. ad Mer.* v. 372.

[4] Compare the trials at Athens, and acquittals on the grounds of justifiable homicide, chance medley, accidental death, or *not proven*, of Orestes, Ares, Theseus, Demophon, and even Pallas herself (Apollod. III. 3); also the form of trial of the exile Teucer.—Paus. I. 28.

gialus, that is, more particularly to the plain of Athens. In either locality we find the traces of the angry god. Welcker illustrates the expressions of Apollodorus by reference to the small lake of salt water "which still attracts the notice of every traveller on the road to Eleusis." But the traces are still more distinct as we move westwards along the entire coast of the Attic plain, a tract of lagoons and salt marshes. The names of the ancient localities are fully justified by the observations of modern topographers. Echele and the demus Echelidai were situated in the marshy plain N. W. of the Peiræus, and a low marsh and lagoons extend all the way from the entrance to the Peiræus to the promontory Colias and Halæ. This district is shown by Colonel Leake to correspond with the situation assigned by ancient writers to the Halipedon, a name which was generally applied (Harpocration) to low grounds that had been once covered by the sea. Strabo (p. 40,) disserting on the physical changes produced by earthquakes and consequent inundations, on the relative distribution of sea and land, adverts particularly to the traditions of such alterations on this very coast. Τόν τε Πειραῖα νησιάζοντα πρότερον, καὶ πέραν τῆς Ἀκτῆς κείμενον οὕτως φασὶν ὀνομασθῆναι. Thus interpreted, the expression of Apollodorus (τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὕφαλον ἐποίησεν) appears descriptive and exact.

The consenting testimony of Apollodorus and Proclus as to the climax of the dispute, is supported by the concurrence of Hyginus, the genuineness of whose sources is so constantly vindicated. He agrees in the capital point of the attempt of Poseidon to submerge the country, as subsequent to and provoked by the assignment of it to Athene by the arbiter of the dispute, and thus forming a scene independent of the production of the olive tree. He differs from Proclus in making this production the ground of Athene's claim, and from both Proclus and the sculptures, in representing Zeus, and not Cecrops, as the judge, and Hermes, at the behest of Zeus, and not Athene herself, the stayer of the encroaching billows of the sea god.—Hygin. *Fab.* 164.

Varro (*apud August. de Civ. Dei*, XVIII. 9.) makes the dispute originate in the spontaneous and ominous appearance of tree and well: it is decided by the suffrages of the population, male and female, collected by Cecrops, and an irruption of the sea marks the rage of the rejected Poseidon. The scholiast of Aristophanes furnishes another anecdote, proving that the formal assignment of the land to the goddess was ordinarily con-

ceived as leading to a later and concluding proper ἔρις, an encounter and lively altercation.

The concurrence of these scattered notices, with all their divarications, proves how important a moment in the contention this climax of irritation and protection was esteemed.

So, again, the mythus, as related by Statius, *Thebais* XII., has every appearance of agreement with Proclus; the creation of the olive is the signal of the termination of a contention of some duration, and of the retirement of the inundating waves.

——— "Collis ubi ingens
Lis superum, dubiis donec nova surgeret arbor
Rupibus et longâ refugum mare frangeret umbrâ."

The adoption of the olive as the symbol of a retiring deluge, will be noticed as a remarkable coincidence with the traditions of the East. The deluge of Deucalion was variously dated under Cecrops, or Cranaus, his successor, (Varro, *l. c.* Plato, *Critias.*)[5]

The olive and well, therefore, according to these forms of the mythus, are consistently absent, at the moment represented by the sculptures, from the actual spot of the contention, or merely indicated as secondary accessories.

Clearing away, then, from the legend the superinduced and obtrusive elements, we have the sea god contending with Athene, protectress of Cecrops, the autochthon, who we learn from Apollodorus, and from Callimachus, quoted by the Homeric scholiast, (*Iliad.* XIX. 53.) was related in some traditions to have decided the dispute, whether alone, or in conjunction with Cranaus, that is, to have made his election of a peculiar divine patron; we have then the advance of the indignant Poseidon with his waters upon Cecrops and his family, from anger, not with the witness whose evidence had nonsuited him, but with the

[5] The waters of this deluge were said to have flowed away through a chasm near the temple of Olympian Zeus, at Athens, into which yearly libations and offerings to the Chthonian gods were poured at the festival of Hydrophoria; rites allied to those of the χόες, in the same month, Anthesterion. To these celebrations we may refer the subjects of an interesting collection of hydrias in the British Museum, representing females drawing and carrying water in vessels of the same form; at either end of the design, on one of the more important of them, stand the gods Dionusos and Hermes, of superior proportions, the gods of the under-world peculiarly propitiated on these occasions.—Hesych. II. p. 600; Paus. I. 18, 7.; Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 218., and *Ach.* 1076, &c.

free arbitrator who insulted him by rejection. The intervention of Athene follows,—Athene, who, as a protecting power, was first worshipped by Cecrops under the title of Alalcomeneis, —and the flourishing olive is in this scene appropriately absent, or at least a mere subordinate accessory, whether as the type of the benefit by which she merited her position or the symbol of her victory, as the salt lake of the Thriasian plain memorized the attempt of her antagonist.

The mythus, therefore, of the contention of Poseidon with Athene for the country, appears to reflect,—to be a personification of, the conflicting powers of land and sea, as they were exhibited in the natural phenomena of the topography of the interior and the coast.

Still, so manifold and complicated are the roots and motives of Greek myths, that I hesitate to say positively that it was thus the present originated. The same natural circumstances of the country would have decided the habits of two classes of population, the inland or agricultural, and the maritime, in the same manner that is intimated in the antagonisms of the Diacria, Paralia, and Mesogaia, of the time of Peisistratus; not to speak of a later date, when the crews of the fleet formed the main-stay of the democracy. That the favourite divinity of the maritime population should be a sea god, while that most favoured by the agricultural was a nymph of the land, is in accordance with the law that obtained so extensively, of the reflection of the habits of the worshippers in the idea and attributes of the divinity worshipped; and thus, in origin, the mythus may quite as probably have personified the conflict of the two races or factions, as of two natural elements of wet and dry, land and sea.

Among the ancients themselves, the mythus was sometimes regarded as an invention of the old Attic kings, to divert their subjects from maritime pursuits, by the force of a mythical sanction in favour of agriculture. Themistocles, by the long walls between the city and the port, reversed this policy, and the result was, according to Aristophanes, not to connect the port with the city, but to attach the city to the port, and the land to the sea. The seaward aspect of the Pnyx, the place of the popular assemblies, seems to have been fancifully recognized as corresponding with the notorious democratical tendencies of the mercantile and maritime classes; a thought that has come

down to us in the blundered form that the thirty tyrants, from the feeling that the country population was more tolerant of oligarchy, reversed the original position of the bema of the orator, and turned it inland.—Plutarch, *Themist.* 19. From this point of view, the divinities of the pediment become representatives of landed and shipping or commercial interests, waging the contention which to this day is not at an end. Hesiod, it will be recollected, marks the preference of agriculture to maritime adventure, as characteristic of the race of the good.

That the personification of races or tribes was the first suggesting cause, I the rather believe, from the terms of the parallel contest for Corinth, where Helios appears the representative of the sun-worship, of which so many traces are connected with the city of Medea, as Poseidon, of the sea-faring population of the double ports. The dispute in this instance was settled by a compromise negotiated by Briareus,—anti-type of Cecrops, by which Helios retained Acro-Corinthus; his subsequent cession of it to Aphroditè, whose worship reached such an extravagant height at Corinth, is another adumbration of a religious revulsion brought about without violent collision. There is another story of the contest of Poseidon with Athene for Trœzene, and this also resulted in a compromise. Lactantius (ad Stat. *Theb.* XII. 622.) states that the same divinities contended for the acropolis of Thebes, when Poseidon produced the horse, a warlike animal, and Athene the olive, symbol of peace. He also contested Delphi with Apollo, Ægina with Zeus, and Naxos with Dionusos, in every case unsuccessfully.[6] The contention of Hephaistos and Demeter for Sicily was judged by the nymph Ætna.—(Schol. Theocrit. 1. 65.)

But the legend which parallelizes most exactly with the Attic is the Argive, which remarkably confirms the view put forth of the character of the incident represented on the pediment, and justifies the inference, that whatever may have originated the story of the quarrel of the divinities, whether a religious or political antagonism, allusion to elemental opposition and natural phenomena was ultimately superinduced.

Herè and Poseidon disputed for Argos, and the quarrel was taken cognizance of by Inachus in conjunction with Phoroneus, Cephisus and Asterion, and [illegible] award in favour of

Herè. Poseidon indignant, inundated the greater part of the country with his waves; he was prevailed on, however, by Herè, whose interference on the occasion, in whatever form, corresponds with that of Athene on the like occasion in Attica, as reported by Proclus, to withdraw his waters, and on the place they retired from, a temple was built by the Argives to Poseidon Proclustios,—Poseidon the Inundator.—Paus. II. 22, 5.

At Argos, therefore, as at Athens, Poseidon appeared in the character so often assigned to him in poetry, as challenging the empire of the land as well as the sea:

. . . . μεδέων καὶ χθονὶ καὶ πελάγει.
*Anthol. Græc.* VI. 30.

The character that is expressed in the attitude so frequently assigned to him on monuments, with one foot raised and resting on the land, the symbol of *terra firma*; Poseidon as Gaieochos, Ennosigaios, or Enosichton.

We are now, or ought to be, in a position to enter on the consideration of the subordinate figures, and the proprieties of their places and occupations; the analysis will disclose to us how Pheidias united the elemental with the national characteristics of the mythus, and thus elevated it to a dignity, rendering it a fitting antitype to the etherial and mystic significance of the sublime subject of the principal front—the birth of the virgin Power, emblem of the light of heaven, and impulse of the universe, and the personified intelligence of the Godhead.

The first seated figure on the side of Poseidon is evidently his spouse Amphitrite; the huge fish below her right foot, something more than a mere dolphin, is called correctly by Müller, *cetus*: compare *Odyssey* V. 421.

Ἦ ἔτι μοι καὶ κῆτος ἐπισσεύῃ μέγα δαίμων
ἐξ ἁλός, οἷά τε πολλὰ τρέφει κλυτὸς Ἀμφιτρίτη.

Her right leg and thigh are bare, as befits a sea goddess, and contrast with the full and flying drapery of the leg of the charioteer on the opposite side; the action of her arms also brings her into relation with that figure, and is sufficient, with the large space unoccupied in front of her, to prove that her car was drawn by horses, or more probably by the marine steeds hippocampæ. The restoration of the composition in this most important point, was suggested by Bröndsted, but the establish-

ment of the fact appears to be the service of Mr. Cockerell.[7] The contrast of the horses with hippocampæ, or animals of like forms, must have been highly effective, and whether derived from Pheidias or not, is adopted as a favourite enrichment and relief in crowded compositions of later date, in the steeds of Pluto and the coiled dragons of the pursuing Demeter or departing Triptolemus.[8]

Amphitrite is evidently seated, and her car, therefore, was open in front, as the chariot on the opposite side was behind; no trace of it is found either in the drawings or fragments; with her seat it seems to have been represented as hidden by her limbs, and the drapery that falls back from her thigh.

The beauty of the trunk of this figure, now in the British Museum, much as it has suffered, is very great: the action of the shoulders in restraining the hippocampæ is very fine, and the curve of the whole body was no doubt in exquisite harmony with their forms and movement.

My impression is very decided, that the female head in the possession of Count Laborde, recently recognised as pertaining to these sculptures, and of which a plaster cast is placed in the Elgin room, belongs to the Amphitrite. Its character, which is ideal, but not of high elevation, is appropriate; the size agrees; it appears intended to be seen in profile, and as far as I can judge of the combined effect of the two disjoined fragments, the oval sweep and arrangement of the hair repeats the motive of the entire figure, and composes with particular effect with the full lines of drapery wound under the arm. To the same figure appears to have belonged a large fragment of a left thigh, half covered with very fine drapery, in the Elgin collection.

Passing from these figures to the next, on which opinions are least divergent, we recognize Aphrodite seated across the knees of her mother Dione. The loss of this group, comprising an almost entirely nude full-grown female figure by Pheidias himself, at least of his school and age, is greatly to be lamented, for the sake both of art and its history. Some difficulty has been felt with respect to this figure, from the circumstance that Praxiteles, according to Pliny, (*H. N.* 36, 4,) was the

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[7] Millingen, *Annali dell' Instit.* IV. 208.

[8] *Denkmäler der alt. Kunst.* 2. IX. 108, and X. 117–102.

first Greek sculptor who represented goddesses naked. But Welcker justly observes, "the figure is not completely naked, for some drapery is lying across her left leg, and covers her lap;" and he truly remarks, "in works of art, there is a wide difference between entire nakedness and the nakedness of the greater part of the body; and there is just as great a difference between a temple statue consecrated for worship, and a figure placed among a number of others as an object of admiration, and as an ornament of a temple."

If the objection be persisted in, (the argument from the remaining drapery being set aside,) we shall be reduced to two alternatives, either of which presents greater difficulties than the rejection of the tradition of the innovation of Praxiteles;[9] we must either conclude that Carrey made the same mistake in the sex of this figure that he fell into in drawing the so-called Ilissus, or that the statue does not represent a goddess. None but a goddess, however, can be admitted in this position; and a mistake of the draughtsman was much less likely to occur in copying an erect bust in the open space, than in sketching the river god, a secondary figure, crouching in a narrow angle and deep shadow, and without the assistance to the eye afforded by figures of like scale in close juxta-position; indeed, inspection of the fac-similes of the drawings in the print-room of the British Museum[10] must convince that such an error in this instance is not to be thought of. Are we to suppose that Pheidias, in his representation at Olympia of the birth of the goddess from the sea, represented her as fully draped?

The value of such gossip as that concerning Praxiteles, and on such testimony, is very trifling; this instance of it is worth probably as much as the anecdote that ascribes to Callimachus

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[9] Scopas, according to Pliny, as read by Sillig, represented Aphrodite entirely naked, anterior to the date of the Crudian statue of Praxiteles, Plin. xxxvi. v. 4, Sillig, p. 117, and note 10. trans. The *cœlator* of the *Anacreontic Ode* is less daring:

ὁ δέ νιν δεικὲς γυμνάν,
ὅσα μὴ θέμις δ' ἰδεῖσθαι,
μόνα κύμασιν καλύπτει.

The *Anthology* furnishes a still exacter instance, ix. 585:

. . . εἶμα δὲ κρύπτει
Μηδῶ γείτονα χῶρον ὅλης γυμνῆς Ἀφροδίτης.

[10] It is clear from these fac-similes, that the Aphrodite was drawn with comparative care, the river god with less than any of the other figures; but it must be said, that apart from the assurances of those who have examined the originals at Paris, the copies scarcely bear [illegible] charge, that Carrey

the invention of the drill as applied to statuary. The truth in either case may be, that these were the artists who first carried certain inventions and innovations, known long before, to their fullest extent, if not into actual excess.

I may notice here, that in the opinion of one of the most distinguished of living sculptors, the marbles of the Parthenon exhibit traces, not only of the indispensable use of the drill, but of the drill so used as to baffle explanation of the mode of its astonishingly effective application.

"The manner," says Welcker, "in which Aphrodite is grouped together with her mother, is extremely curious, as though the artist had wished to allude to the width and depth of the first causes, and to the powers and the mysterious forms of Greek mythology."

We find the same principle of grouping in other instances where such mystic allusions would be equally in harmony with the early significance of the mythus, in groups of Dionusos on the lap of Ariadne or his mother Semele, and of Adonis and Aphrodite, the pagan antetype of the *Pietà* of Christian art. The boldness of the arrangement in the case before us might seem out of harmony with the spirit that pervades and regulates the most vigorous inventions of Pheidias, if regarded as an original and unprepared innovation; and under the same supposition, an intention to suggest such a meaning as Welcker surmises, would scarcely have accorded with the pure taste for simplicity and natural expression that breathes from these works. But the previous and traditional association of popular feeling with the symbolism being assumed, the taste and art are worthy of all admiration, with which the sculptor has so remodelled the ideal as to harmonize the group with the character of his style and composition, and yet retain so much of the archaic type as to ensure its recognition, and a reflection of the deep feelings so strongly connected with it.

The idea of the group is at least as old as Homer, who describes Aphrodite when wounded and alarmed by Diomed, as flying to the lap of her mother, and hushed and comforted in her arms:

> Ἡ δ' ἐν γούνασι πίπτε Διώνης δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη
> μητρὸς ἑῆς· ἡ δ' ἀγκὰς ἐλάζετο θυγατέρα ἣν.
>
> *Iliad*, v. 370.

I for my part do not doubt, that long before Homer, it had been made the subject of graphic representations with which he was familiar, as well as of mystic traditions. He, or the school of poets represented by his name, transformed the latter into the natural incident just referred to, though, as in so many other instances, designedly retaining a reminiscence of the religious symbols, and perfected in poetry at once the transition that in plastic art was still deferred for centuries, to be accomplished by the genius of Pheidias.[11]

In the drawing of the figure of the goddess, we may yet discern a degree of timidity and shrinking, of movement away from the centre of the pediment, that reflects the motive of the Homeric picture.

The introduction of Aphrodite into this group, is evidently due to her character as a marine goddess, in which she was worshipped generally through Greece, and by the Athenians themselves on the promontory Kolias. The largest of the three Peiraic harbours was named Aphrodision, and Themistocles and Conon both dedicated temples to Aphrodite at Peiræus, on occasion of naval victories, and Leake probably infers, within the temenos of a sanctuary of the goddess of earlier date than either of them. (*Topogr. of Athens*, p. 368.)

The divinity of the marine temple of Kolias was associated with certain goddesses, whose title, the Genetyllides, bears direct relation to the prolific powers "of great creative nature." Early Greek mythology, no less than early Greek philosophy, is pervaded by allusions to an intimate connection between the sea and the reproductive and creative energies of the world. Hence it was that Aphrodite herself, the power of all natural development and increase, proceeded from the waves: on the footstool of Olympian Zeus, Pheidias represented her rising from the sea in the presence of Poseidon and Amphitrite, and received by Eros, who was therefore represented, as in the Hesiodic *Theogony*, as an elder power. It is in the significance of Eros as the very personified principle of cosmogony, that we recognize the sufficient reason of his appearance in the composition before us, an assemblage of powers divine and dæmonian,

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[11] On Dionean Aphrodite, compare Proclus, quoted by Creuzer, *Symbolik*. XI. p. 614: Ἡ δὲ Διωναία (Ἀφροδίτη) ἱστοροῦσιν πάσας τὰς ἐν τῷ οὐρανίῳ πόρῳ καὶ γῇ συστοιχίας καὶ συνδῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, καὶ στιλπνοῦ τὰς γιννητικὰς αὐτῶν προϊδοῦσι διὰ τῆς ὁμοιοτικῆς συζυγίας.

with whom, as the mere power of flirtation, so far as it flourished in Greece—the Eros of the Anacreontics and Anthology—he would have little claim enough to associate.

The subject of the relation of marine divinities to the symbolism of fertility generally, will be found pursued in my essay on the Nereid Monument of Xanthus.[12] The dancing sea nymphs that gave the title of this monument, are associated with a group which seems to have crowned the acroterium, of two youths supporting a smaller, but not decidedly infant, female. The sea-born Aphrodite, who at Corinth was held up in the arms of Thalassa, is, I believe, here sustained by Eros and Himeros, who, according to Hesiod, conducted her at her birth to the assembly of the gods. Compare the little Aphrodite supported by Tritons, plate 30. of the *Admiranda*.

The goddess of the dedication I have shown to be Aphrodite as a Kourotrophic divinity, the character assigned by Homer to the Lycian Aphrodite, who fostered the daughters of Pandarus, and in which she appears on the pediment surrounded by youthful figures, the reviving population of the city of which the devastation is represented below; a character which harmonizes with her introduction as a marine goddess, and her association with the Nereids.[13]

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[12] *Xanthian Marbles: the Nereid Monument.* Pickering, 1845.

[13] Why Nereids in particular were selected in this Xanthian monument as symbols of the ideas for which mythology furnished such a variety of others, I have traced, in the essay referred to, to the claim of the princely families of Lycia to descent from Glaucus and Bellerophon, and through them from Poseidon, the sea-god himself. We shall presently meet with the statue of Bellerophon at his native Corinth, in the midst of sea divinities in a temple of Poseidon, and marine emblems decorated the interior of the Bellerophon tomb at Tlos. The same analogies explain the reference of the course of Nereids to the chief subject above them of Bellerophon and the Chimæra, on a vase of Apulia, the country of Diomed, hereditary host of his descendants, (*Nereid Monum.* p. 104;) and Gerhard spoke hastily in affirming that they were introduced without a justifying appropriateness.—*Apulisch. Vasenbild.* pl. VIII. and X. p. 16.

Professor Welcker has recently published his views regarding the Xanthian Heroön, and explains the Nereids as introduced to symbolize a naval engagement, (to which no other allusion is apparent in the sculptures,) as if they were flying in surprise and disorder at the clamour of the contest. Other objections to such an explanation apart, I content myself with observing, that to interpret the cheerful and graceful movements of these admirable statues as anything else but dancing, a characteristic of the Nereids, appears to involve a misapprehension of plastic expression, only rivalled by the archæological perverseness that declines to recognize them as Nereids at all.

That the small figure of a child behind the right arm of the Aphrodite of the Parthenon, assumed to be Eros, is to be considered as grouped with her, and not with the seated female figure on the other side of him, must, I think, be granted, while our only evidence is the drawing of Carrey. It is in favour of the correctness of the drawing, that this child is represented as smaller than that between Amphitrite and the seated and draped female figure; a difference which presents a final and conclusive obstacle to an alternative explanation, already beset with difficulties, that would require them to be twins, the Dioscuri, or the children of Leto.[14]

The fragment numbered 178, may be confidently assigned to the figure of Dione; Müller worked it into his restoration as her left thigh, and as a left thigh it has hitherto figured in catalogue and synopsis; but it is the right thigh, not the left; and the drapery should have shown that no figure could have been seated on it, as Aphrodite sits across the left thigh of her mother. There is, however, indication in the return of the folds of the inner drapery, as if compressed, and also, I think, in the manner in which it is cut away, as distinct from a fracture, of the seated figure having rested against it;—the fracture in front of the leg would also correspond with the attachment of the mass on which Eros is standing. The mistake that has been universally made of taking it for part of a left thigh, has arisen from the unusual slope of the seat, causing the knee to be very much elevated above the hip, the very circumstance that identifies the peculiar seat of Dione.

The character of the drapery is sufficient to exclude the idea that it may have belonged to Amphitrite.

The identification of Amphitrite and Aphrodite, may be considered as independent of any previous theory of the class of divinities to be expected in the group, and thus as furnishing independent authority for founding such a theory. These two goddesses, in fact, so conjoined, would entitle us to look out for other marine powers around them, though the figure of Poseidon had been lost, and the subject of the whole unrecorded:

[14] If hard pressed by better reasons than hitherto have shown themselves, to renounce the smaller child as an Eros, I should propose to adopt it as the second child assigned to Ino Leucothea by Euripides and others; a variation of the legend probably not unconnected with the analogy of the Tyndarids as sea powers, and their relation to the Cabiri, in common with Ino.

As it is, having advanced to this point, and determined the appropriation of Eros, the next step is necessary and inevitable. The seated female figure, and the boy by her side, who are marked by their position in the group as an important pair of marine powers, can only be the nymph Ino and her son Melicertes, personages who also appear under the names of Leucothea and Palaimon.

A fragment of the figure and legs of Melicertes remains attached to the figure of Ino, from which it appears that he was represented as a full-grown boy, perfectly naked, except so far as he was enveloped by the drapery of his mother. Müller called the figure Artemis, but close examination of the marble leaves no excuse for questioning that it is a boy. The same evidence vindicates the drawing of Carrey representing him as looking towards his mother, against the objection of Welcker, who is clearly wrong in saying (p. 369, note 5,) "a part of his left leg, and the beginning of the right, may still be recognized:" it is the beginning of the left leg, and part of the right, that are identifiable.

The drapery of Leucothea is wonderfully fine; the motion given to it is as if from a breeze playing on the waves at her feet. In some respects it must be considered as masterly as the marvellous draperies of the eastern pediment, of the sculptor of which, indeed, those of the western were evidently fully worthy. Notwithstanding their lamentable defacement, the fragments of this figure, of the Dione, Amphitrite and Aglauros, attest the delicacy, feeling, and infinite variety, his imagination and hand could command.

The claim of Ino and Melicertes to a place in the group will appear, if we consider their position in assemblages of marine powers generally, and especially in the great seat of the worship of these powers at the neighbouring isthmus; the train of Poseidon, in his indignant outbreak upon Attica, could not be selected by Pheidias more appropriately, than from the divinities who swell his pomp, and participate in his dignity in the countries close at hand, where he was regarded as having with better fortune asserted and established pretensions to supremacy.

The Temple of Poseidon at Corinth was decorated with bronze Tritons, and contained statues of the god himself, of Amphitrite and Thalassa, and a magnificent group dedicated by Herodes Atticus, which, though of late date, keeps very close to the tra-

ditions of earlier art, and the mythology of the locality. Poseidon and Amphitrite were standing in their chariot, drawn by four gilt horses, with hoofs of ivory; two Tritons attended, and, as well as a figure of the boy Palaimon and the dolphin on which he stood erect, were of ivory and gold. On the base that carried the chariot, Thalassa was represented holding up the infant Aphrodite between groups of Nereids and the sons of Tyndarus, as preservers of ships and men sea-faring.

In the same temple were figures of Galene and Thalassa, a sea horse, Ino, Bellerophon son of Poseidon, and his winged Pegasus, and within its peribolus was a naos of Palaimon or Melicertes, containing statues of Poseidon and Leucothea, and Palaimon himself, (Paus. II. 2, 1.) The same triad occurs again on the road to Lechaion, (Id. II. 3, 4.)

At Megara also, Ino and Melicertes were held in distinguished honour; the Molurian rock, from which Ino was said to have cast herself into the sea with her son in her arms, was sacred to them under their divine titles of Leucothea and Palaimon, and the Isthmian games were celebrated in honour of the latter, (Paus. I. 45.) The importance of the position assigned to them among the marine powers of the pediment, is therefore fully vindicated.

The envelopment of mother and son in a common garment, is too remarkable an arrangement not to have had a special meaning; it seems to be symbolical of their union in a common catastrophe, and participation in common deification. Pheidias here again, as in the group of Aphrodite and Dione, translated into the flowing style and language of his art the formal crudity of an archaic symbol, still recognized on the vases in the groups of the Horai as a pair or Duad of divinities, either seated or standing opposite to each other, and wrapt in the folds of a single large peplus common to both. The same principle of combination is realized in other instances, by the two figures embracing each other so intimately and intricately, that a first glance does not easily distinguish to which the several limbs belong.

The scholiast of Theocritus (*Idyll.* VII. 57,) associates Aphrodite with Leucothea and Palaimon as a Nereid, and thus the juxtaposition of the statues appears not to be fortuitous; and Ovid may have the credit of following a genuine tradition, in ascribing their deification to the influence of Venus (aliqua et mihi gratia ponto est,) with her uncle Neptune.

Glancing over the rest of the train, I now claim for the female figure that advances from the back of the pediment, and just in advance of Amphitrite (Welcker, by some accident, has omitted to mention it in any way,) the title of Thalassa, a personification of which we have just seen more than one example. The energy of her movement expresses great eagerness and interest in the advance, and assists the imagination in reproducing the action of Poseidon previous to the check of the interference of Athene; her figure and action thus embody the idea expressed in the verses of Proclus, of the impetuosity of the lashing waters. The figure, in size and action, seems too important for the subordinate character of a simple Nereid; the violence of her gesture suits not the sobriety of Tethys, and Thetis could not be introduced into such a composition without overburdening it with irrelevant associations: Thetis is, accordingly, uniformly absent from general and miscellaneous groups of marine divinities.

The left arm of Thalassa is enveloped in her cloak, like that of Poseidon himself on so many monuments.

The figure next in order to Dione, is a seated female; if the drawing can be relied on, her right and most advanced knee was just behind the elbow of Dione: her seat and body are thus thrown deeper into the back-ground of the pediment; and her left foot being also considerably retired from the front, the ground plan of the scene is extended, and solidity given to the group of Dione and her daughter.

The action of this figure evinces considerable liveliness of emotion; and although she is seated, the movement of her left foot and knee, and the slope of the shoulder downwards on the same side, and the character of the folds of the drapery which appears drawn from the right knee by a sudden movement, and the general sway of the body, are incompatible with an expression of simple tranquillity, and in fact repeat the motive of the central figure of Poseidon in such a manner as to serve admirably to bind together the intermediate figures into one set and series. The unusually wide interval by which she is separated from the two remaining figures in the narrowing extremity of the pediment, serves still farther to mark her relation to the marine powers beyond.

Still it is not easy to assign to the figure a name that shall harmonize with the exact degree of importance implied by the

scale and character of the statue, its precise position in relation to the sea powers who participate in the scene, and to the group of Dione and Aphrodite, with which it is most immediately in relation. One great obstacle that I find in forming an opinion, is the impossibility of trusting to the drawing as a correct exponent of the degree of dignity and style of expression of the original sculpture. The treatment of a statue of the western pediment (the Iris,) that is preserved, is a warning on what dangerous ground we tread. I suspect, however, from consideration of the comparatively weak and subordinate figures that follow, and the necessity for an emphatic point and mass to balance the corresponding group on the opposite side, that the expression of the figure was at least equal, if not superior, to that of the Dione: her movement is more energetic, and her full face contrasted with the profile,—her free arms with the enveloping drapery, of the reclining goddess.

Under these circumstances I am induced to regard the figure as Tethys, the mother of Dione: the name would account for the collocation of the figures, and some intimate bond of union is required to prevent the seated statue appearing solitary and independent, as otherwise it might, from the great interval on one side, and on the other the preoccupation of Dione, whose back is completely turned. Tethys would be a continuation of the family group of Eros, Aphrodite and Dione to another generation, and would thus be correlative in character and relation to her associated figures, as she is in position on the pediment to the group that we shall recognize as Cecrops and his wife, the heads of the corresponding family on the opposite side.

The name of Galene might be suggested, but is out of harmony with the lively and excited action of the figure, not to say with the spirit of the principal incident.

We have still two figures remaining unnamed at this extremity of the pediment; a male figure who sits with his legs doubled under him, and a youthful female supporting herself on her right arm in an easy half reclining attitude. The comparatively large interval which, as already noticed, separates them from Tethys, and the inclination of their heads and figures towards each other, convey the impression of intimate relation between the pair, and of distinctness from the more numerous [illegible] of another idea. In this respect they cor- [illegible] single figure in the opposite angle,

marked as a distinct phrase, so to speak, by the great distance of his head from that of the next figure, thus placed out of communication with him; an effect that is enhanced by the close alliance and sympathy of that figure with the third. The question of the significance of these extreme figures on either side is, therefore, essentially one, and we are prepared to find that they are more intimately related to each other than to the figures that, in either case, are placed next to them.

The title Ilissus has been assigned to the reclining figure of the northern angle by almost common consent, from the analogy of the river gods in the corners of the pediment of the temple at Olympia, the watery character of the drapery falling from his left arm, perhaps also from some feeling of the appropriateness for a river god, of the partially prone attitude as correlative to the partially supine of the gods of earth and earth's fertility. This conclusion is only open to objection in respect of the particular Attic river supposed to be personified. The Cephisus was the most important river of the plain of Athens, and engrosses almost exclusively the celebrity of poetry and mythus. Cephisus has claims to be placed on the side of Cecrops, superior to Ilissus his only rival, as an ancestor of the Attic king;[15] and as I cannot, with Welcker, regard the figure as youthful, I find no objection to this view in the forms of the divine stream. Cecropia proper is placed by Leake, with every appearance of correctness, on the banks of the Cephisus, and this leads us to other topographical considerations which appear conclusive. It will be difficult to find a name more happily characteristic of the female figure at the southern angle than Callirhoe, the nymph of the celebrated fountain of Athens; but this fount is uniformly referred to as close to the Ilissus, (*Etym. Mag.* v. Ἐννεάκρουνος); thus, Statius, enumerating the several districts of Attica and their inhabitants, designates one as that of the fount Callirhoe and river Ilissus:—

> Et quos Callirhoe novies errantibus undis
> Implicat et raptæ qui conscius Oreithiæ
> Celavit Geticos ripis Ilissus amores.—*Theb.* XII.

The Ilissus must, therefore, be recognized on the pediment in the figure seated on the ground next to Callirhoe, in a proxi-

[15] Apollod. Eurip. *Ion*, v. 1261.

mity answering to their actual local relations, and we may now see that this distribution had the advantage of placing the several streams at the ends of the pediment that correspond with their relative topographical position to the north and south of the acropolis.[16] This advantage will not be undervalued, if we reflect on the application of the principle to the great division of the pediment between the two divinities: by the neglect of it Poseidon and his followers might have been transferred to the opposite side, and thus represented as inundating the country from the north or land quarter.

The easy grace of Callirhoe well represents her name, and contrasts with the crouching and contorted figure in which Pheidias again, not without regard to the signification of its name, personified the river Ilissus. The verses of Sophocles descriptive of the Cephisus in the celebrated chorus, if they do not describe the statue of which we still possess such important and exquisite remains, breathe the very spirit of its expression:—

οὐδ' ἄϋπνοι
κρῆναι μινύθουσιν
Κηφισοῦ νομάδες ῥεέθρων,
ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἐπ' ἤματι
ὠκύτοκος πεδίων ἐπανίσσεται
ἀκηράτῳ ξὺν ὄμβρῳ
στερνούχου χθονός.—*Œdip. Col.* 685.

We now proceed to consider the occupants of the half pediment protected by Athene; the symmetrical law observable between the groups and single figures of the opposite sides, suggests of itself that the line of marine divinities on one side, was confronted and contrasted with personages equally proper to the land on the other, and that thus was carried out through the entire composition; the grand central motive of the opposition of Athene and Poseidon, of the horses and hippocampæ.

The manner, again, in which the sentiment of the group of Aphrodite and Dione, is repeated in the relation of the naked boy to the two female figures beside him, invites us to look

[16] Colonel Leake, in the second edition of his *Topography of Athens*, (1841) has recognised the Ilissus in this figure on the same grounds, proximity to Callirhoe, though he damages his position by introducing the Cephisus in as close proximity on his right.

here also for some tie of family or relationship. This is furnished at once by the legend as reported by Proclus, which directs us to expect the introduction of the family of Cecrops, and as the comparison of the sculptures will show, does not direct us in vain.

According to Apollodorus, (III. 14, 2,) Cecrops married Aglauros, daughter of Actæus, and had one son, Erysichthon, who died before him, and three daughters, Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos.

The pair of figures next to Cephisus are obviously represented as man and wife by the affectionate character of the grouping: the female leaning on the male with her arm on his shoulder and neck; and by the agreement of their ages and proportions. This conjugal relation was recognized by Wheler and Spon, the first modern describers of the sculptures, who called the figures Hadrian and Sabina; it is peculiarly appropriate to Cecrops, as to him was assigned, by ancient tradition, the primal institution of legitimate marriage, and, according to Charax, quoted by Eustathius, it was to his invention of this sacred alliance that he owed his title, διφυής. Three female figures and one more youthful male, make up in the pediment the number of the descendants of Cecrops: the daughter who is nearest to the centre of the composition has a male companion, whose name will be decided by the considerations which determine her own; she has hitherto usually, indeed, invariably been designated Nikè, with the consequence that, to complete the number of the daughters of Cecrops, he has been deprived of a wife; while Welcker, recognizing the conjugal character of the group as self-evident and inevitable, is reduced by his position to banish Cecrops and Cecropidæ from the composition altogether. All these difficulties and inconsistencies vanish, when the charioteer is found, on I think sufficient grounds, to be no Nikè at all.

The figures that I have called Cecrops and his wife Aglauros, are, according to Welcker, Heracles and Hebe, and he states his opinion with such decidedness, that I congratulate myself on the nature of the evidence by which I can support my own, adopted in the first instance on purely analytical grounds. From examination of the plaster casts of the group now in the museum, and comparison with a fragment of the sculptured marble, I have come to the conclusion,—I will even venture to

say, have established the fact,—that Pheidias represented the male figure as seated or resting on a huge Chthonian serpent, the appropriate symbol of the Autochthon or γηγενής. The form of the marble (as represented in the cast) at the back of the group, and under the hand of the male figure, first attracted my attention; on close examination, it appeared to correspond in character of surface and outline, with fragment engraved for Welcker's Essay, and regarded by him as part of a hippocamp; and the next step was obvious, to restore this to its original position, by placing it in front of the group, between the two figures where the traces remain of an original joining of the block; this I was enabled to do by the kindness of Mr. Birch, the equally obliging and learned keeper of the Antiquities of the Museum, and the application of the surfaces exhibited such exact correspondences of outline and dimension, as to satisfy me that I had effected a genuine restoration. The marble was joined in another place close behind the hand on which Cecrops leans, and there can be little doubt, by a continuation of the smaller coil of the animal and its termination in a head, which apparently passed between the arm and body of the figure, and was attached to his side, so as to be visible from the front.

Cecrops, who in legend is half man half serpent, appears from the *Ion* of Euripides, v. 1163, to have been familiar to Attic eyes, represented as σπείραισιν εἱλίσσοντα, words that do not imply the serpent legs or gigantic forms of Erichthonius, (δρακοντόπους, *Etym. M.* v. Erechtheus,) but perhaps rather the single serpent termination with which he is seen on vases. Thus on a vase painting of great interest, he appropriately witnesses the birth of Erichthonius, another son of earth, though he has here been mistaken, perversely enough, for Nereus, (a fish out of water indeed,) notwithstanding the evidently reptile character of his termination, which exhibits not a rudiment of fin, dorsal, pectoral, or caudal (Cf. O. Jahn. *Arch. Beiträge*, p. 64).

Here then we have another remarkable example, to be borne in mind as our analysis proceeds, of the point of view from which Pheidias regarded the coarse abnormal types that long familiarity had consecrated in archaic art; while he avoided the monstrous combination, he still guarded himself against relinquishing entirely the symbolism of the serpent, but translating it into the style and spirit of the

associations so appropriate to the occasion, the opposition of land and sea and the autochthonous pride of the Athenian.

Every figure on this side of the pediment is in action,—is in such an attitude as to imply that a moment before it was not in the same, and that it is again on the point of alteration, in obedience to a lively impulse. Cephisus by himself apart, raises himself as from his bed, and, as is apparent from the position of the trunk and raised arm, looked towards the scene of the contest with interest and admiration. Cecrops is animated by the same feelings, which he expresses with very similar movement and gesture, only varied by his turning round from a sitting and almost erect attitude, while Cephisus raises himself from one of reclining. The agreement of the position of the head of Cecrops with that of his wife, which is close to it, indicates a sympathy that does not occur to modify the expression of the river god. Aglauros is on her knees, or rather on one knee, for her left does not touch the ground, being elevated by her movement to the right; by the inclination of her body, its weight is divided between her right knee and the shoulder of Cecrops, and the motion of her drapery, especially where it falls from her uncovered breast, and the spirited action of her left arm, show that the attitude is the result of a rather sudden start towards her husband, whose firm position sustains and balances the movement. The easy turn and flowing lines of Cecrops, contrast with the angularity of the associated figure, and while the attention of both is turned towards the contending divinities, in admiration of the interposing goddess rather than alarm at her opponent, the Attic king appears more self-possessed, and, on the principle "that doublet and hose should show themselves courageous to petticoat," to encourage her to reliance.

There is much similarity in the action and expression of the elevated arms of Cecrops and Aglauros and Cephisus, at this extremity of the pediment, and Callirhoe, Ilissus, and probably Tethys, at the other; such uniformity, if occurring near the centre of a composition, would offend as a platitude, but is judiciously employed, with the relief of varied grouping, at the remote extremities, as furnishing a ready key to the expression of parts on which the attention, absorbed by the main action,

cannot dwell, giving a frame to the subject and marking the common boundary of the development of the interest.

We have but a defective drawing of the next and that a mutilated figure, a seated female, from which it is difficult to infer anything with confidence as to the turn of her head, or the occupation and expression of the arms; the movement of the knees, however, is parallel with that of the body of Aglauros, her mother according to our analysis, and thus conveys the impression of sympathy with her emotion.

Their combined movement, which is correlative to that of Tethys on the opposite side, is partly repeated in the action of the nude male figure, with regard to which all questions are again much embarrassed by the defects of our only authority—the drawing. The proportions as given are unaccountable, but it was evidently youthful from the manner in which it rests on the lap of the last figure, and appears at the same time to be partly sustained by the female figure that hastens to it from behind. The age agrees with the traditional circumstances of Erysichthon as dying without issue, and during the lifetime of his father. The difficulty there is in distinguishing him in mythology from Erichthonios, who was nursed and tended by a triad of sisters, may account for the suggestion of his peculiarly dependent position. By the same means he is retained in the due subordination to his sisters, required by their relative importance in legends; Euripides, who describes groups of Cecrops and his daughters, (*Ion*, v. 1163, cf. v. 49 and 1398,) omits all mention of his son, who is equally absent from the representations of the family on the well known Attic bas-reliefs.

I cannot pretend to detect the symbolical indications which no doubt determined at once, to the original spectators, the several names of the two sisters. Wanting better guidance, we may entitle the sister who stands at the back of the group, Herse, whose name is usually enumerated in the triad between Aglauros and Pandrosos, and whom Ovid has occasion to notice as occupying a middle position. In this view I am confirmed by the consideration, that Pandrosos seems to have the best claim to be seated nearest to her father, from the attachment of his tomb—the Cecropium, to the Pandroseum, a little to the north of the Parthenon.

The names of Herse and Pandrosos indicate that they were

originally or secondarily (we can seldom with safety speak more positively of these fluctuating mythical forms,) personifications of modes of humidity, Dew, and All-Dew, or moisture collectively, (ποταμίαισι δρόσοις, Eurip. *Hippol.*) The name of their sister Aglauros, Clearness, is explainable in the same connection, as representing the open unclouded sky that is one of the conditions of the deposit of Dew.

The influence of dew on vegetation, so important in southern climates, is alluded to by Homer; the plenteous dew of Ithaka is one cause of its abounding in corn and wine; hence it is appropriately personified in the nymphs who tend the sacred olive, the symbol of the fertility of Attica. The Caryatides of the Pandroseion, in which this olive was placed, appear to have carried hydrias, which may be explained, not by reference to those borne by the metœci in the Panathenaic procession, but to the appropriate symbols of attendants of Pandrosos, the nymph of moisture. Eos, the morning, is painted on vases, hovering in the air, with a hydria in either hand, the emblems, says Panofka, of the refreshing dews of morning.[17]

Moisture, humidity generally and in all its forms, was recognized by Greek imagination, to say nothing of philosophy, as the principle and agent of all fertility; and the idea was not only expressed, as we have seen, in the offices and attributes of Aphrodite and the Nereids, but even in the mythic character of Dionusos himself, the special influence of wine becomes entirely subordinate to his control of fluidity in the abstract. Animal prolificness and germinant vegetation were included in the same law, and following this analogy, ἔρσαι and δρόσοι, are terms for the young of animals,[18] and Herse and Pandrosos are the proper nurses either of Erichthonius, foster-child of Athene and type of the Attic infant population, or Erysichthon their own brother, as we behold them on the pediment.

The grouping of Erysichthon and Pandrosos reminds of the expression applied by Pindar more than once to a conqueror in the games, as falling on the lap or into the embraces of Nikè —that is, as the child or darling of Victory. The sedulous attention of Herse, however, appears to indicate that his attitude, of which that of his mother is a more moderate form, is expressive of some degree of agitation, if not alarm. The cause

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[17] *Griech. u. Griech.* p. 2.

[18] Æschyl. *Agam.* 145; *Odyss.* IX. 222.

of his shrinking cannot be the prancing of the horses, which are remote from him and move in another direction, and he himself is too old for such a motive to be consistent with the dignity of the composition. We must ascribe his excitement to the same cause as the start and gestures of Aglauros, the clamour and confusion of the advance of the sea god, surprise and admiration at the interposition of the goddess.

The motion, and the apparently sudden motion of Aglauros, of her son and the two daughters nearest to her, away from the scene of strife, realize the expression of agitation required to explain the previous tendency of Poseidon, and to justify the interference of Athene to the rescue, while the sway and bias of lines is balanced by the contrasted movement of Cephisus and Cecrops, and the energy of the charioteer.

The movement of Herse is in the same direction as that of Erysichthon, but it is visibly independent of any other emotion than solicitude for her brother and sister; and she thus assists the transition to the figure of the female charioteer, whose determined action and flying drapery indicate vigorous movement in the direction of the centre of the pediment, at the moment immediately preceding the crisis of the scene.

The action of the horses, it will be observed, exceeds a stride. They are, as represented, rather rearing than advancing; but that such was their action a moment before, is indicated by the drapery of their charioteer, which, by their sudden check, flags and falls from the full extension of its loose folds, by the previous rapid movement forwards: the same action accounts for the backward slope of her body, which, with the active occupation of her arms, is well illustrated by comparison of the charioteers of the frieze, with their horses in every variety of action.

The combination before us suggests a lively reminiscence of the moment immediately anterior to the interposition of Athene, when the chariot of the Cecropid, eagerly urged towards the point of invasion, was suddenly checked, the horses thrown almost on their haunches by the bold position of the sea god, and their driver fully occupied with the control of their excitement. From the position of the hind feet of the horses, it will be seen that their fore feet, if brought to the ground, would come close upon the spot occupied by the advanced foot of Poseidon. As this completion of their action necessarily passes

through the imagination, they are brought into relation with the action of the god, and the nature of their proximity to Athene, before whom it is, and not away from whom, that the front horse rears, prevents the suggestion to the mind of the awkward impression, that it is her appearance that checks and alarms them. Poseidon meets the horses directly; his advanced leg and foot are opposite to the most conspicuous horse, and on the same plane. Their action is antagonistic to him and to his suggested attitude in the anterior moment, while the action of Athene is visibly an interposition, as she advances from behind, her right arm covering the charioteer and steeds, while her left is in the act and expression of forbidding energetically the progress of the indignant god.

The attitude and occupation of the charioteer, therefore, with all their activity and energy, are far too equivocal to characterize her as Nike, as Victory, either with wings or without. Defective as the drawings are, we can hardly be misled by them in regarding this figure, one of the most carefully finished, as in scale, style of execution, and dignity, at least on a par with the other female figures on this side, while on the eastern pediment, the figures of both Iris and Nike are distinguished very apparently from the other dignified female statues, by a style and treatment that mark them as personifications of an entirely different order. Again, the manner in which she is grouped and associated with her male companion, is unaccountable on the supposition that she is a Nike, and introduced as the special attendant of Athene. The head of Herse was turned towards Erysichthon in the opposite direction, and thus the two figures intermediate between her and Athene, are left by themselves. The movements of their arms when unmutilated, must have brought them into intimate relation; and this was decided and drawn closer, by the head of the male figure being turned towards the charioteer, a point in which, Welcker correctly observes, the evidence of the drawing is supported by the remains of the statue in the Museum.

The inclination or movement of his body, and the direction of his arm, extended in a line with the path of the chariot, complete the exhibition of sympathy between the pair, their common interest and activity at an exciting crisis.

The position as thus elucidated, is claimed among the daughters of Cecrops by Aglauros, named like her mother, by right

of mythical character and associations. Aglauros was married to Ares, whom I therefore recognize in her companion on the pediment, and the pair occupied a most important position in Attic mythology and religion, and one that harmonizes remarkably with the circumstances of their introduction in the composition. She appears here active in the van, on the occasion of the threatening incursion of Poseidon: it was in her sanctuary that the Athenian ephebus, having received spear and shield from the assembled demus, a panoply of the son of one who had fallen in battle, took a solemn oath never to disgrace his consecrated arms, and to defend his country to death. The terms of the oath, according to the most complete form of it that can be recovered, implied such gratitude for food and nourishment, as accords with the character of the daughter of the Earth-man Cecrops, the nymph Aglauros as a divinity of the fruitful land. It was in this character that she was attested on the occasion, in association with the goddesses of the seasons, Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone; Ares Enualius, her husband, and Zeus, were the only other attested gods, Athene herself not being of the number. Some traditions hint indeed that nymph and goddess were originally one, Aglauros being a title of the goddess. Aglauros as her mythical priestess, was especially connected with her festivals of Plunteria and Kallinteria.

Other legends represented her as perishing voluntarily to save her country, and thus she was the established type of patriotic self-devotion.

As a power of the land, therefore, in opposition to the devastating sea, as entitled to be associated with Athene in greater proximity than her sisters, as the great mythic example and attester of patriotic resolution, her place on the pediment is fully vindicated. Ares has also equal claim to his position, more particularly as legend represented him on another occasion as engaged in a contest with Poseidon, on a quarrel affecting Aglauros and her family.

The position of a female in the van as meeting the invader, may be farther justified, as the reflection of a tradition alluded to in Plato's *Critias*, which assigned to the Attic women in Cecropian times, the military ardour befitting worshippers of a warrior goddess. This coincides with Varro's story of their equal participation civil franchise: reminiscences ir social posi-

tion in Attica was not in such contrast to the Doric and Homeric type of their influence, as in the Ionian period.

We may now discern the motive of Pheidias, in assigning to Poseidon a train so peculiarly feminine in character, the only males among it being the youthful Melicertes and Eros: it was the necessity of preserving the subordination of the worsted party to the following of Athene, in which the terms of the mythus imposed the necessity that feminine forms should be predominant.

To Ares, I have little doubt, belonged the pair of striding feet attached to a slab, with a rough fragment of remarkable form, rising up from it between them. This fragment has usually been regarded as the stump of the olive tree of Athene, but the usual looseness of observation and want of attention to the difference between left limbs and right, have contributed to perplex the question as to its original position. By a strange blunder, pointed out by Welcker, the feet were assigned to the Athene of this pediment, who moves in the contrary direction, and whose proportions, moreover, are too large to agree with them. The Professor's own views, however, are either inconsistent or obscure; the position, p. 391, that "the fragment can have belonged only to a naked male figure, which the stump served to support," contradicts his conclusion, p. 392, that "the marble slab with the two feet, really belonged to the Pallas of the eastern pediment." I have also convinced myself, by minute examination, that he is in error in saying that "the projecting piece of marble shews no trace of having been cut round or intentionally shaped;" and on this point the whole question turns. Thus shaped, the object can scarcely have represented anything else but the stump of a tree, and in the position, claimed for it, the stump of the sacred olive. It is in vain to object that it "would interfere with the beginning of the calf of the leg" of the striding figure, as the test proposed of standing on its actual position, assumes what is an impossibility, that the calf of a mortal leg, at an equal stride, coincides in position with that of a figure, which Welcker himself, a moment after, estimates as between eight and nine feet high.

The proportions and position of the feet agree very well with the figure and attitude of Ares, and of Ares alone, on this pediment, where, if at all, a place is to be found for the olive tree.

The thighs of the torso are sufficiently preserved to show that the right leg was extended, and the left thigh raised, and therefore, from the poise of the body, the left knee bent, the very position required by the feet. A fragment of a bent left knee is in the collection, and has been assigned, I think correctly, to this figure. The stump probably helped to support the statue by actual attachment, as formed out of the same block, and may then have passed, consistently with the form ascribed to the sacred olive as πάγκωφος, (Hesych. in v.) either before or behind the thigh it was in contact with, and become visible in the vacant space, which the arm of Ares does not interfere with, above the back of the horse. The introduction of the olive, even in this entirely subordinate form, would necessitate at least a trace of the salt spring, and I am inclined to believe, that "the disfiguring stone" that supports the horses was made use of for this purpose.

This brings us to the discussion, or at least statement, of a question of great difficulty, and which, in the first instance, I confess I did not approach without a certain feeling of repugnance.

In the space below the outer horse, between his hind legs and the stone just alluded to, appear on Carrey's drawing with a distinctness that does not admit of question, the traces of some nine or ten human faces, closely crowded, and looking upwards.

Did these faces actually exist in the marbles? and if so, how is the introduction of them to be accounted for, both as matter of art and mythology?

Assuming, for the purpose of analysis, that Carrey correctly copied what actually existed, the best apology for the representation that suggests itself to me, is in effect as follows:—

The faces can only represent, or rather symbolize, the Athenian subjects of Cecrops, whose suffrages he was said to have collected to decide the claims of the divinities, and who now, like himself, await with interest, or witness with admiration, the climax of the dispute.[19] The introduction of such a representation of them in such a form by Pheidias, seems best accounted for, by supposing that he adopted it as the least em-

[19] Counting them as ten, their number agrees with the Attic tribes, though chronology murmurs at the suggestion that they are the actual eponyms.

barrassing mode of satisfying the requirements of popular associations, which would have ill brooked the entire omission of a detail, and that so important as the personified demus, in the representation or adaptation even to a new style of art, of a scene and subject sanctified to them in all its rudeness and most repulsive archaisms, by national pride and long association.

Of the archaic type applicable to this very instance, we have reflections, preserved to us in several Attic monuments later than the age of Pheidias, the well-known bas-relief and its parallels, to which Welcker has occasion to refer, representing, "according to the indubitable explanation of Visconti, Cecrops and his three daughters, with a series of six small figures of devout persons, who are praying or making vows to them."

The custom of representing gods of larger proportions than even heroic mortals, is alluded to as early as in Homer's description of the shield of Achilles; on the friezes of both the Parthenon and Theseion, the gods are as high seated as the men are standing, and so, in this very pediment, the difference in proportion is enormous between Athene and Poseidon, and all the other figures, both divine and heroic. The same principle must have been familiarized to the Athenian, by the contrast between the proportions of the dramatic choruses, and the artificially elevated and enlarged figures of the heroic or divine characters of the tragedy.

Such contrasts, therefore, had nothing ridiculous to the Greek, and would not justify in his eyes the omission by Pheidias of a group recognized as an important and established member of the composition; and the sculptor, in consequence, invented or adopted an intermediate plan, which, without interfering with the symmetry of his leading groups, preserved to Cecrops his time-honoured attendance, and to the Attic Demus, its darling principle of popular influence and interference even in heroic and regal times.

A judgment on the question whether this explanation is sufficient, might excusably be evaded; but to state my opinions frankly, I decidedly believe that it is more probable that Pheidias introduced these sculptured faces as assumed, than that Carrey blundered upon details so obviously uninvited by any proprieties he was likely to be acquainted with, yet, at the same time, capable in fact of such a plausible justification. From the manner in which the question has hitherto been passed

over, I am aware that such an avowal of opinion is rash to the verge of the chivalrous, but I have confidence in my result, and let those who love me follow me.

We have now completed the review of the several groups and individual statues which made up the grand composition of the quarrel of Athene and Poseidon about the land of Attica, as placed by Pheidias over the western or back entrance to the great Athenian temple.

Of the appropriateness of the subject in scope, spirit, and expression, and of the wisdom with which the several members of the groups were selected and disposed, with a view to the elucidation and enforcement of such scope, spirit, and expression, I have no more to say; nor can I, for obvious reasons, enlarge on the unrivalled perfections of the execution of every part, nude and draped, tranquil and in action, a perfection that is lavished, as from the all-bounteous hand of Nature herself, on all parts indiscriminately, both front and back, visible, or destined after the marbles were once erected to be for ever unseen.

On one point, however, I have a few more observations to make: on the traces of the art with which Pheidias harmonized his groups, which, studied apart, seem exclusively inspired by the spirit of the represented incident, with the conditions imposed on him by the architecture they embellished, and the other sculptures that were associated with them.

Architecture, of all the arts, is most distinguished as affecting symmetry,—the composition of wholes of halves that repeat each other as exactly as the external appearance of the halves of the human countenance, or living bodies generally; the large masses it deals with, appear to demand this assistance to mastering a general effect.

Greek architecture is even more strict in this rule than any other, and the principle is necessarily extended to sculpture that is to accompany it, and especially in the strongly marked and widely extended pediments. In the Æginetan pediments, accordingly, we see figure answering to figure, and group to group, and the repetition descending to the minuter circumstances of attitude, and scarcely relieved but by the contrast of gestures, and of left limbs to right.

In the Parthenon groups the principle
less apparent, but relieved by subordinate

richness and complexity. In the centre, as we have seen, the figure of Athene draped contrasts, and at the same time corresponds, with the figure and action of the nude Poseidon; the rearing horses, in like manner, answered to the hippocampæ, of which the chief masses were apparently more depressed: Amphitrite, who governs them, has one leg naked, and is attended by a draped female figure, looking forwards, and is opposed to the charioteer Aglauros, with flying skirts,—and Ares, looking towards her, and whose only drapery was a light chlamys. Then follow on either side three figures, of which the middle one is nude, but on the south side female, on the north male. Three more figures, north and south, complete the composition; but of these the two inner ones are grouped together on one side, and the two outer on the other; and by the same arrangement the youthful Callirhoe is rendered a satisfactory counterpoise to the more important Cephisus.

The same principles are easily recognized in the statues that remain of the eastern pediment, where the groups of the two extremities north and south are not only contrasted with each other, but also with the north and south groups respectively of the western front. But the analysis of these contrasts belongs to the enquiry into the general restoration of the lost groups of the principal front.

The architectural character of formality is farther observable in the slope of the chief masses, the prevalence of certain angles to the bounding lines of the pediment, of the leading lines of the figures at the chief divisions of the subject; of Athene, the charioteer and Aglauros on one side; of Poseidon, Amphitrite and Tethys on the other. The reality of this application of the rule, may be confirmed by the observation of its remarkable employment in the Amazonian composition of the frieze of Phigalia.

But a principle of still more importance is the observation of harmony between masses of figures and intervals of vacancy, with the masses and intervals of the architectural members.

The sculptures of the pediments, it must be borne in mind, were to be viewed in combination both with the cornice and the columniation of the portico, of which the leading characteristic was regular alternation of solid masses and vacant space, of upright supports and unoccupied intervals. Examination of Carrey's drawing (in the fac-similes of the Museum,) confirmed

what I previously suspected, that these conditions had not been regarded as unimportant or irrelevant to the arrangement of the groups above. In this arrangement foreground and background are very distinguishable, as will be seen at once on considering the positions of Ino and Pardrosos relatively to the figures beside them, and hence the front line of the cornice is alternately occupied or comparatively vacant, crowded or open; and these alternations are so arranged, that it will be found that Pheidias placed his solid and advancing masses over the columns which thus serve as bases for them; the intermediate triglyphs furnishing to the eye support for the inferior or less prominent masses, while the most retiring figures, and the largest blank spaces, occur over the intercolumniations. Thus, on the northern side, the head and central line of Cecrops fall over one column, and those of the charioteer over another, and the right foot of Poseidon and Athene over a third, the stride of the god extending over the central intercolumniation.

By the same arrangement the high relief of the sculptures of the metopes is prevented from interfering with the design and effect of the great composition; thus one of them would occur under the retiring group of Erysichthon and his sisters, another under the plain surfaces and blank spaces of the horses and their position, another under the open stride of Poseidon: Thus introduced, they assist to unite and relieve the superior composition, and to conceal the artifice of its divisions.

Carrey did not give the architectural details in his drawing of the south half of the pediment, but the columns seem to have supported the hippocampæ, the feet of Aphrodite and Ilissus.

The frieze of the cella was intended to be seen from the ambulatory, and accordingly no correspondence is traceable between the distribution of its groups and the position of the columns.

Greek art, in the age of Pheidias, had already passed through at least a century of experience in the combination of sculpture with architecture, in the decoration of pediments, if we reckon only from the earliest recorded performance of the kind, the work of Bupalos and Athenis at Chios. The entire loss of the productions of such a period leave us little encouragement to speculate on the exact degree and nature of development originated by Pheidias in this application of his art; and difficulties

as great meet us when we attempt to estimate his precise relation to his predecessors and contemporaries in respect to style and execution. The formal hair, plaited draperies and rigid features of archaic art, which some of the best sculptors of his age retained, had already been given up by Polygnotus in painting, and even in sculpture are entirely renounced in the friezes and metopes of the Theseion of Cimon. The friezes of the contemporary Temple of Phigalia are again so distinct and contrasted in style, as to warn us of our danger in pronouncing positively in so complex a matter as the development of art, while our materials are so lamentably deficient.

The principles evolved of the harmony of sculpture and architecture, and the symmetrical agreement and opposition of the opposite halves of the pediments, and of one pediment with the other, afford important assistance to the formation of an opinion as to the members of the lost groups of the chief front, and their distribution or arrangement. Some farther assistance should also be derived by us from the preceding analysis, if in any degree successful, in acquaintance with the spirit in which Pheidias conceived the embodiment of a religious mythus, and preserved the associations on which its sanctity depended, still without the compromise of dignity and grace by servile adoption of archaic symbolism.

All this may help us some way, but still how scanty are our materials! Farther help would accrue, had we even, as we ought to have, casts of all sculptured fragments lately brought to light on the acropolis; thus assisted, I would not despair of gaining one or two more points of certainty; but beyond this, fragments more important,—it is certain from the history of the defacement and spoliation of the temple, and the fatal "*studium auferendorum*," to be assumed even where it is not recorded,—are lying unrecognized in European museums or collections; who will undertake to search for them, and restore to the world some portion of the beauty that man, in his ignorance, wantonness, and prosecution of sanguinary and useless enmities, has so grievously sinned against?

It will probably be time enough for a new and detailed attempt to restore the design of the sculptures of the chief front of the Parthenon, when archæological aptitude and enthusiasm shall, by some rare freak of chance, be happily coincident with

the best opportunities and leisure. Μυθολογία γὰρ ἀναζήτησίς τε τῶν παλαιῶν μετὰ σχολῆς ἅμ' ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔρχεσθον, ὅταν ἴδητόν τισιν ἤδη τοῦ βίου τ' ἀναγκαῖα κατεσκευασμένα, πρὶν δὲ οὔ. ταύτῃ δὴ τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνόματα ἄνευ τῶν ἔργων διασέσωται.—Platon. *Critias*. 6.

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## XXV.

## AN EXAMINATION OF SOME THEORIES RESPECTING THE AUTHORSHIP AND THE UNION OF PLAN OF THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY.

VARIOUS opinions have been formed in modern times respecting the author or authors of the Iliad and Odyssey. As they have been generally attributed to Homer, questions have arisen respecting the period of his birth, and whether the art of writing was known and practised at the time in which he is supposed to have lived; how they were transmitted through a series of ages down to the times of Solon and Pisistratus; and whether an union of plan is discernible in both. These questions have been keenly debated by some German authors, and have been recently examined and commented on both by Mr. Grote and Dr. Thirlwall in their respective histories of Greece. As the theory propounded by the former of these writers, which coincides in its main points with that of most of the German writers, appeared to me erroneous, I have endeavoured in the following remarks to controvert their opinions, and to prove that these immortal poems could have had but one author.

The earliest and most authentic information we have respecting the author of the Iliad and Odyssey, is from the pen of Herodotus, the father of history. He places Homer four hundred years before himself; so that, counting back from the time in which he lived, the birth of the poet must have been about eight hundred years before the Christian æra. Aristotle, however, supposed that he must have flourished fully more than a century earlier. The date is of little importance, except in so far as it has a relation to the question, whether the

ing was known and practised about that period. It is a remarkable fact, that there is only one instance in the whole Iliad and Odyssey where there is any allusion to this art, namely, in the celebrated epistle delivered to Bellerophon by Prœtus, to be conveyed to his father-in-law:

> πέμπε δέ μιν Λυκίηνδε, πόρεν δ' ὅγε σήματα λυγρά,
> γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθόρα πολλά.—*Il.* VI. 168.

Some authors have supposed that the σήματα were the ordinary symbols or characters employed at that time in writing, and that they were enclosed in a folded tablet, secured in some way or other from the inspection of Bellerophon. Others, with more probability, that they were particular characters or signs, known only to Prœtus and his father-in-law, something like the Egyptian hieroglyphics or modern ciphers. At any rate, no conclusive argument can be drawn from them that the art of writing was practised in Greece in Homer's time: Yet it is difficult to believe that it was entirely unknown. It is generally acknowledged that the letters of the Greek alphabet were derived from the Phœnicians, with whom the inhabitants of the country had frequent intercourse long before Homer's time. We know, also, from sacred history, that the art of writing was practised by Moses and the Israelites immediately after their departure from Egypt, and that in this latter country, as well as in Phœnicia, it was well known under different forms. It is extremely probable that an art of so much utility must have been communicated to the Greeks by the Phœnician traders, but that, from their want of materials, it made no progress among them for several ages. The silence of Homer himself, with the exception of the doubtful expression above alluded to, seems to be decisive on this point, that the Iliad and Odyssey were not in the first instance committed to writing, but were transmitted orally from one generation to another, by the ἀοιδοὶ or bards, for a period nearly of three centuries. This is the opinion now generally entertained by those who have carefully examined the subject: but it involves questions of difficulty not easily solved. It is asked, if writing was unknown or not practised in the time of Homer, how could poems of such a length as the Iliad and Odyssey be composed and treasured up in the memory of a single individual, and how could they be transmitted from one generation to another without the aid of writ-

ten records? This apparent difficulty gave rise to the hypothesis promulgated by the celebrated F. A. Wolf, in his Prolegomena to Homer, that the Iliad and the Odyssey were not the compositions of a single individual, but that they were the aggregate productions of different poets. This hypothesis is further founded upon the discrepancies and the want of connection observable in several parts of both poems.—Before entering upon the examination of this hypothesis, it may be necessary to observe, that in Homer's time, poems, whether epic or lyric, were not *read*, but *recited*, at festivals, or to companies assembled on great occasions. "As in the case of dramatic performances," says Mr. Grote,[1] "Wolf's idea that no strength of memory could retain poems of such a length as the Iliad and Odyssey, is controverted by many examples, both in ancient and modern times." Xenophon states in his *Symposium*, that there were many persons at Athens who could repeat both poems. The Gallic Druids, according to the testimony of Cæsar, (B. G. VI. 14.) could repeat a vast number of unwritten verses. "The memory of the Persian singers," says a modern traveller,[2] "is truly astonishing. At every request, they recite in one breath for some hours, without stammering, beginning the tale at the passage or verse pointed out by the hearers." Sir Walter Scott informs us, in his autobiography, that he could repeat almost the whole of Spenser's Fairy Queen; and, probably, every one of his poetical works, from beginning to end. It is not long since that an individual, in the humblest station of life, a native of Stirling, and totally blind, was accustomed to take his daily walk round the castle, and when requested, repeated any portion of the Bible pointed out to him.[3] Our ideas of the extent of me-

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[1] Volume II. p. 132.

[2] Alexander Chodzko.

[3] The following extract of a letter from the Rev. Dr. Wilson, one of the ministers of Stirling, to whom I applied for information respecting the individual alluded to, confirms what I have stated of his extraordinary memory:—"Alexander Lyon, a native of Stirling, died about five years ago. For upwards of fifty years, and up to the period of his death, he was daily in the habit of walking in the high and narrow, but most beautiful walk that has been carried round the south, west, and north part of the town of Stirling,—alone, and with the greatest firmness and confidence, although quite blind, indeed born blind. When a boy, he was accustomed to frequent the school of Mr. M'Laren, who taught the boys of Watson's Hospital. Under his direction, these boys read the Scriptures to him, until he acquired the knowledge of them so completely, as to have them perfectly committed to memory. In

mory among an unlettered people, are both limited and fallacious. Having books from which we derive the greater part of our knowledge, we are not obliged to cultivate the memory to the same extent as the ancients, among whom manuscripts were very rare, and not easily procured; and particularly at an early period of their history, when all the information they acquired, was through the songs of the bards. Besides, a poet can more easily retain in his memory his own compositions than those of others; and it is, therefore, nothing like an impossibility that Homer, gifted as he must have been, not only with the highest poetical talents, but also an extraordinary memory, could have composed and repeated the whole of his own poems. In his solitary wanderings from place to place as a strolling bard, for such he certainly was, he would treasure up in his memory all that he had seen and heard, and mould into verse the stories that were current in his time; for, in the state of society in which he evidently lived, the adventures of individuals, as well as the deeds of heroes, formed the subject of song, and were eagerly listened to by the people. But we are not to suppose that, as his poems were not read, but recited, at solemn festivals and days of rejoicing, the whole was gone through at one hearing, either by himself or the rhapsodes who succeeded him. Different portions would be recited at different times, according to the pleasure of the audience, and thus neither the memory nor the voice of the bard would be fatigued. It would thus appear that there was no physical impossibility for one man being the author of such poems as the Iliad and Odyssey, or of retaining them in his memory, or reciting them in parts to an audience of Greeks. But it has been supposed by Wolf and others, that, from the circumstances already mentioned, and the want of harmony and connection in different parts, particularly in the Iliad, it could not be the composition of one person, but of different poets and at different times. Mr. Grote goes so far as

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his daily perambulations in the walk referred to, he was met by multitudes of people, and the practice was very common to put questions to him from the Bible, *e. g.* What is the 3d verse of the 4th chapter of Ezekiel? and immediately he repeated the words with perfect correctness. Indeed, he was never known to hesitate or fail in his answer. In the most accurate manner he repeated the whole of the Old and New Testament Scriptures. His memory, indeed, served him with equal promptitude and accuracy, in reference to all subjects, or particulars that had been brought under his notice."

to think that no individual of the name of Homer ever existed, but that he was "a divine or semidivine eponymus and progenitor, whom the class called Homerids worshipped in their gentile sacrifices, and in whose ascendant name and glory the individuality of every member of the gens was merged. The compositions of each separate Homerid, or the combined efforts of many of them in conjunction, were the works of Homer. The name of the individual bard perishes, and his authorship is forgotten, but the common gentile father lives and grows in renown from generation to generation by the genius of his self-renewing sons."[4] This statement is neither very intelligible, nor can it be true. Mr. Grote is fond of referring all history and all antiquity of a doubtful nature to trumpery legends, the offspring of men of heated imaginations, who knew nothing and cared nothing about sober truth, but who loved to expatiate in the dim region of mythological romance and fable, and ascribed every thing of which they were ignorant to supernatural agencies. He is also not a little tinctured with the mystical notions and hazy phraseology of some German writers; and betrays such contradictory opinions upon the subject of these poems as to weaken his authority. But when we find authors of the highest name and credit, who lived not many centuries after the Iliad and Odyssey appeared, ascribing them, not to a fraternity of poets, but to an individual of the name of Homer, we cannot refrain from considering all such theories highly improbable and absurd. Surely Solon, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle, must have known more of Homer and the Homerids than writers who lived more than 2000 years later; and they all, and many more, indeed the whole community of Greece, always ascribed both the Iliad and Odyssey to Homer, and denominated him by way of distinction, *the Poet*. It is true, we know nothing about his parents, the place of his birth, or his residence, if he had any fixed abode, except from vague traditionary report. But the belief was general that such a poet did once exist; and the Greeks did not in his case, as they did in others of a doubtful nature, make him, as Mr. Grote expresses it, "a divine or semidivine eponymus [illegible] itor of the gens."

Confining our [illegible] be asked, Is the subject of th[illegible] unded on

facts? and, if the production of one individual, how came he to be acquainted with them, being so numerous and diversified, and the scenes of many of them laid in countries widely separated from each other? In a work on Greek Prosody,[5] published four years ago, I stated it as my opinion, that "it is well known that every chief, as well as distinguished family in Greece, had their own bards, just as among the ancient chieftains of Scotland, whose duty it was to celebrate the deeds of their ancestors." Such were Phemius and Demodocus, the minstrel bard of Alcinous, who is generally thought to represent the poet himself under a fictitious name. "As some of the most distinguished among the chiefs had been engaged in the Trojan war, their exploits were handed down from one generation to another in the songs of their bards, and thus formed a kind of Family History. Homer, who seems to have travelled over all parts of Greece as a wandering minstrel, must have met with a welcome reception at the court of every prince whom he visited, as the ἀοιδοὶ were held in the highest admiration, and their persons were sacred; and he would, of consequence, when exhibiting his own powers as a poet, hear the recitations of the family bards, recounting the gallant deeds of the ancestors of the chief. From these family legends he seems to have composed both the Iliad and the Odyssey, skilfully combining the detached pieces into one whole, and working them up in such a manner by the power of his genius, as to give them one uniform colour and appearance." That detached poems of such a nature were common in those early times, is evident from what the poet says of Achilles, who, in his state of inactivity, did not disdain to touch the lyre with his own hands, and sing the deeds of heroes:

τὸν δ' εὗρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ,
καλῇ, δαιδαλέῃ, ἐπὶ δ' ἀργύρεος ζυγὸς ἦεν.
τὴν ἄρετ' ἐξ ἐνάρων, πόλιν Ἠετίωνος ὀλέσας.
τῇ ὅγε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν, ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν.

*Il.* IX. 186.

But it is the opinion of Welcker, a celebrated German critic, in his work on the Epic Cyclus, that there are indications, even in the Odyssey, that epic poetry had long before advanced be-

[5] Dissertation I.

yond that primitive stage in which it was confined to short and independent lays, such as Achilles is represented to have sung to his lyre. "It had already become," says Dr. Thirlwall in his first Appendix to his *History of Greece*, when examining this subject, "it had already become usual to collect and combine the matter of these lays (the κλέα ἀνδρῶν,) in an οἶμη, or range of song, embracing a variety of subjects; in other words, a regular epic poem of considerable length, with beginning, middle, and end. A poet who so worked up these poetical elements, or fitted them together into a whole, was a ὅμηρος, (ὁμοῦ ἄρω,) and so, before the author of the Iliad or Odyssey there were many *Homers*, that is, *arrangers*, *composers*. Such were Phemius and Demodocus."

Whether the poet who composed the Iliad and Odyssey derived his name from piecing together the different lays relating to the siege of Troy, is somewhat doubtful. Certain it is that, in the opinion of the ancient Greeks, there was but one Homer; and they never doubted that he alone was the author of both poems. It is evident from the clearest internal indications, that whoever he was, he must have travelled over a great part of Asia Minor, and visited the most of Greece, and many of the islands, particularly those called the Ionian, as the descriptions in the Iliad and Odyssey are too fresh and vivid to have been derived from other poets, while they bear the strongest marks of identity of origin. In the course of his travels as an ἀοιδός, or strolling minstrel, he would hear the lays that were sung by other bards attached to the courts of princes, and thus have an opportunity of collecting and arranging in his own mind all those that bore upon the siege of Troy, and that related to the wanderings and fortunes of Ulysses.[6]

Supposing, then, that the Iliad in particular was made up of detached lays in the way described, is there sufficient evidence in the unity of the subject, and the proper coherence of the different parts, to lead to the conclusion, that the poem, such as we have it, was the composition of one author? This is dis-

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[6] The view here given of the composition of the Iliad and the Odyssey, is nearly the same as that entertained by two eminent German authors, Nitszch and Ritschl, whose opinions, however, I had no opportunity of knowing till the publication of the second edition of Dr. Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, two years subsequent to the publication of the *Dissertation on the Versification of Homer* in my Greek Prosody.

puted by several German critics, and to some extent by Mr. Grote. Godofred Hermann, in his preface to the Odyssey, says, in his usual arrogant style, "Non esse totam Iliadem aut Odysseam unius poetæ opus, ita extra dubitationem positum puto, ut, qui secus sentiat, eum non satis lectitasse illa carmina contendam." And Lachmann, after having examined the 2200 lines in the Iliad, between the beginning of the eleventh Book and line 590 of the fifteenth, and arranged them into four lays or songs, "in the highest degree different in their spirit," according to his conception, tells us, with an unparalleled degree of dogmatism, "whosoever thinks this difference of spirit inconsiderable, whosoever does not feel it at once when pointed out, whosoever can believe that the parts, as they stand now, belong to one artistically constructed epos, will do well not to trouble himself any more either with my criticisms, or with epic poetry, because he is too weak to understand any thing about it." Such a degree of arrogance is enough to disgust any person with M. Lachmann's criticisms, though they were better founded than they are, but will cetainly not prevent scholars from reading and examining Epic Poetry, and forming a judgment of their own. Lachmann thinks that the Iliad originally consisted of sixteen songs or little epics, and that these went only as far as the 22d book, or the death of Hector, and that they were not only composed by different authors, but by each without any communication with the rest. In this view, there can be no unity in the different portions of the Iliad. He imagined, along with Wolf, that Pisistratus, and the learned men he employed, collected and put the different songs together, so as to give them the appearance of one connected story. If this were the case, as we may suppose there must have been great disparity in the talents and qualifications of the different authors who composed the songs, so we might expect to find, independent of the want of connection, some portions exhibiting higher poetical merit than others, and a very considerable diversity of style and manner.

I think I might appeal to every competent judge, whether such a theory is at all supported by internal evidence; for by such evidence, to a great extent, must the question be determined.

If we suppose that the art of writing was either not known or little practised at the period when Homer is said to have

lived, it will both account for the loss of the names of earlier or contemporary poets, and it will also afford a proof that the splendour of the Iliad and Odyssey dimmed the lustre of their productions, and caused them to be altogether forgotten. An interval of nearly two centuries of silence and barrenness seems to have intervened between Homer and the earliest of the Cyclic poets.[7] The oldest of them, Arctinus of Miletus, who composed the *Æthiopis*, and the *Capture of Troy*, is placed by Eusebius in the first Olympiad. Lesches, another of these poets, to whom the lesser Iliad is ascribed, is said to have flourished about the thirtieth Olympiad. It is probable that, about this latter period, poets began to commit their compositions to writing, and hence their names came to be preserved. But we have no positive evidence of the existence of any manuscript of the Iliad and Odyssey previous to the time of Solon, who, in a famous ordinance, directed the rhapsodes at the celebration of the Panathanaea, in what order the Homeric poems should be recited. It is probable, however, that manuscripts existed for a considerable time before the age of Solon.—Before entering upon an examination of Mr. Grote's theory respecting the unity of the Iliad and Odyssey, and the authorship of these celebrated poems, it will be proper to offer a few observations on the manner in which they are supposed to have been preserved, when the art of writing was unknown. It has been already stated, that the bard originally sung his own epic narrative to his audience in a kind of recitative, to which he had been long trained by constant practice, accompanied with the music of the lyre. The older bards had, of course, their imitators, and hence arose a school of poetry, like that of the Gallic Druids, or the Troubadours in more recent times, in which the rhapsodes were trained; and they committed to memory, from the lips of their instructors, the poetical works of their predecessors. We know that this was the practice with the lyric and dramatic poets, who taught with their own lips the delivery of their compositions; and hence the business of teaching obtained the name *Didascalia*. It was the general opinion among the later Greeks, that Homer was a native of the island of Chios, and that, after having wandered over all Greece, and recited his poems at the houses of the great and the courts of princes, he retired in his old age,

[7] Thirlwall's 1st Appendix, p. 509.

when he became blind, to his native island, and communicated his poems to his countrymen. There can be no dispute that a poetical fraternity existed in that island, but whether contemporaneous with Homer, or formed immediately after his death in order to preserve his poems, is uncertain. "Their existence," (the rhapsodes,) says Mr. Grote, "and their consideration, were maintained down to the historical times in the island of Chios."[8] That the poems ascribed to the individual Homer, are the composition of the individual gens, called the Homerids, appears to me highly improbable. I rather imagine that they obtained the name from committing to memory and repeating the poems of the immortal bard, and that, after their training in the sacred college, they wandered over the country and repeated them at public festivals, and hence by degrees they became known to all Greece. It is remarkable, that while several cities contended for the honour of Homer's birth, we never hear of one that claimed the authorship of any portion of these poems for any other local bard,—a clear proof that they knew of no competitors. I have already stated that we have no evidence of the Iliad and Odyssey having been committed to writing till a period a little anterior to Solon's time, and even then they seem to have been circulated only in scattered portions throughout Greece. In the sixth century before the Christian æra, Pisistratus is said to have employed some learned men to collect and arrange them in the order suggested by the subject matter of each lay. This is the opinion both of Cicero and Pausanias. Pisistratus and his coadjutors found an Iliad already existing, and not, as is asserted by Wolf and Lachmann, that they pieced together different poems, bearing upon the subject of the Iliad, the compositions of different rhapsodes, and gave them the appearance of a whole by various creations and combinations of their own. It is evident that the Homeric poems were well known at Athens previous to the time of Pisistratus; and it is not likely that he and his coadjutors would have ventured upon such a daring imposition upon the Grecian public, as to insert matter of their own. The Iliad and the Odyssey, however, were not divided by Pisistratus into separate books, but were arranged according to the subject matter which they treat in chronological order. The Alexan-

[8] Vol. II, p. 177.

drian grammarian, Aristarchus, divided them, some centuries afterwards, into separate books, each marked by a separate letter of the Greek alphabet; and in this form they have come down to our times.

It has been well observed by Mr. Grote,[9] that "there is nothing either in the Iliad or Odyssey which savours of modernism, applying that term to the age of Pisistratus, nothing which brings to our view the alterations brought about by two centuries in the Greek language: the coined money, the habits of writing and reading, the despotisms and republican governments, the close military array, the improved construction of ships, the Amphictyonic convocations, the mutual frequentations of religious festivals, the Oriental and Egyptian views of religion, &c. familiar to the latter epoch." "Every thing in the two great Homeric poems, both in substance and language, belongs to an age two or three centuries earlier than Pisistratus; even most of the interpolations (or those passages which, on the best grounds, are pronounced to be such,) betray no trace of the sixth century before Christ. As far as the evidence in the case, as well internal as external, enable us to judge, we seem warranted in believing that the Iliad and Odyssey were recited substantially, as they now stand—always allowing for partial divergencies of text and interpolation—in 779 B. C., our first trustworthy mark of Grecian time."

When we examine the question of the unity of the Iliad and the Odyssey, we are met by various opinions and objections, particularly by the German critics, and more recently from Mr. Grote, in the second volume of his History of Greece.[10] He asks, "what evidence is sufficient to negative the supposition that the Iliad or the Odyssey is a poem originally and intentionally one?" and he answers, "not simply particular gaps and contradictions, though they be even gross and numerous; but the preponderance of those proofs of mere unprepared coalescence over the other proofs of designed adaptation scattered throughout the whole poem." He is of opinion, from a short analysis of both poems, that the proofs of unity of design are more apparent in the Odyssey than in the Iliad, and that "a premeditated structure, and a concentration of interest upon one prime hero, under well-defined circumstances, may be traced from the first

[9] Vol. II. 213. [10] P. 219.

book to the twenty-third."[11] In my judgment, the unity of the Iliad is more perfect and complete than that of the Odyssey; and the contrary opinion, entertained by Mr. Grote and some of the German writers, seems to be founded upon a misapprehension of the poet's plan. It will hardly be disputed that Aristotle's judgment as a critic is fully as much to be depended upon as Wolf's or Hermann's or Grote's: and it is well known that the rules he laid down for the structure of an Epic poem were all derived from the Iliad and the Odyssey. If there had been a question in his time of divided authorship, he would have mentioned and examined it. And if he had discovered a want of connection in the several parts of the Iliad, it may be presumed he would have pointed it out. But we know that Plato, Aristotle, and their cotemporaries generally, read as genuine, what some modern writers consider the most suspicious portions of the Homeric poems. From the ordinance of Solon already mentioned, and the care with which Pisistratus collected and put together the different portions of both poems, it is clear that they were religiously preserved in all their integrity, both at Athens and in other parts of Greece; and that most of the interpolations and discrepancies now observed, were inserted by the Alexandrian grammarians, to connect more closely, as they thought, the *disjecta membra*, and complete what appeared to them defective. But the whole of these were evidently of small amount, and tended in no degree to destroy the integrity of the poems. Several modern critics, with an overweening confidence in their own superior talents, are inclined to show too little deference to the judgment of such men as Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle, who lived at a period not very remote from the poet's times, and, though not professed antiquarians, had yet better and fresher sources of information than we possess, and were fully more competent to judge, both from external and internal evidence, of the integrity of these poems, than any modern critic whatever.

The theory of Lachmann, "that the Iliad originally consisted of sixteen songs, extending as far as the 22d book, or the Death of Hector," supported by such flimsy reasoning, and trifling verbal criticism, much of which is erroneous, is not deserving of a serious refutation. I shall leave him, therefore,

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[11] P. 221.

to the tender mercies of the *Quarterly Reviewer*,[12] who has, in a masterly article, exposed his ignorance, presumption, and absurdities. Mr. Grote's theory deserves more attention, although it appears equally unsound. He says,[13] "the whole plot of the Odyssey appears of one projection, from the beginning down to the death of the suitors. None of the parts look as if they had been composed separately, and inserted by way of addition into a pre-existing smaller poem. But the Iliad, on the contrary, presents the appearance of a house, built upon a plan comparatively narrow, and subsequently enlarged by successive additions. The first book, together with the eighth, and the books from the eleventh to the twenty-second inclusive, seem to form the primary organisation of the poem, then properly an Achellêis: the twenty-third and twenty-fourth books are additions at the tail of this primitive poem, which still leaves it nothing more than an enlarged Achillêis; but the books from the second to the seventh inclusive, together with the tenth, are of a wider and more comprehensive character, and convert the poem from an Achillêis into an Iliad." He farther thinks that "parts added are not necessarily inferior in merit to the original poem; so far is this from being the case, that among them are comprehended some of the noblest efforts of the Grecian Epic. Nor are they more recent in date than the original: strictly speaking, they must be a little more recent, but they belong to the same generation and state of society as the primitive Achillêis." This plainly supposes that one fourth part at least of the Iliad, was the composition of some later poet, and not the same as the author of the Achillêis. Mr. Grote allows that "Homer concentrates our attention in the first book upon Achilles as the hero, his quarrel with Agamemnon, and the calamities to the Greeks which are held out as about to ensue from it, through the intercession of Thetis with Zeus." But he says that "the incidents dwelt upon from the beginning of the second book down to the combat between Hector and Ajax in the seventh, animated and interesting as they are, do nothing to realize this promise. They are a splendid picture of the Trojan war generally, and eminently suitable to that longer title under which the poem has been immortalised; but the consequences of the anger of Achil-

[12] No. 162. [13] Vol. II. p. 235. [14] P. 235.

les do not appear until the eighth book."[14] If the opinion already stated be at all well founded, that the subject of the Iliad consisted originally of short ballads or lays, transmitted by the ἀοιδοὶ from one generation to another till the time of Homer, and that he made them the groundwork of his poem, with such additional information as he had acquired in the course of his travels, and by such illustrations and embellishments as his fancy prompted,—then we can easily see why the incidents contained between the second and the eighth book may be considered necessary to complete the story of the Iliad. It was no uncommon thing either in ancient or modern times, to decide a quarrel by two or more champions; and it gave the poet an opportunity of describing some ancient customs and manners, which he could not have introduced if he had confined his descriptions to the combats of two hostile armies. The incidents contained in these books formed a part of the war of Troy; and, although they did not immediately hasten on the event prayed for by Achilles, and promised by Jupiter to Thetis, they were evidently intended as preparatory to it, by giving us some idea of the characters of the chiefs on both sides, and the relative strength of the Greek and Trojan armies. What should we have known of Nestor, Agamemnon, Diomede, Ajax, and Ulysses, as counsellors and warriors, as well as the feelings of the soldiers, if the poet had passed at once from the first to the eighth, and from that to the eleventh book? The little that we see of them in the first, throws no light upon their characters, as they appear in the eleventh and subsequent books. The incidents, therefore, recorded in the intervening books, seem all necessary to form one connected story, and a developement of character in the principal personages on both sides. Homer knew nothing of the strict rules of epic unity so rigorously required by modern critics. He had a story to tell, and recommend to his hearers by probable incidents; and his own good sense prompted him, independent of rules, to introduce such topics connected with his subjects, as would command their attention, and interest their feelings.—Let us now examine the arguments which Grote employs to shew that the subjects of these books formed no part of the original plan, but that they were added by some subsequent bard; and we shall find them of no real weight or value, and such as might be brought with equal force against

[14] P. 238.

several portions of the Odyssey, the Æneid of Virgil, and the Paradise Lost of Milton. Mr. Grote would have nothing like Episodes, or a variety of subject, to relieve the tedium of incessant combats and carnage; nothing to retard the catastrophe promised to Thetis, and the glorification of Achilles; nothing to pourtray ancient customs and manners, and other feelings of a moral and social nature, that could have no place and no scope on a field of battle.

Mr. Grote says,[15] "It is with the Grecian Agora, in the beginning of the second book, that the Iliad (as distinguished from the Achilléis,) commences." He allows that both it and the subsequent books down to the seventh, contain beautiful poetry; but they leave no room in the reader's mind for the thought of Achilles. And why should they? It was necessary that Achilles should withdraw himself from the counsels and battles of his countrymen, in order that the promise of Jupiter to Thetis to punish the Greeks for the wrongs done to that hero should be fulfilled. It would, I imagine, puzzle both Grote and Lachmann to point out in what way Achilles could be brought to act, so as to keep him in the reader's view, without interference with the other chiefs, who had their several parts to perform, and without counteracting the decree of Jupiter. Both these authors are of opinion that the step taken by Agamemnon to convene a council of the Greeks, and to propose to them to return home, is at direct variance with that recommended by the Evil Dream sent by Jupiter, who assured him that he should now take the city Troy, for that Juno had gained the consent of all the gods who were hostile to her measures. But who does not see that this was the first step necessary to encourage Agamemnon to make head against the Trojans, that the purpose of Jupiter might ultimately be accomplished in the defeat and disaster of the Greeks? The declaration of Agamemnon, that Jupiter had ordered him to return inglorious to Argos, cannot be justified, as it was untrue, and calculated to frustrate entirely his design. It reveals, however, a feature in his character which throws light upon the conduct of Achilles in the ninth book. But there was an evident propriety in convening an assembly of the troops, who, it might naturally be supposed, would be disheartened by the withdrawal of Achilles, their great bulwark, —and the loss of his services in the field.

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[15] P. 238.

"It is remarkable," says the *Quarterly Reviewer*, in his criticism of Lachmann's Essays on Homer, "that though the proposal of Agamemnon is to sail home, yet the balance of his speech is cast, upon the whole, the other way; for he reminds the assembly of the former promises of Jupiter in their favour,[16] of the disgrace of failure,[17] of the inferiority of the Trojans in numbers;[18] while the new command of Jupiter, to go back, is but enigmatically intimated,[19] and the topic of absence, and the wives and children, no more than slightly touched." Although Agamemnon, when he disclosed his plan to the chiefs, previous to the meeting of the assembled troops, advised them to argue against it, yet it might have broken up the whole expedition, as the army apparently took it for granted that it was both the will of Jupiter and the wish of the commander-in-chief, that they should return home. It required all the art and eloquence of Ulysses to prevent them from rushing to their ships and embarking on board. The scene with Thersites has been severely criticised by Lachmann and others, as beneath the dignity of Epic poetry, and unsuitable to the occasion. But Homer knew human nature better than these critics. The army was eager and intent on departure. The angry remonstrance of Ulysses, by reminding them of their duty and engagements, might have had the effect of restoring order and some degree of subordination, but not of entirely calming the excitation of the moment. The absurd and vain-glorious speech of Thersites—the deformity of his person—the punishment inflicted upon him by Ulysses—and the writhings and contortions of his body under the weight of the blows—directed their attention to another object, and amused them by the ridicule it excited. It was evidently intended by the poet, who knew the temper of the vulgar, to bring them into better humour with Agamemnon and the other chiefs, and to cause them to forget the disappointment of their expectations. The freak, as Mr. Grote calls it, which Agamemnon played off upon the temper of his army, had most likely its origin in a cause which has escaped both him and the German critics. The king of men was sensible that the army knew that his haughty and offensive treatment of Achilles caused that hero to withdraw from their support. As a kind of atonement for his error, he proposes to abandon the enterprize, as the troops might consider it hopeless without the sup-

[16] V. 112. [17] 119. [18] 122, 130. [19] 114.

port of Achilles. This, he might think, would remove the prejudice against himself in the minds of the soldiers, and cast the odium of a protracted warfare upon the other chiefs. In this view of the matter, it was a piece of artful policy, and not an idle freak. I shall not attempt a refutation of Grote's and Lachmann's criticisms on the other books before the ninth, as they have been shewn by the *Quarterly Review*, particularly those of the latter, to be founded in a misconception of the poet's plan, and on arbitrary assumptions. Mr. Grote can see no plausible reason for the construction of the wall and trench round the Greek camp, because the Greeks were in a career of victory, and the Trojans were making offers of compromise, implying conscious weakness.[20] But though the Greeks had the advantage in the first engagement, yet the circumstance that the Trojans now for the first time apparently had the courage to oppose them in the open field, naturally alarmed them, and suggested to Nestor the propriety of throwing up entrenchments for the protection of the ships in case of defeat; and their discomfiture in the next engagement, when they fled before Hector and the Trojans within their entrenchments, showed the wisdom and propriety of Nestor's advice. Mr. Grote seems to think that the Trojans had met the Greeks in open fight, even when Achilles supported his countrymen. But the declaration of Achilles himself, that Hector and the Trojans only once encountered him outside their walls, refutes such a supposition, and accounts for their boldness when he no longer opposed them. Mr. Grote is of opinion that "the ninth book was a subsequent addition, no wise harmonizing with that main stream of the Achillêis, which flows from the eleventh book to the twenty-second."[21] His main arguments are, that the embassy of the chiefs to Achilles is never alluded to in any of the subsequent books, and that ample reparation for the original ground of quarrel had been offered by the latter and rejected. "If we look," says he, "at the first book, the opening of the Achillêis, we shall see that this prostration of Agamemnon and the chief heroes before Achilles, would really be the termination of the whole poem, for Achilles asks nothing more from Thetis, nor Thetis any thing more from Zeus, than that Agamemnon and the Greeks may be brought to know the wrong that they have

[20] P. 248. [21] P. 239.

done to their capital warrior, and humbled in the dust in expiation of it. We may add that the abject terror in which Agamemnon appears in the ninth book, when he sends the supplicatory message to Achilles, as it is not adequately accounted for by the degree of calamity which the Greeks have experienced in the preceding eighth book, so it is inconsistent with the gallantry and high spirit with which he shines at the beginning of the eleventh." I apprehend Mr. Grote has not taken into account various particulars, both in the eighth and the ninth books, which, in my opinion, completely invalidate his theory; and prove that the latter can consistently make a portion of the story, although the circumstances were scarcely alluded to in the subsequent books. When Juno and Minerva were baulked by Jupiter in their attempts to aid the Greeks, the thunderer informed his angry mate that Achilles will not come forth to succour them until Patroclus should fall in the battle.

οὐ γὰρ πρὶν ἀποπαύεται ὄβριμος Ἕκτωρ,
πρὶν ὦρθαι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδωκέα Πηλείωνα,
ἦματι τῷ, ὅτ' ἂν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πρύμνῃσι μάχωνται,
στείνει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ, περὶ Πατρόκλοιο πεσόντος.
ὣς γὰρ θέσφατόν ἐστι.—*Il.* VIII. 473.

This irrevocable decree would have been frustrated if Achilles had accepted the atonement offered by Agamemnon, and joined the Greeks in repelling Hector and the Trojans. But I think we shall find other reasons in the ninth book, for its rejection by Achilles. Agamemnon did not propose the embassy to that hero. It was suggested by Nestor, and assented to by the king. In the assembly convened by his orders, he repeats the same words he had used in the second book, "that Jupiter had ordered him to return inglorious to Argos;" and he adds,—

ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὡς ἂν ἐγὼν εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες.
φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.
οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τροίην αἱρήσομεν εὐρυαγυῖαν.—*Il.* IX. 26.

It does not appear, therefore, that it was the intention of Agamemnon, in the first instance, to supplicate Achilles and humble himself before him, but that he was induced to make the offer of reconciliation and reparation for the wrongs he had done him, by the advice of Nestor. Mr. Grote says,[22] "I will

[22] P. 244.

venture to add that it (the ninth book) carries the ferocious pride and egotism of Achilles beyond all admissible limits, and is shocking to that sentiment of Nemesis, which was so deeply seated in the Grecian mind." But Mr. Grote seems but imperfectly acquainted with the character of that redoubted hero, as pourtrayed by Homer. Even Patroclus, his best beloved friend, found him fiery, inflexible, and unpitying.

— σὺ δ' ἄμηχανος ἔπλευ, Ἀχιλλεῦ,
μὴ ἐπὶ γοῦν οὗτός γε λάβοι χόλος, ὃν σὺ φυλάσσεις,—
— γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα,
πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής.—*Il.* XVI. 29.

We may readily suppose, that when Patroclus thus addressed his friend, he had in his recollection the offers made to him by Agamemnon, but did not think it prudent to mention them to the irascible chief.

Magnificent though the presents were that were offered by Agamemnon to Achilles, the injuries he had sustained were too recent and fresh to be so soon eradicated from his haughty mind; and although Brisêis, the principal cause of the quarrel, was offered to be restored, still the humiliation of the Greeks had not yet been so signal as to satisfy his revenge; for he himself informs us in the sixteenth book, that he had resolved not to succour the Greeks, until war came to his own ships.

—— ἦτοι ἔφην γε
οὐ πρὶν μηνιθμὸν καταπαυσέμεν, ἀλλ' ὁπόταν δὴ
νῆας ἐμὰς ἀφίκηται ἀϋτή τε, πτόλεμός τε.—61.

But, perhaps, the best apology for the conduct of Achilles, in rejecting the presents and offers of Agamemnon for a reconciliation, is, *the suspicion he entertained of his sincerity.* We may suppose that he had learned from some of those who had been present at the assembly, that Agamemnon proposed to relinquish the enterprise, and return home, and that the embassy was not of his seeking. This, I think, is apparent, from the reply he made to the artful and persuasive speech of Ulysses:

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος, ὅμως Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν·
ὅς γ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρέσιν, ἄλλο δ'

And then, after recounting his exploi
he received from Agamemnon &

the army, with the injury he had done him, in carrying off from his tent his beloved captive Briseis, he adds,

νῦν δ'ἐπεὶ ἐκ χειρῶν γέρας εἵλετο, καὶ μ'ἀπάτησε,
μὴ μεῦ πειράτω, εὖ εἰδότος· οὐδέ με πείσει.—341.

But now, since he has taken my prize out of my hands, and *has deceived me*, let him not tempt me, who am on my guard; no, he shall not persuade me. And again:

ἐκ γὰρ δή μ' ἀπάτησε, καὶ ἤλιτεν· οὐδ' ἂν ἔτ' αὖτις
ἐξαπάφοιτ' ἐπέεσσιν.—375.

Mr. Grote says, in a note, (p. 242.) "that which sustains the dignity of the ninth book, is the deportment of the envoys, who are sent to solicit Achilles; their speeches are apt throughout, and in many parts fine. But look to the replies of Achilles, (the most important person of the whole poem,) and they will be found to manifest a degree of ruthless indifference to the sufferings of the Greeks generally, which the poet would never have ventured to ascribe to his principal hero, besides other feelings unsuitable to his character. He now is no longer anxious to be honoured by the Greeks (605); he will go home forthwith; his own life is most important to him; what does he care for the common quarrel? But the idea of his going home, is quite unsuitable to the poem; the first book excludes it."—I have already stated it is my opinion that Mr. Grote has no proper conception of the character of Achilles, whose virtues and vices ran all to extremes, nor of the manners of the times in which Homer is supposed to have lived, nor the working of the passions in a high-minded irascible person. The language of Achilles to the deputies, springs from keen feelings and wounded pride. Agamemnon had *not condescended* to sue in person for a reconciliation; he shows no such *abject terror*, as Mr. Grote affirms: the Greeks were not yet sufficiently humbled to appreciate the value of his assistance: and the threat to take his departure, had been uttered under strong excitement, but not seriously intended, as he told Phœnix,—

——— ἅμα δ' ἠοῖ φαινομένῃφι
φρασσόμεθ' ἤ κε νεώμεθ' ἐφ' ἡμέτερ', ἤ κε μένωμεν.—614.

If these reasons are well founded, they will go far to prove that Mr. Grote's theory of the ninth-book, forming no part of the original plan, is incorrect, and based upon mistaken views, both

of the character of Achilles, and the circumstances in which he was placed. If both the ninth and the tenth books were thrown out, and we passed on from the eighth to the eleventh, we should find a want of coherence, and an abruptness in the transition, from the termination of the battle of the one, to its resumption in the other, in which Agamemnon and the Greeks engaged in it with so much resolution and spirit. What could be more natural than that Agamemnon, finding his offers of reconciliation rejected with high disdain, should have resolved to have exerted himself to the utmost, and turn the tide of battle by his personal prowess, without the aid of his inflexible enemy? And why did Jupiter commission the goddess Ἔρις to go to the Greeks with the signal for battle, unless to excite them to do their utmost, in consequence of the angry refusal of Achilles to lend them his support? No adequate reason for her mission can be assigned from any occurrence in the eighth book; but a sufficient one appears, if we look back to the ninth; for, from the failure of the embassy, a slight was cast upon the commander of the troops, by the haughty conduct of Achilles. Minerva and Juno thundered aloud, τιμῶσαι βασιλῆα πολυχρύσοιο Μυκήνης, 46. If these books did not owe their origin to Homer, they must have been the composition of a poet equal to Homer; and where was such a one to be found in all Greece, from her earliest history?

At the commencement of the eleventh book, there is evidently an allusion to the advice given by him at the beginning of the ninth, to return home,—

> ἔνθα στᾶσ' ἤϋσε θεὰ (Ἔρις) μέγα τε, δεινόν τε,
> ὄρθι' Ἀχαιοῖσιν, μέγα δὲ σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἑκάστῳ
> καρδίῃ, ἄλληκτον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι.
> τοῖσι δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένετ' ἠὲ νέεσθαι,
> ἐν νηυσὶ γλαφύρῃσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.—v. XI. 10.

Mr. Grote says, p. 242, "There are three passages, (and only three, so far as I am aware,) in which the embassy of the ninth book is alluded to in the subsequent books;" and in order to support his theory, he feels persuaded that two of them were inserted, for the purpose of establishing a connection between the ninth book and the nineteenth; and the four lines, 192—195, he thinks, are decidedly better away. But, where [illegible] have been the propriety of mentioning either the [illegible]

the rejection of the presents by Achilles, when the cause that led to the reconciliation between him and Agamemnon was totally different from what he originally expected? It was not now the disasters of the Greeks that impelled him to take the field against Hector and the Trojans; it was vengeance for the death of his friend Patroclus. The memory of his former wrongs was effaced by the intense and overwhelming grief he felt at his fate. This was the moving cause of his again taking arms, as had been decreed by Jupiter. The disasters of the Greeks led to the death of Patroclus; and that death was the immediate cause of Achilles coming forth again to battle. Even Briseis, for whose abduction he stormed and raged, is only mentioned to wish that she had perished long before, and not been the cause of so much suffering to the Greeks, and of wrath to himself. He thus addresses Agamemnon, upon voluntarily repairing to his former associates:—

Ἀτρείδη, ἦ γάρ κε[23] τόδ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἀρεῖον
ἔπλετο σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί; ὅτε νῶϊν περ ἀχνυμένω κῆρ
θυμοβόρῳ ἐρίδι μενεήναμεν εἵνεκα κούρης.—XIX. 56.

Agamemnon, yes, assuredly this would have been better both for thee and me, when both of us, galled at heart, gave way to animosity in fell strife, about a girl.

The presents, however, *formerly offered*, are again promised by Agamemnon, and slightly noticed by Achilles, as beneath his care,

δῶρα μὲν αἴ κ' ἐθέλησθα παρασχέμεν, ὡς ἐπιεικές,
ἧτ' ἔχεμεν, παρά σοι,—147.

Is not this a proof that they had been formerly offered, and the offering renewed at the reconciliation?

There are two kinds of critics; the one measure everything by their own limited views, and the strict rules of art, and think they have done notable service to literature and science, if they can point out and dilate upon a few trivial errors; the other, without overlooking the rules of art, are not inclined to confine an ancient poet within such narrow trammels, and do not think that minute criticisms upon detached parts, that seem not to adhere with the main subject, afford sufficient grounds to

[23] The common reading is ἦ ἄρ᾽ ἔτι;—and the meaning would be,—assuredly this *was* better; an *affirmative*, which was not true. The meaning requires a *conditional* particle.

question the integrity of the whole. They see in the Iliad one master spirit pervading every part; and are not disposed, in the absence of direct authority, which cannot be had, to overlook the weight of internal evidence, which the poem does afford, that the work, such as we have it, with a few exceptions, had no divided authorship, but was the creation of one mind, and that mind was HOMER'S.

### THE ODYSSEY.

Mr. Grote is of opinion that the Odyssey affords proofs "of an unity of design," a premeditated structure, and a concentration of interest upon one prime hero, under well-defined circumstances, which may be traced from the first book to the twenty-third." In my judgment there is less unity in the Odyssey than in the Iliad, although the whole bears internal evidence of being the production of one mind. The voyage of Telemachus to Pylus and Sparta, at the instigation of Minerva, in order that he might obtain tidings of his father from Nestor and Menelaus, in no respect promotes the return of Ulysses to Ithaca. The whole must be considered a pleasing episode, similar to the voyage of Æneas to Carthage, and his intrigue with Dido. It seems to have been intended by the poet as a kind of sequel to the Iliad, by a narrative of the events that befel some of the principal personages in their return homewards after the fall of Troy. Mr. Grote, as well as the late Mr. Payne Knight, are strenuous supporters of the unity of the Odyssey, while Hermann, Boeckh, and Lachmann, contend for a diversity of authorship. We have no positive proof from external evidence, and must therefore be content to form our opinions from the artistical structure of the poem, the adaptation of the several parts to constitute a regular story throughout, the tone of thought, and the sameness or diversity of style and language that pervade the whole. We can scarcely believe that a diversity of poets should have treated the different subjects contained in the Odyssey in such a manner as to allow them to be pieced together at an after period, without the intervention of a master hand to alter, enlarge, and arrange them, and to impress upon them the character and stamp of his own mind. That poets, previous to the time of Homer, sung the disastrous return of the Greeks from the Trojan shore, and the deeds of Ulysses, with other subjects, is evident from what the poet says of the

lay of Phemius to the suitors of Penelope, and the observations of the queen herself.

> Φήμιε, πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλλα βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδας
> ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί.
> τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ποθέω, μεμνημένη αἰεί,
> ἀνδρὸς, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος.
>
> *Il.* 337, 333, 4.

Phemius, for you know many other soothing tales of mortals, the deeds both of men and gods, which minstrels celebrate, "for such a person I languish, remembering always the man, whose fame is widely spread through Greece and central Argos." But the best evidence we have, both of the high respect paid to bards in those early times, and the themes of their songs, which frequently touched upon the events of the Trojan war, and the achievements of particular heroes, is to be found in the eighth book of the Odyssey; Demodocus, the minstrel bard of Alcinous, is thus addressed by Ulysses:—

> Δημόδοκ', ἔξοχα δή σε βροτῶν αἰνίζομ' ἁπάντων·
> ἢ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, Διὸς παῖς, ἢ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων·
> λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον ἀείδεις
> ὅσσ' ἔρξαν τ', ἔπαθόν τε, καὶ ὅσσ' ἐμόγησαν Ἀχαιοί·
> ὥς τέ του ἢ αὐτὸς παρειὼν, ἢ ἄλλου ἄκουσας.
>
> *Od.* VIII. 487.

From these, and other examples of a similar kind to be found in the Odyssey, it is clear that ἀοιδαὶ, or lays on various subjects, were widely circulated through Greece by the bards of those times, and furnished to a poet, who possessed skill and invention, the ground-work of an extended poem. Dr. Thirlwall, in his Appendix, says, "that before the appearance of the earliest of the poems of the Epic Cycle, the Iliad and Odyssey, even if they did not exist precisely in their present form, had at least reached their present compass, and were regarded each as a complete and well-defined whole, not as a fluctuating aggregate of fugitive pieces," (p. 509.)

Most of the German critics are of opinion that the Odyssey is of later date than the Iliad, and by a different author. They find considerable differences of statement in the two poems regarding some of the gods. Iris, say they, is messenger of the gods in the Iliad, and Mercury in the Odyssey. But they for-

get that Mercury was sent by Jupiter to King Priam, to conduct him to the tent of Achilles, where he went to beg from that hero the body of Hector. I am aware that some of these critics suppose that the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad is spurious; but the most intelligent among them consider it as far as the 677th line, the genuine production of the author of the other books. They also think that the memory of no human being was competent to retain such a number of verses as are contained in the Iliad and Odyssey. But the muse, who inspired the ἀοιδοί, was the daughter of memory; by this clearly indicating that the bards in those times trusted to it alone, and therefore cultivated it to an extent which to us may seem marvellous. They are also of opinion that the Odyssey is fully a century later than the Iliad, while Mr. Grote supposes that the two poems are of the same age, but by different authors. Neither his arguments, nor the arguments of those who coincide with him, appear to me conclusive. There is, as I formerly remarked, a wide interval between the Odyssey, supposing it even considerably later than the Iliad, and the earliest productions known of the cyclic poets: and it is remarkable that not one of them, so far as we know, ever ventured on the subjects contained in the Iliad and Odyssey. They seem to have considered them as sacred ground, not to be violated by any rash intruder; they composed sequels to them, took up, perhaps, some of those ἀοιδαὶ alluded to in the Odyssey. All these poems were of an inferior cast, and although they seem to have been committed to writing, speedily perished. The Homeric poems eclipsed them all, and soon caused them to be utterly forgotten. We have no external evidence, and not even a suspicion among the more ancient Greeks, that the two poems were the compositions of different authors. We must, therefore, solve the question, if it can be solved, by a comparison of the Odyssey with the Iliad, for there is no other production with which it can be compared, and the internal evidence it affords of a common or divided authorship. One of the arguments insisted upon is, that the Odyssey does not display the same sublimity of genius, the same powers of description, and the same currency of language as the Iliad. But the subjects of the two poems are, with the exception of a portion of the latter books of the Odyssey, very different, and therefore required different veins of imagination and illustration. The scenes of the one consist for the most part of in-

cessant fighting and deeds of blood; those of the other are more pacific, more descriptive of various countries, and the customs and manners of their inhabitants. When the subjects are nearly the same, there is a wonderful similarity in the sentiments, language, and display of character. There is nothing in the Iliad superior to the description of Ulysses standing on the threshold of the banqueting room, and dealing death to the suitors from his unerring bow. If the manners are somewhat different, we surely cannot expect them to be the same in the palace as in the camp; in the midst of tumult and the din of war, as in the quiet scenes of domestic life, or amidst the riot and disorder of licentious nobles. Besides, we can readily suppose that the customs and manners in western Greece differed in many respects from those in Asia Minor. It would have argued poverty of genius in a poet, and want of observation, if he had made them exactly alike. To one, therefore, acquainted with the structure and language of both poems, they will appear to have emanated from the same wonderful mind, as there is such a strong resemblance in the mode of description in both, in the constant mixing of dialogue with action, in the tone of sentiment as suitable to the different characters, in the epithets employed to distinguish individuals, and in the general features of the style and language. Passing from the Iliad to the Odyssey, the reader feels that he is under the guidance of the same instructor, that he has him still as the companion of his way, and only enters upon a field of a somewhat different nature, whose features and productions are described with the same vividness of fancy, and the same felicity of illustration. The Odyssey of Homer has been frequently compared with the Paradise Regained of Milton. If all contemporary evidence, and subsequent testimony, had been lost respecting the author of the latter poem, such critics as Wolf, Lachmann, Grote, &c., would at once have pronounced it the production of some inferior poet, as it does not equal the Paradise Lost in sublimity of sentiment, power of description, variety and vigour of language. The subject, however, did not admit of those daring flights of imagination and those vivid descriptions that abound in the latter poem. Something also may be attributed to the waning energies of the poet, as well as to the tamer and less exciting qualities of the subject and characters. In the same manner, the Odyssey appears to have been the pro-

duction of the later period of Homer's life. The Iliad, according to Longinus' well known remark, resembled the sun in his meridian splendour; the Odyssey was like the same luminary, when setting with a milder radiance in the darkling west. There are yet the same features of grandeur and beauty, the same power of invention and felicity of illustration, but they are not so striking and brilliant. I cannot but think that Mr. Grote must have felt some misgivings about the soundness of his criticisms when he penned the following lines. "The Iliad and Odyssey are of all poems the most absolutely and unreservedly popular; had they been otherwise, they could not have lived so long in the mouth of the Rhapsodes, and the ear and memory of the people; and it was then that their influence was first acquired, never afterwards to be shaken." "The most unlettered hearer of those times could readily seize, while the most instructed reader can still recognize, the characteristic excellence of Homeric narrative, its straightforward, unconscious, unstudied simplicity, its concrete forms of speech, and happy alternation of action with dialogue, its vivid pictures of living agents, always clearly and sharply individualised, whether in the commanding proportions of Achilles and Odysseus, in the graceful presence of Helen and Penelope, or in the more humble contrast of Eumæus and Melanthius, and always, moreover, animated with the frankness with which his heroes give utterance to all their transient emotions, and even all their infirmities." "Its constant reference to those coarser veins of feeling and palpable motives, which belong to all men in common, its fulness of graphic details, freshly drawn from the visible and audible world, and, though often homely, never tame nor trenching upon that limit of satiety to which the Greek mind was so keenly alive; lastly, its perpetual junction of gods and men in the same picture, and familiar appeal to ever-present divine agency in harmony with the interpretation of nature, at that time universal." Is it possible that a person holding and expressing so justly, fully, and unequivocally, such sentiments respecting the Homeric poems, can be a believer in the multiplicity of their authors? It is morally impossible.

GEORGE DUNBAR.

COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH, 16*th Nov.* 1847.

# XXVI.

## MISCELLANIES.

### 1. On the Participles Ἄρα and Ἆρα.

It is by no means the least advantage of a publication like the *Classical Museum*, that it affords opportunity for remarks upon isolated words and passages which are not of sufficient importance to be made the subject of a distinct work. In this particular we are especially indebted to Professor Dunbar, who has more than once communicated to us the valuable results of his judgment and experience upon certain minor questions of scholarship. We are, however, scarcely convinced by the Professor's reasoning with respect to the particles ἄρα and ἆρα, (*Clas. Museum*, No. xv.) He truly observes, that a correct knowledge of the Greek particles is a great desideratum; and that it is by no means easy to trace them to their respective roots. Still, with regard to ἆρα, this difficulty does not stand in our way. We all pretty nearly agree that ἆρα is derived from ἄρω, "apto;" and its various meanings may probably be traced to this source. Is the following account of the matter correct?

Ἄρα is derived from ἄρω, just as the English adverb "accordingly" is derived from the verb "to accord." Hence its primary idea is that of "*coherence;*" the coherence of sequence; and this may be traced throughout all the subsequent ramifications of its meaning.

*First*, As in the case of the Greek Prepositions, (so ably treated in Jelf's *Greek Grammar*,) the idea in all probability had a *local* application—"*coherence in space*"—next in order of position."

Οἳ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον.—*Iliad*, B. v. 546.

Οἵ τ ἄρ' Ἀμύκλας εἶχον, Ἕλος τ' ἔφαλον πτολιέθρον.—B. v. 584.

Οἳ δ' ἄρα Βουπράσιόν τε, καὶ Ἠλίδα δῖαν ἔναιον.—B. v. 615.

And, so ἆρα united to its cognate αὖτε, becomes αὐτὰρ, "next in order."

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦγε Κεφαλλῆνας μεγαθύμους.—B. v. 631.

*Secondly*, With this meaning is necessarily and inseparably connected the application of the idea to *Time*—"*next in the order of time*"—"*then*" in the primary sense of the word. See the union of the two notions,—

Κνημῖδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμῃσιν ἔθηκε
δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδυνεν,
ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισι βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον,
χάλκεον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα σάκος μέγα τε, στιβαρόν τε
εἵλετο.—*Iliad*, xix. 369.

This meaning is so common, that it is quite superfluous to quote examples,—

ὣς φάτο, βῆ δ' ἄρ' ὄνειρος.—*Il.* II. 16.

τοὺς μὲν ἔασ', ὁ δ' ἄρ' Ἱππασίδην χάροπ' οὔτασε δουρί.—*Il.* XIV. v. 514.

*Thirdly*, Hence the transition is easy to the metaphysical sequence of ideas—"*next in the order of the mind*"—"*then*" in its secondary and inferential sense. Ἄρα therefore denotes a logical sequence: the fact that one "judgment" follows from another. This is its commonest usage in moral and metaphysical writers: ὃ ἂν θάνατον μὴ δέχηται, τί καλοῦμεν; Ἀθάνατον, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν ψυχὴ οὐ δέχεται θάνατον; Οὐ. Ἀθάνατον ἄρα ἡ ψυχή.—Plat. *Phæd.* cap. 55.

It is however very important to observe that the coherence of ideas denoted by ἄρα has a very extensive scope. In the instance just quoted, it is the strict logical connection between premiss and conclusion. But the idea introduced by ἄρα may refer to some previously ascertained fact or principle; or, again, it may refer only to some notion existing in the speaker's mind,—to some unexpressed sentiment or conviction,—to some anticipation secretly entertained. Hence it may so often be translated by the phrase, "as it seems." It may not in all cases be equally easy to trace out this sequence of ideas; but we maintain such a sequence always exists. Take, for instance,—

ἐκ δ' ἔθορε κλῆρος . . ὃν ἄρ' ἤθελον αὐτοί.—*Il.* η. 182.

*i. e.* "just the very one their wishes anticipated." The coherence is between their hopes and the result. Again—

ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς
τῆμος ἄρ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν κλυτοῦ Ἕκτορος ἔγρετο λαός.—*Il.* ω. 788.

Here the coincidence is between the two events, more definitely marked out by ἦμος and τῆμος. This will explain such common collocations as ἐπεί ῥα. ὅτε δὴ ῥα. τότ' ἄρα. δὴ ῥὰ τότε. &c. &c.

Perhaps the same remarks might be applied to the cognate English word "accordingly." Or we may compare ἄρα with "then," which first denotes sequence in time, and next becomes an inferential particle not so emphatic as "*therefore*." In the same way, ἆρα denotes inference in a modified way. It is less positive and dogmatical than οὖν. Hoogeven says, "ἄρα illativum est, οὖν conclusivum." Clearly, then, ἄρα, still more than οὖν, should be excluded from the emphatic first place in a sentence.

We cannot agree with the Professor when he makes ἆρα quite a different word, and invents a derivation for it from ἀράομαι, but must still side with "Dr Arnold and the Oxford Lexicographers," who declare that it is identical with ἄρα. That two such particles should

exist with the same form and meaning, but different roots, appears to us in the highest degree improbable. We say, "the same meaning," for ἆρα has only in addition the emphasis of interrogation. Professor Dunbar, in his own Lexicon, translates ἆρα by "*then*," and it may nearly always be translated by casting into an interrogative form some one of the expressions employed to render the simple ἄρα. Ἄρα, then, is an *inferential interrogation*, and differs from another interrogation in that it *always refers to some antecedent grounds for the question asked*; the interrogation coheres with something antecedent, it springs out of some fact or notion previously existing, *e. g.*—

σὺ δ' ἀντιδοῦσα τῆς ἐμῆς τὰ φίλτατα
ψυχῆς ἔσωσας· ἆρα μοι στένειν πάρα;—Eurip. *Alc.* 341.

Just as is the case with ἄρα, so also it does not follow that the matter to which ἆρα refers, must be actually expressed. It may only exist in the mind of the speaker. For instance, Socrates, in his off-hand way, walks up to a gentleman, and accosts him thus:—"Ἀραῶ Ἀντίσθενες, εἰσί τινες ἀξίαι φίλων, ὥσπερ οἰκετῶν;" but why? "ἰδὼν τῶν ξυνόντων ἀμελοῦντα φίλου πενίᾳ πιεζομένου," (Xen. M. II. v. 1.); "because he had observed him," &c.

We cannot regard the quantity of the penultima as at once decisive of the question. Besides, this reasoning involves something like a petitio principii. We lay down a rule that the penultima of ἆρα is always short, and *therefore* assume that it cannot be long in Sophocles and elsewhere, and argue "some mistake."[1] Now, we believe the accentual emphasis makes the difference. Whoever has heard a modern Greek speak his own language, will readily understand this. The non-interrogative τις had no stress upon it in speaking, and no accent. The interrogative τίς had a stress laid upon it, and took the accent. The non-interrogative ἆρα had the acute accent already; the interrogative ἆρα took another accent, they coalesced into the circumflex, and the syllable became long. Something of the same sort took place with νυν and νῦν; with οὔκουν, and οὐκοῦν, concerning which much more has been written than was necessary.[2] It is possible, in these passages where the penultima of ἆρα is lengthened, that it was pronounced with peculiar emphasis, and approximated to an inferential interrogative. The Professor adduces ὤμοι, βαρείας ἆρα τῆς ἐμῆς τύχης! where the expression immediately refers to ὄλωλεν ἀνηρ, and means, "am I not therefore in a wretched plight!" In all the other

[1] Professor Dunbar himself says: "There are no doubt several examples in the Greek poets in which the versification requires the first syllables to be long."

[2] See Ellendt's *Lex. Sophocleum*, and Kühner's Appendix to his edition of Xenoph. *Memorabilia*.

passages quoted, the case is precisely the same, and we see no reason whatever for the proposed tampering with the text.[3] To say that "the first *a* must be pronounced long, as it is the second syllable of the iambus," is a principle which "latissime patet," and would, doubtless, be very agreeable to youthful constructors of Greek verses.

There is a passage in *Hamlet*, which, as it was given by our great Tragedians, Young and Kemble, respectively, very well illustrates what has been said concerning the double usage of ἄρα.

> "*Ham.*—Armed, say you?
> *All.*—Armed, my lord.
> *Ham.*—From top to toe?
> *All.*—My lord, from head to foot.
> *Ham.*—Then saw you not his face." (*inferential*); or,
> *Then* saw you not his face? (*interrogative.*)
> *Hamlet*, Act I. sc. 2.

The first "then" resembles ἄρα, and the second ἆρα, but no one doubts that the words are the same. The difference is merely one of emphasis and accent.

Thus, we have essayed to give a more logical account of ἄρα and ἆρα than is to be found in the Lexicons. We would gladly assent to any other which more clearly and philosophically accounted for the various usages. This only affects to be an approximation, at any rate, it is hoped, as near as that of old Cyril Jackson, who used to construe Τρῶες ῥα—"The Trojans, God help them!"

Concerning the meaning of the Aristophanic passage, we never entertained the slightest doubt, and always translated it as the Professor has done—

> ΧΟ. ἐκσέσεισται χαμᾶζ', οὐκ ὁρᾷς σειόμενον;
> ΔΙ. ἐμέλλετ' ἄρ' ἅπαντες ἀνασείειν βοῆν.—*Achar.* v. 328.

We find this translation pencilled down in our Aristophanes. "Oh, Sir, they are all *turned out* upon the ground! Don't you see me *turning them out?*" Ha! *it seems then* you were going to have a "*Turn out*," were you? Of course the literal meaning of ἀνασείειν βοῆν, is as the Professor gives it, "to kick up a row." "Oh, you were going to

[3] For instance, οὐκ ἄρ' ἐμοῦ γε μὴ κρατήσωσιν τινί, *Œdip. Col.* v. 408, is unnecessarily altered by Elmsley and Dunbar into οὐ τάρ', &c. It is the common idiom οὐ μή, with aorist subjunctive = future, but put into an interrogative, and, therefore, emphatic form. "Is there not then no fear of their mastering *me*?" i. e. "May we not be sure they never will master *me*?" Again, for the line ἴσται τοι' ἄρα τοῦτο Καδμείοις βάρος, the Professor proposes ἴσται τοι' ἄρα τοῖς τοῦτο Καδμείοις βάρος. Surely he cannot seriously imagine that τοῖς τοῦτο Καδμείοις ἴσται, could ever be Greek for τοῦτο ἴσται τοῖς Καδμείοις. We may echo his own question, Who ever saw such a collocation of the Article?

kick up a row, then, all of you?" This is exactly the style of our own familiar slang, which is addressed to detected culprits, in a tone half ironical, half threatening. Any one who consults the writings of our living Aristophanes, Mr. Dickens, will find abundant specimens of this popular figure of speech. We agree with the Professor, that to translate ἀνασείω, "*I stir up*," by "*cause to cease*," as though it had been "*I put down*;" or with Professor Malden, to invent such a desiderative as ἀνησείω, is altogether absurd. Mitchell blindly follows Brunck, and is "all abroad," as is usual with him in matters of accurate verbal scholarship. He translates "you could *stop* your clamour," and marvellously subjoins "ἀνασείειν βοήν, i. e. ἱστάναι βοήν. Dind." in corroboration! Elmsley's observations about ἔμελλον are certainly not very satisfactory. The fact is, if one may venture to say so, the scholars of his day were more devoted to facts than principles. Possessing a vast knowledge of the ὅτι, they did not much trouble themselves about the διότι. Perhaps the tendency of modern scholarship is too much in the opposite direction. But this is beside the purpose. The idiom may be traced to the primary meaning of the imperfect, which contemplates an action as incomplete. It is obvious that when we speak of what is not yet put into execution, we speak of it in project. Hence the expression "thought to do," is proper enough in such cases.

ἔμελλον παύσειν τοῦ κοάξ.—"I thought I'd stop your croaking."

ἐμέλλετε ἀνασείειν βοήν.—"You thought to kick up a row." There certainly is this important distinction; in the first case the thought was carried out into execution, in the second it was not. But the difference is accidental, not essential. The *essential* force of the imperfect is the same in both.

J. G. Sheppard.

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### 2. On Æschylus, *Agamemnon*, v. 844.

We cannot agree with Professor Dunbar in his remarks upon the line,

πολλὴν ἄνωθεν, τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω.

He declares that most commentators are wrong in referring τὴν to χλαῖναν, for if it stand for a pronoun, it ought to follow χλαῖναν, not precede it. There may be something in this, but surely it proves too much; for what then does πολλὴν agree with? If, by the principle of anticipation, χλαῖναν can be supplied to πολλὴν, why not to τὴν also; or, to speak more accurately, if the mind could be held in suspense as to the adjunct of the adjective, why not as to that of the article also? The principle is exemplified often enough, as in our

common but not very elegant usage of prepositions, e. g. Who gives honour *to*, or could derive honour *from* a slave?

With regard to the passage itself, we believe the Professor and Schütz to be quite wrong in altering the text by the substitution of τὸν, and that for a very plain reason which the commentators do not state. There is a most obvious and indisputable antithesis between ἄνωθεν and κάτω. In whatever way the article is coupled to the one, in the same way it is coupled to the other. The adjunct of ἄνωθεν must be contrasted with the adjunct of κάτω, or there is no force in the passage at all. If, therefore, it had been ὁ (Γηρυὼν) ἄνωθεν, then τὸν (Γηρυόνα) κάτω would have been proper enough; but it is πολλὴν (χλαῖναν) ἄνωθεν, therefore common sense shews that it must be την (χλαῖναν) κάτω.

The idea certainly seems somewhat singular to an English reader, but that it was not unfamiliar to the Greek mind might be shown from many passages, and in particular from that quoted by Valk.

—— ὑπὸ δὲ
σώματι γᾶς πλοῦτος ἄβυσσος ἔσται.—Hes. ap. Theol. v. 249.

"Πολλὴν ἄνωθεν," Mr. Paley well observes, "dicitur quia χλαῖνα non nisi ad *superinjecta* vestimenta spectat. Thucyd. xviii. 19, and Hagh. *Trach.* 540." In this sense Professor Sewell also has apparently understood the passage in his elegant version, though perhaps he is scarcely so happy here as elsewhere:—

"And if he had but died,
As tales were rife, a triple-bodied Geryon,
The second of the race, full many a word
Of clay thrice living on the earth alone,
(For that below I name not,) he would boast
To have worn."

Our meaning would be more exactly expressed by translating,

Why! had he died
Oft as reports were rife, a twofold Geryon
Of triple form, he thrice ere now had slept
Beneath a shrouding coverlid of clay,
Spread amply o'er him; amply, e'en without
Earth's boundless under-depth, &c.

J. D. A.

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3. On Thucydides, II. 65.

In the last number (xvii.) of the *Classical Museum*, Mr. Price has quoted the opinion of several commentators upon the obscure passage, as Bloomfield considers it, in Thucydides II. 65, and has also given his

own. In the last paragraph of his remarks, he says, "If I do not mistake, Dr. Arnold *alone* has given the true sense of ἐπερίσσευσε, while he, too, has erred in supposing the antecedent of ἀφ' ὧν, to be the *physical* resources of the republic for conquering the Peloponnesians, instead of the *mental* resources (*i. e.* data, premises or grounds,) of Pericles for inferring their easy conquest." In my judgment, Mr. Price is just as far from the truth as the commentators with whose opinions he finds fault. Can *data, premises, or grounds*, be called *mental* resources? and can περιγενέσθαι ever signify *to conquer?* I have not the least doubt that Dr. Arnold's translation is the correct one. For what does the historian say in the same chapter, when enumerating the many great qualities of Pericles? ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον προὔστη τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, μετρίως ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐκείνου μεγίστη· ἐπεί τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνοὺς τὴν δύναμιν.—καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέθανεν, ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι ἐγνώσθη ἡ πρόνοια αὐτοῦ, ἡ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Now, was not this πρόνοια founded upon the τὴν δύναμιν (τῆς πόλεως)? This is perfectly evident from the kindred verb preceding it, scil. προγνούς. As to Pericles ever dreaming to conquer the Peloponnesians, nothing could be farther from his thoughts, for he tells the Athenians, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχάζοντάς τε καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύοντας, καὶ ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπικτωμένους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, μηδὲ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντας ἔφη περιέσεσθαι. These quotations sufficiently explain the passage in question, which may be thus translated, "Such were the abundant resources that Pericles then possessed, from which he foresaw that h would even very easily get the better of the Peloponnesians by themselves, *i. e.* without the aid of their allies." The historian subjoined this paragraph to the character he gave of Pericles, as a proof both of his ability and sagacity to employ the *power* or the *resources* of the state to get the better of her enemies. Commentators should look πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω when they meet with an obscure or difficult passage.

G. Dunbar.

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### 4. On Thucydides, II. 40.

Διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν, ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι· ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει.—Thucydides II. 40.

If the reading of the last clause be correct, and there seems to be no variance in the MSS. or editions, it exhibits one of those anomalous and awkward constructions so frequently to be met with in Thucy-

dides. Commentators are uncertain to what word or what clause the relative ὃ should be referred; and they are equally at a loss to make out any legitimate construction of the expression ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις κ. τ. λ. Dr. Arnold says, in his last edition, "The sense of the present passage is clear: the only question is how to explain, with the least violation of the rules of the language, the anomalous use of the relative ὅ. The old way would have been, I think, to call it an accusative case, governed by κατὰ understood. The later editions take it as a nominative, and supply τοὐνάντιον γίγνεται, supposing that the following words ἀμαθία μὲν—φέρει are the explanation of the word τοὐνάντιον, and substituted here in place of it: that is, in other words, we must consider the clause ἀμαθία—φέρει as a single logical term, which is predicated of ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις; ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις, signifying, "the relations of reflection and enterprise to each other in the case of other men." And of these relations it is stated that they have this character, "Ignorance makes men bold, but reflection makes them cowards." Grammatically speaking, then, we must supply some such verb as ἔχει ὧδε to the relative ὃ, and consider the next clause as an explanation of the word ὧδε. Or rather, perhaps, we should say that there is no grammatical construction: that the verb which should have followed ὃ has been omitted, and another construction substituted in its place, which is inconceivable with the former construction, and which requires, instead of the nominative ὃ, the conjunctive ὅπου, "whereas." This is no doubt a summary way of getting rid of the difficulty. Dr. Bloomfield, in his edition of Thucydides, approves of Dr. Arnold's suggestion. The other editors, as Poppo, Göller, &c. chiefly confine their observations to the opinions of others, and give nothing definite of their own. The construction is certainly obscure and perplexing: but I think something more may be made of it than has been done by any of the above-mentioned editors, or any of the commentators I have had an opportunity of consulting. The question, in the first place, is, to what word or clause are we to refer the relative ὃ; for that it is not put absolutely or without an antecedent, there can be little doubt. If we look at the preceding clause, we shall find the pronoun τόδε, embracing this character of the Athenians as distinct from that of the Lacedæmonians, for that a parallel is correctly drawn between them by Pericles admits of no doubt, ὥστε τολμᾷν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι. The latter clause, having reference to the conduct of their rivals, is stated in opposition to it, ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις κ. τ. λ. Now, it appears to me, that the relative ὃ must be referred to τόδε in the preceding clause, which, as has been stated, embraces the distinctive character of the Athenians, as explained by ὥστε τολμᾷν κ. τ. λ. Still, the construction is incomplete without a verb; but

this, I apprehend, the historian intended to be understood from the words διαφερόντως—τόδε ἔχομεν, referring the relative ὃ to τόδε in the clause following, and considering διαφερόντως, as marking the distinction between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, we may suppose that the historian, for the sake of brevity, neglected the full construction, as being supplied in the reader's mind from διαφερόντως—τόδε ἔχομεν. I would, therefore, supply it thus, ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις (ἔχει διαφερόντως), (τούτοις) ἀμαθία μέν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει, *which, with others*, is different; with them, *ignorance produces confidence, reflection, hesitation*, not *cowardice*, as Arnold translates ὄκνον, for the character of *cowardice* never was attached to the Spartans.

There is another mode of solving this doubtful construction, but then it implies the omission of the verb ἐστὶ before ὃ, which might have been overlooked by the original transcriber; a circumstance not at all uncommon with the Greek authors, particularly Æschylus and Thucydides. The construction ἔστιν ὅς and ὅστις, ἔστιν ἃ, ἔστιν οἷς, ἔστιν ᾗ, &c. is common in the best prose authors, and particularly in Thucydides. See Matthiæ, *Gr. Gram.* § 482. It is not impossible, then, that our author wrote, ἔστιν ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει,—*There is this in others, ignorance*, &c. The relative ὅ, according to this construction, must have a reference to what is predicated of others in the words ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος κ. τ. λ. and stands in opposition to τόδε in the preceding clause. This is a simple mode of resolving the construction of the relative ὃ, and is very likely to have been the one adopted by Thucydides.

It seems very probable that Thucydides never revised his history, otherwise we should not find so many instances of anomalous constructions and intermediate links in the train of thought omitted. Condensation of thought and brevity of expression are the characteristics of Thucydides' mind and style; and while he endeavoured to accomplish them, he frequently omitted explanatory clauses, not considering that, while they seemed unnecessary to his logical mind when carrying on the train of ideas, they might be requisite to his readers for the full and correct understanding of his subject. Yet it is probable, that if he had revised his great work, he would have recast many of his sentences, and altered the construction of a number, not reducible to any rules of syntax observed by the Greek authors. He seems to have written *currente calamo*, and did not stop to reduce his sentences to strict grammatical order. It is necessary, therefore, in reading his History, to endeavour to discover the train of thought that was passing in the mind of the author, whether in description or argument, and to make it available to solve the difficulties that occur from too great a degree of brevity of expression. Independent of the information to be derived

from the perusal of his History, no better training could be devised for improving the judgment and sharpening the intellects of scholars.

GEORGE DUNBAR.

COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH, 1st *October* 1847.

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## 5. REMARKS ON CICERO, *De Nat. Deorum*, II. 48.

"Quin etiam anatum ova gallinis sæpe supponimus, e quibus pulli orti primum aluntur ab iis, ut a matribus, a quibus exclusi fotique sunt; de inde eas relinquunt et effugiunt sequentes, quum primum aquam quasi naturalem domum videre potuerunt. Tantam ingenuit animantibus conservandi sui natura custodiam."

THIS passage would seem to be regarded as a very simple one, since I no where find that it has given rise to note or comment; and I believe most readers will, at first sight, be of opinion that it stands in need of none. And yet I venture to affirm, that the true interpretation of the concluding sentence has occurred to few. In all the translations I have looked into, I find the phrase *conservandi sui custodiam*, rendered as if it referred to the instinct of self-preservation which nature has implanted in animals. The erroneousness of this interpretation may be evinced by considerations drawn both from logic and grammar. For in all that goes before, there is nothing which has even a remote reference to self-preservation; nothing exemplifying that instinct, or even suggesting it to the reader's thoughts. To translate, therefore, the phrase in question as if it referred to that great law of animal nature, would be to impute to Cicero a manifest *non sequitur*. For what are the facts stated by the author, on which he builds his conclusion? simply these, that ducklings hatched by a hen are at first fed by her, as by their mother, and that as soon as they see the water, they forsake her and take to it as to their natural home, in despite of her efforts to prevent them. From these premises it is surely irrelevant to infer any thing whatever regarding the instinct of self-preservation.

But even were the flaw in the reasoning less palpable than it is, the grammatical structure of the sentence would be sufficient to prove that the interpretation adverted to is incorrect. Every tyro knows that the reflexive pronoun *sui* refers to the principal subject of the sentence, which is here not *animantibus* but *natura*. I say nothing about the anomaly of a participle in the singular number being coupled with a plural pronoun; because that construction, however abnormal, forms no valid objection to the translation I am seeking to refute,

since there occur several undoubted instances of such an irregularity. But I contend that the objection derived from the use of the reflexive pronoun is fatal to it.

Enough perhaps has been said to indicate the view I take of the passage. It is this: from the facts mentioned in the context, Cicero calls on his reader to notice the jealous care which nature has manifested *to preserve herself and her arrangements inviolate*, since, even under circumstances likely to lead to a different result, the instinct originally impressed is found in unimpaired and vigilant activity. I am aware that the interpretation here given involves a grammatical anomaly, akin to that noticed above as belonging to the other view of the passage, inasmuch as it couples a masculine participle with a feminine pronoun. But no stress can be laid on this objection, as instances of the same licence are quoted in every grammar.

ROBERT MACLURE.

## XXVII.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A NEW AND COPIOUS LEXICON OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE: Compiled chiefly from the *Magnum Totius Latinitatis Lexicon* of Facciolati and Forcellini, and the German works of Scheller and Lünemann. Edited by F. P. Leverett. Boston: Wilkins, Carter, & Co.; and C. C. Little & James Brown. 1845.

A DICTIONARY OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE: Particularly adapted to the Classics usually studied preparatory to a Collegiate Course. By Francis Gardner, A.M., Instructor in the Public Latin School in Boston. Boston: Wilkins, Carter, & Co. 1844.

The sight of these American Dictionaries has carried us back to the time when we wandered perplexed through the dreary columns of the ill-arranged helps that guided the youths of our day. We have too strongly on our minds the *inextricabilis error* of Ainsworth and Adam, to glance again at them. But we have amused ourselves with turning over, for the sake of comparison, the pages of Holyoke, *Thomas de Sacra Quercu*, as Thomas of Lincoln styles him, and of Dr. Adam Middleton. Prodigious masses of learning they are, with the Hebrew and the Arabic, and Etymologies, extending to the confusion of tongues at Babel. Not to be despised are these old lexicographers, however; their racy, quaint phrases often giving their explanations an impres-

siveness, in which modern terms, from their very smoothness, are deficient.

Let us pass from the old to the new. Those who are now engaged in the pursuit of verbal knowledge, have advantages of which we only, who did not enjoy them, know the value. They find the vocables unencumbered with unmeaning idle translations, or correlatives, or fancied synonymes from the languages of the East. Care is taken to methodize the explanations, so that the mind can trace the connection from the radical meaning, forwards through its successive shades, each running into each, and all connected by the laws of human thought. Phrases and idioms are not conglomerated in random heaps, but their *rationale* is traced or conjectured. A learner can find that of which he is in search, and he can find it easily. What is more, he is trained to observe the sequence of ideas; and the study of language assumes its proper place, the study of thought developing itself in speech according to regular principles, and with philosophic precision.

In this, as in other things, each labourer has been useful in his own way. Every science arises out of a mass of facts, accumulated, it may be, without order or attempt at arrangement. When these have swelled into a heap, then comes labourer after labourer, who selects and arranges, as, in a warehouse, the goods promiscuously thrown down from the ship are assorted and arranged for ready reference; or, as in phrenology, the *lower individuality* amasses those stores of ideas, which the *upper individuality*, in its higher position, raises and sorts and compares. So our own olden lexicographers, and the great wordmen of the continent, Forcellini and Gesner, enrich us with materials which are built up by the Schellers and the Freunds.

Both the dictionaries now under our notice, have been constructed on the principle of philosophic order, and both are excellent. Leverett's is fuller than Gardner's, but not so well arranged. The latter is avowedly formed on the basis of the other, but it has pursued a better plan. They both follow, principally, Scheller, and especially the abridgment by Lünemann, which, in many important respects, may be said to be a new book. As might be anticipated, they have both a striking resemblance to Riddle's Dictionary, which is also founded on Lünemann. Indeed, the whole three are often nothing more than translations of that valuable work. In one respect both Riddle and Gardner are superior to Leverett; the latter distinguishes each shade of meaning by a sectional mark, (¶) while the former, pursuing Lünemann's method, give first the radical meaning, then under Roman numerals, the great *trunks* of signification, which branch off again into their respective subdivisions, marked by Arabic numerals. Both the American dictionaries incorporate, in the body of the work, the proper names which occur in ordinary

Latin reading. And both have an English and Latin part, (prepared to a certain extent by the late Mr. Leverett,) which we have not examined.

The appearance of such works in America is creditable to the discrimination of the scholars of that country, inasmuch as it indicates that their eyes are turned to the proper sources, and that they are inclined to philosophize in their cultivation of knowledge. Yet we cannot compliment our trans-Atlantic brethren on their appreciation of native scholarship. We have learned that Gardner's Dictionary, distinguished at once for its precision, its arrangement, and its entire adaptedness to school purposes, has passed into the hands of a British bookseller.

## XXVIII.

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